

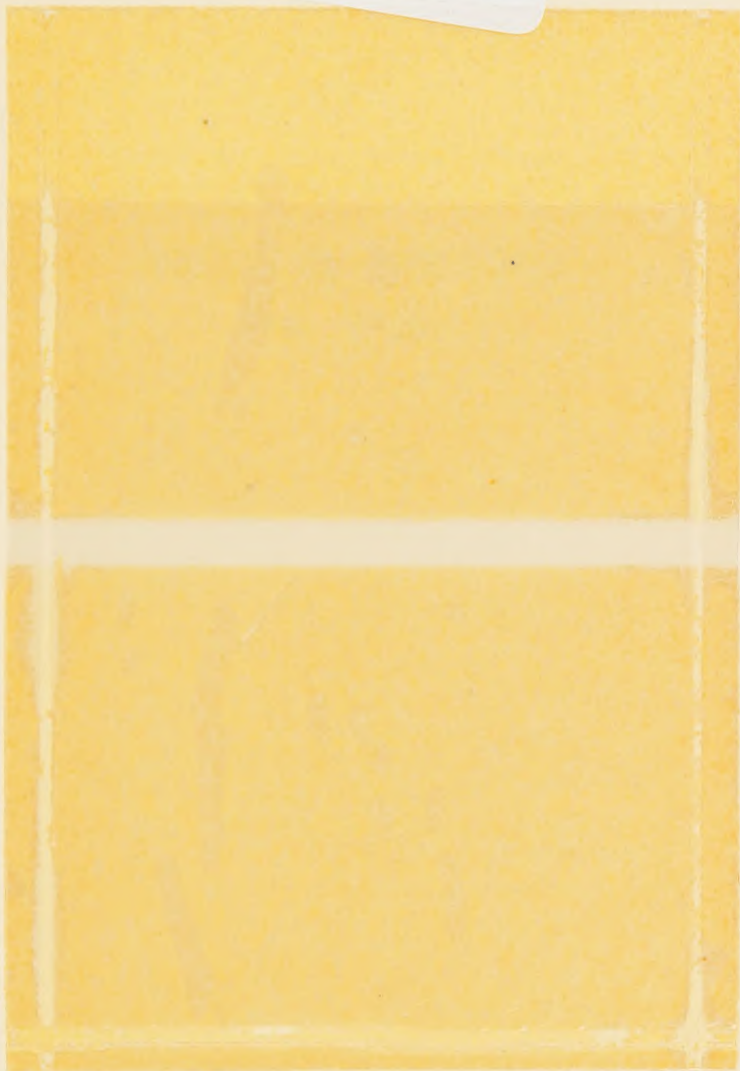
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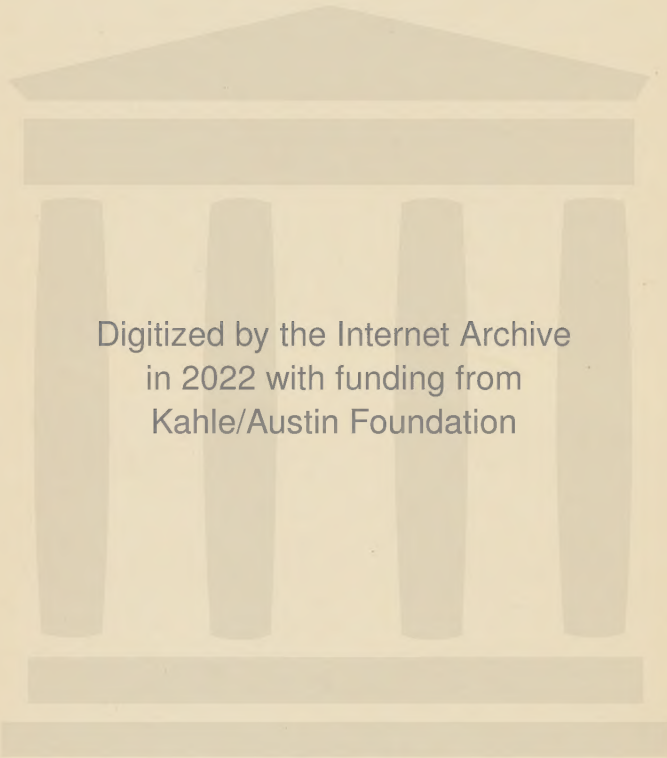
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HISTORY OF THE POPES
VOL. XXXI.

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. In 40 volumes.

Translated from the German of LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.-VI. by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.-XXIV. by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory, Vols. XXV.-XXXIV. by DOM ERNEST GRAF, of Buckfast Abbey, and Vols. XXXV.-XL. by E. F. PEELER.

Vols. I. and II.	A.D. 1305-1458
Vols. III. and IV.	A.D. 1458-1484
Vols. V. and VI.	A.D. 1484-1513
Vols. VII. and VIII.	A.D. 1513-1521
Vols. IX. and X.	A.D. 1522-1534
Vols. XI. and XII.	A.D. 1534-1549
Vols. XIII. and XIV.	A.D. 1550-1559
Vols. XV. and XVI.	A.D. 1559-1565
Vols. XVII. and XVIII.	A.D. 1566-1572
Vols. XIX. and XX.	A.D. 1572-1585
Vols. XXI. and XXII.	A.D. 1585-1591
Vols. XXIII. and XXIV.	A.D. 1592-1605
Vols. XXV. and XXVI.	A.D. 1605-1621
Vols. XXVII. to XXIX.	A.D. 1621-1644
Vols. XXX. to XXXII.	A.D. 1644-1700
Vols. XXXIII. and XXXIV.	A.D. 1700-1740
Vols. XXXV. to XXXVII.	A.D. 1740-1769
Vols. XXXVIII to XL.	A.D. 1769-1799

The original German text of the *History of the Popes* is published by Herder & Co., Freiburg (Baden).

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER
ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF THE LATE

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

TRANSLATED BY

DOM ERNEST GRAF, O.S.B.

MONK OF BUCKFAST

VOLUME XXXI

ALEXANDER VII. (1655-1667). CLEMENT IX. (1667-1669).
CLEMENT X. (1670-1676)

LONDON

ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL LTD
BROADWAY HOUSE: 68-74 CARTER LANE, E.C.4
ST. LOUIS MO.: B, HERDER BOOK CO
15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY

1957

First published in England 1940

Reprinted 1957

Imprimi potest

Sublaci, ex Proto-Coenobio Stae Scholasticae,
die 23 Julii 1939.

L. Emmanuel Caronti, O.S.B., Abbas Generalis.

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY

LUND HUMPHRIES

LONDON • BRADFORD

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ALEXANDER VII. 1655-1667.

CHAPTER I.

ALEXANDER VII. AND THE CHIGI. THE PAPAL STATES.

SHORTLY before the death of Innocent X. the Sacred College had reached its full complement of seventy members ; but on November 25th, 1654, it suffered the loss of Cardinal Giovanni Battista Altieri. Of the remaining sixty-nine Cardinals, sixty-two were in Rome at the time of the Pope's death ; seven were absent. These were : Cueva, Sandoval, Mazarin, Filomarino, Durazzo, Frederick of Hesse, and Harrach, but the four last-named reached Rome in time to take part in the conclave.¹ Only two of the sixty-six electors, viz. Carlo Medici and Aloisi Capponi, dated from the reign of Paul V., whilst one half of the rest had been created by Urban VIII. and the remainder by Innocent X.²

The grouping of the parties resembled that of the last conclave.³ The Spanish-Imperial party, headed by the two Medici and the Spanish Jesuit Lugo, comprised Colonna,

¹ Cf. *Dichiaratione delle ceremonie fatte dentro e fuori del conclave* (dedic. al ill. Emerico de Lauris), Rome, 1655, compiled by GIUS. ELMI.

² See CICONIUS, IV., 716 seq.

³ Cf. " *Discorso sopra il conclave, 1655 " in *Miscell.*, 126, p. 359 seqq., Vatican Library, according to which the " fattioni Pamfiliana, Barberina e Spagnola ", with about twenty Cardinals each, were equally strong, whereas the " Francese " comprised six Cardinals. Cf. PALLAVICINO, I., 214 seq. ; L. MUSSI, *Alcune memorie di conclavi del sec.*, XVII., Assisi, 1915, 7.

Cesi, Montalto, Trivulzio, Capponi, Brancaccio, Rossetti, Gabrielli, Astalli, Maidalchini, Cibo, Aldobrandini, Odescalchi, Vidman, Raggi, Harrach, and the Landgrave of Hesse. The other two parties were almost equally strong; viz. Urban VIII.'s Cardinals led by Francesco Barberini, and those created by Innocent X. The latter party, however, owing to the circumstance that Innocent X. had not left an ecclesiastical nephew, lacked a leader; accordingly its members resolved to keep together and to work exclusively for the election of the best man, without allowing themselves to be influenced by any outside pressure. According to the Spanish ambassador, this party, in consequence of its political neutrality, was nicknamed the "flying squadron"—*squadronne volante*. The French party, headed by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este, though small in number, nevertheless wielded great influence owing to certain peculiar circumstances, for the recent marriage of the Duke of Modena, the brother of Cardinal Este, to a niece of Cardinal Barberini, had led to the establishment of valuable relations with the Cardinals of Urban VIII., whilst on the other hand, Antonio Barberini, who had gone over to the French side, exercised great influence over a number of Cardinals.

Mazarin, who desired in the first instance the elevation of Sacchetti, had taken the precaution of linking together Antonio Barberini and Este, whilst the former was dominated by his conclavist Costa. Bichi, who had proved France's most reliable champion at the last conclave, was instructed to keep an eye on all three.¹

By all accounts the Sacred College was rich in outstanding personalities. Giulio Sacchetti was looked upon as a most likely candidate. He was a splendid man in every respect, but his good relations with the Barberini and Mazarin had earned him the enmity of the Medici and of Spain. Spain had already excluded him in the conclave of 1644, but he had done his utmost to get this decision revoked. In 1655 no one

¹ See PETRUCELLI, III., 150 *seqq.*; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 139.

could tell whether or no he had been successful in his efforts.¹ Franciotti, Brancaccio, Corrado and Albizzi seemed to possess all the required qualities but they lacked the age which at that time was considered essential. Yet the same objection could be urged against the candidate who was eventually elected. "If Cardinal Chigi were a few years older," a contemporary remarked, "or if the desire to choose the most deserving candidate were to prevail over human considerations, he would certainly obtain the tiara."² Another hindrance to Chigi's elevation was the circumstance that the Government of Florence did not favour the election of a subject of its territory, whilst yet another factor against his candidature was his close friendship with Sacchetti, for a number of people were anxious that the latter should not have any influence with the future Pope.³

¹ See EISLER, 107. The "**Lettera scritta al Vicere di Napoli da un suddito di S. M^a Cattolica*" intervened very warmly for Sacchetti: "Il card. Mattei, che gli fece oppositione nel conclave passato, venuto al estremo della sua vita non potendo darsi quiete, all' udito de molti esagerava al suo confessore: O Padre, sento cruciarmi che ho escluso un angelo del papato." (Collection of writings on the conclaves from the Library of Cardinal Gentili, purchased by me in Rome, 1902.) Sigismondo Caula reports, February 27, 1655, about Sacchetti: "**Gli stessi cardinali che li sono contrari, non possono di meno di non dire che lui è meritevole.*" State Archives, Modena.

² See "**Discorso sopra i cardinali papabili*" in *Barb.*, 4695, p. 219-224, Vatican Library. Cf. DENIS, I., 322.

³ See "**Discorso sopra i cardinali papabili*", which says: "Ma finalmente è arrivato ove anelava di giungere il mio discorso, cioè al card. Ghisi, in cui si vedono espresse al vivo tutte le morali virtù e christiane, essendo molto difficile il discorrerne, se in lui sia maggiore o la eminenza della dottrina o l'integrità de' costumi o la santità della vita. Non vi è nel Sacro Collegio chi non lo conoschi dignissimo del pontificato, perchè dovrebbe esser premio della virtù e perchè in questo gran soggetto si vedrebbero rinnovate l'attioni de' maggiori pontefici che habbi mai havuto la Santa Sede. Con tutto questo, non so quanto sii lecito di sperare questa publica felicità mercè alla fresca età

Chigi's candidature was first put forward, whilst Innocent X. lay on his death-bed, by Azzolini and Gualtieri, who likewise persuaded Cardinal Barberini to give him his support. After the Pope's death eleven of Innocent X.'s Cardinals agreed to press Chigi's candidature. They were, Giovanni Girolamo Lomellini, Lorenzo Imperiali, Luigi Omodei, Ghiberto Borromeo, Benedetto Odescalchi, Carlo Pio, Ottavio Acquaviva, Pietro Ottoboni, Francesco Albizzi, Carlo Gualtieri and Decio Azzolini. These were joined by Cristoforo Vidman and Giovanni Stefano Donghi, the latter being one of Urban VIII.'s Cardinals. The above-named, however, agreed not to come forward at once with their candidate, and, in general, to precipitate nothing.¹

The conclave opened in the forenoon on January 20th.² The first scrutiny revealed a complete disagreement among the electors. When at the first *accessus* 22 votes were cast bearing the word *Nemini* (for no one), it became evident that the Spanish-Imperial party meant to exclude Sacchetti. At this first scrutiny Carafa had a majority of votes, viz.

del medesimo, se però fresca età può chiamarsi quella che è consumata nelli studii e nelle fatiche, che l'ha reso così gracile e di così debile e delicata complessione, che non le può promettere longhezza di molti anni; la poca inclinatione che alli loro sudditi tengono i principi di Toscana, li quali tirano seco molti altri. Non ponno far giovamento a questo cardinale, come non le giova punto quell'abbate Altoviti, il quale essendo così frequente alle orecchie del medesimo, ha palesato la grande amicitia che passa fra il sudetto cardinal Ghisi e Sacchetti, et ha fatto germogliare non poca gelosia nell'animo de' Toscani e de' Spagnoli, che li sudetti due cardinali siano di un medesimo volere, e che, se fusse Papa l'uno, l'altro fusse per haver gran parte nel dominare." *Barb.* 4695, pp. 843-244^b, Vatican Library.

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 217 *seqq.*, 228.

² Cf. for what follows, *Conclavi*, II., 499-607; PALLAVICINO, I., 229-251; PETRUCCELLI, III., 156 *seqq.*; WAHRMUND, *Ausschliessungsrecht*, 139 *seq.*; EISLER, 110 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 85-6, the enumeration of manuscript sources which, however, is not complete.

21; he was followed by Sacchetti with 20 and Chigi with 18.¹ By the evening of the first day these numbers had dropped to 14, 15, and 12 respectively. On January 21st, Carafa only received 13, Sacchetti 23, and Chigi 11 votes, and the number of ballot papers marked "for nobody" was 26 and rose to 27 on the following day, on which Sacchetti only secured 7 votes, Carafa 10, and Chigi 15. After February 4th, Sacchetti's prospects improved. On the 5th he received 38 and after the 6th he was given, for some time, a steady 33 votes, so that he was nicknamed the *Trentatre*.² Though Chigi knew that Sacchetti alone could dispute him the tiara, he nevertheless consistently voted for him as the best and worthiest candidate.

When Cardinal Harrach arrived, the Spanish ambassador, Terranueva, requested him to inform all the Cardinals of his party that the King of Spain had decided to exclude Sacchetti, but so far from allowing themselves to be discouraged by this announcement, Sacchetti's supporters became only more determined. Albizzi drew up a pamphlet in which he rejected as inadmissible Spain's claim to the right of exclusion; this he did in an incisive, masterly and altogether conclusive manner, and basing himself on numerous texts of canonists and papal ordinances. He was answered by a staunch supporter of Spain, probably Lugo, who maintained that one could not vote in conscience for a Cardinal who was excluded

¹ The numbers given in *Conclavi* (518 seqq.), which were followed up to now, are partly erroneous; inexact also are the diaries: as the diffuse " *Diario " of Bastiano Casini, " scritto informa di lettera a Zanobi Casini " (*Barb.* 4651), and the " *Diario fatto da me Bastiano Casini negli 80 giorni del conclave per la creazione di Alessandro VII. " (*ibid.*, Vatican Library). Even PALLAVICINO (*loc. cit*) gives the figures very summarily. I found authentic " *Original lists " in *Barb.* 4442 and 4443; besides these, a short compilation in *Barb.* 2608, which served as a basis for my data. According to *Vat.* 8414, p. 15^b, in the first scrutiny Sacchetti had 21 votes, Carafa 22, Chigi 19.

² Cf. the *Reports of Tommaso Suidoni of February 17 and 24, 1655, State Archives, Modena.

by so great and pious a king.¹ Even more than by these lucubrations, Sacchetti's cause was seriously damaged, though unconsciously, by the French ambassador, Hugues de Lionne, who arrived on January 22nd, when he at once wrote to the Sacred College a letter which amounted to a satire on Innocent X., so much so that even Este condemned it.²

In view of the fact that Sacchetti's candidature was consistently declined by twenty-three to twenty-five Cardinals, the election was unduly delayed³ and the drawbacks to so many people being confined for so long a time within the narrow space of the conclave, made themselves gradually felt. Already at the beginning of February complaints were heard of the bad air in the rooms⁴; on February 10th Trivulzio was obliged to leave the conclave; others remained though they felt unwell. Carafa died on the 14th.⁵ But the parties continued in their determined opposition to one another. "We shall never succeed in making a Pope," Cesi remarked, "unless we can get Cardinal *Trentatre* and Cardinal *Nemini* to agree."⁶

¹ Cf. LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 28; WAHRMUND, *Beiträge*, 9 *seqq.*, 25 *seq.*; SÄGMÜLLER, *Papstwahlbulen*, 196 *seq.*; GRANDERATH in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, IX., 127 *seqq.*; EISLER, 120 *seqq.*, who, with regard to the paper: "Che le corone hanno ius d'escludere i cardinali da pontificato," rightly adopts the opinion of Sägmüller, that Lugo is the author. Besides the manuscripts cited by EISLER (126), in which the name of Lugo appears on the title page, I can refer to two copies in the Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, where Lugo is likewise indicated as the author.

² See GÉRIN, I., 52 *seqq.*

³ See *Report of Marcantonio Ranucci of January 27, 1655, State Archives, Bologna.

⁴ See **Avviso* of February 6, 1655, Pap. Secr. Arch.

⁵ *Report of Cardinal M. A. Colonna to Ferdinand III., dated Rome, February 20, 1655, State Archives, Vienna. Cf. *Report of Tommaso Suidoni of February 10, 1655, State Archives, Modena.

⁶ See *Conclavi*, II., 531. Cf. *Report of Ranucci of February 17,

Chigi had obtained eighteen votes at the first scrutiny and in most of the succeeding ones he maintained himself at that level. This did not suit his supporters, who as yet did not want to come out into the open, but notwithstanding their efforts to the contrary, Chigi continued to receive a considerable number of votes.¹ The latter's calm and circumspection were truly admirable. For fear of appearing to aspire to the tiara, he paid no visits to Cardinals, except to those who were sick, but remained in his cell dividing his time between prayer and study. He remained equally unperturbed when it was rumoured that Mazarin would not hear of his elevation on account of his attitude at the peace congress of Münster.² Besides Chigi, Mazarin also excluded Rapaccioli, whilst Spada did all he could to induce the French to abide by this policy. Sacchetti acted otherwise: he considered Chigi to be the worthiest candidate of all, whilst he was also anxious to spare France an even heavier defeat than the one she had experienced at the conclave of 1644 in consequence of Mazarin's action against Pamfili. Without saying a word to Chigi, Sacchetti wrote a letter to Mazarin on February 13th, 1655, *loc. cit.* On February 19, a rumour spread in Rome, that Carpegna had been elected. *Cod. Vat.* 8414, p. 15^b, Vatican Library.

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 240 *seq.* According to the compilation in **Barb.* 2608 (Vatican Library), Chigi had the following votes:—

January	20	.	.	morning	18	evening	12
	21	.	.	"	11	"	13
	22	.	.	"	15	"	14
	23	.	.	"	15	"	24
	24	.	.	"	12	"	15
	29	.	.	"	17	"	13
February	4	.	.	"	19	"	17
	2	.	.	"	16	"	12
	6	.	.	"	16	"	14
	17	.	.	"	17		
	27	.	.	"	17		
March	30	.	.	"	14		
April	5	.	.			"	17

² See PALLAVICINO, I., 243.

in which he put before the leader of France's policy such arguments as were calculated to make him change his mind.¹ The answer could only arrive six weeks later : accordingly, the conclave had to be protracted for so long. This put everyone's patience to a trial all the more severe, as the discomfort of living in the ill-ventilated rooms constantly increased.² At the beginning of March Spada had to leave the conclave owing to sickness, and two other Cardinals followed him not long after.³ Impatience grew daily. "The world waits," we read in a report of March 20th, "the Church prays, business suffers, but the Gordian knot cannot be cut ; day after day votes are cast, to-day for this person, to-morrow for that, but no Peter is found to gather the votes of all." ⁴ People began to resign themselves to another month in the conclave ⁵ when, on March 30th, Mazarin's reply arrived. It left the French Cardinals free to vote for Chigi if it was impossible to get Sacchetti elected.⁶ Thereupon action on behalf of the latter could be resumed with every hope of success. However, Barberini, who did not favour Chigi

¹ Text of the letter in EISLER, 304 *seq.*, but with wrong date : 17 instead of February 13. See GÉRIN, I., 55 ; *cf.* *Conclavi*, II., 533.

² See *Conclavi*, II., 559 *seq.* On March 3, Tommaso Suidoni writes : " *Hoggi finiscono 45 giorni che i sig. cardinali entrarono in conclave e pure non ci è novità alcuna da potersi attaccare per la creazione del nuovo Papa." And on March 10 : " *Ciascuno è stracco, et questo sì lungo indugio dispiace grandemente a tutti " (State Archives, Modena). Cardinal A. Cibo writes on April 17, 1655, to the Duke of Massa : " *Li patimenti del Conclave non sono stati pochi ; di freddo, di sonno, vigilie, fatiche et inquietudini sono ben consumati in questa santa clettione, e Dio ci ha fatto gratia a liberarcene, essendo angusta la struttura del conclave, et era non poco il fetore che cominciava a sentirsi." State Archives, Massa.

³ See *Reports of Cardinal M. A. Colonna of March 6 and 27, 1655, State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ **Avviso* of March 20, 1655, Pap. Sec. Arch.

⁵ **Avviso* of March 17, 1655, *ibid.*

⁶ See EISLER, 305 *seq.*

because of his having been created by Innocent X., was of opinion that another attempt should be made on behalf of Sacchetti. The latter, however, begged the Cardinals not to consider him as a candidate, a fact which created a deep impression.¹ When Medici had also agreed to this proposal, Sacchetti, on the evening of April 6th, together with the two Barberini and Este, as the heads of the parties, repaired to Chigi's cell to inform him of his impending election. The latter received the news with complete calm, his only remark being that they should reconsider the matter once more. It is easy to understand that the Cardinal was unable to sleep that night ; he still hoped that the electors would change their minds and took his election so little for granted that he did not even consider what name to assume as Pope. On the following morning (April 7th) he said his Mass quite calmly, after which he repaired to the Sistine Chapel. Owing to Carafa's death there were only sixty-five electors, of whom twenty-five voted for Chigi at once and another thirty-nine did so at the *accessus*. Chigi himself gave his vote to Sacchetti.² After a conclave of eighty days, the election was at last an accomplished fact. In memory of his great countryman, Alexander III., the new Pope assumed the name of Alexander VII.

In Rome, where Chigi was known as an excellent Secretary of State,³ as well as in other Italian towns, the election

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 246 *seq.* Cf. **Avviso* of April 10, 1655, Pap. Sec. Arch.

² See PALLAVICINO, I., 248 *seq.* " *En menos de dos dias que se introdujo la platica en el card. Ghisi ha quedado executada su exaltacion." Letter of the Duke of Terranueva to Ferdinand III., dat. Rome, April 7, 1655, State Archives, Vienna.

³ Cf. *Report of the Florentine ambassador Gabriello Riccardi of April 8, 1655, State Archives, Florence ; **Avviso* of April 10, 1655, Papal Secret Archives ; *Report of M. A. Ranucci of April 7, 1655, State Archives, Bologna ; *Report of Tommaso Suidoni of April 7, 1655, State Archives, Modena. See also *Letter of Cardinal A. Cibo to the Duke of Massa (above, p. 8, n. 1), State Archives, Massa.

was hailed with joy, for the new Pope was known to be as learned as he was pious.¹ At Siena joy was particularly great ² for the Chigi family had occupied an honourable position in that city since the twelfth century.³ Its coat-of-arms shows six hills surmounted by a star, to which was added an oak when Julius II. adopted the banker Agostino Chigi and his brother Sigismondo on their settling in the Eternal City.⁴

Agostino Chigi, a friend of Raphael and Leo X., surnamed "il Magnifico" by reason of his lavish patronage of artists and scholars, has perpetuated his name by the Farnesina and the magnificent chapels in S. Maria della Pace and S. Maria del Popolo, but his character is not above reproach and showed the bad side as well as the good one of the era

¹ The *obbedienza* ambassador of Duke Charles of Mantua, Francesco Nerli, characterizes Chigi in his *Relatione della corte di Roma* as "soggetto non meno erudito nelle dottrine speculative e legali che adorno di tutti gl' habiti virtuosi per arrivare al primato di S. Chiesa", State Archives, Mantua.

² Cf. *Diario delle ceremonie e feste fatte in Siena nella creazione di Alessandro*, VII., Siena, 1900. *Letter of thanks of Alexander VII. to Siena for sending four envoys to congratulate him, dat. June 16, 1655, in State Archives, Siena, *Cassa della Lupa*. Concerning the town of Alessandria see *Riv. stor. di Alessandria*, XVIII. (1909); concerning Perugia: *Lettera d'un Perugino con il racconto d. allegrezze fatte in Perugia*, Perugia, 1655.

³ See BUONAFEDE, *I Chigi Augusti*, Venezia, 1660; MORONI, XIII., 76 seqq.; NOVAES, X., 66 seqq.; Cf. also *Materiale inedito nell' archivio del principe Borghese per la storia genealogica della famiglia Chigi*, in *Bollet. araldico storico genealogico*, XI., August, 1912, 57-60; U. FRITELLI, *Albero genealogico della nobile famiglia Chigi*, Siena, 1922. See, moreover, **Notizie d. famiglia Chigi*, in *Vat.* 8769, Vatican Library. A " *Discorso sopra la genealogia del presente pontifice Alessandro VII. et di tutta la casa Chigi e loro più prossimi parenti ", in *Cod. Cels.*, 13, p. 3 seq., Stockholm Library.

⁴ See PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial des Papes*, Rome, 1906, 4. Cf. TOURTUAL, 34 seq.

of the high Renaissance.¹ The fabulous wealth of the "prince of Roman bankers" melted rapidly in consequence of the extravagance and carelessness of his son and the line died out. The wealth of the family of Sigismondo, who returned to Siena, also diminished. Flavio Chigi was a descendant of Sigismondo. A relative of Paul V. through his mother Agnese Bulgarini, he sought to retrieve his situation by marrying Laura Marsili, a wealthy widow. Eleven children sprang from this union, viz. seven daughters, of whom four took the veil at Siena, and four sons: Mario, Sigismondo, Fabio, and Agostino.² In the family palace at Ariccia there is a most curious collection of portraits of all Flavio's ancestors, as well as of his own family. In this collection we see Fabio, who was born at Siena on February 13th, 1599, at different ages, viz. as a child, as a 29-years-old referendary, as a Bishop at 41, as a Cardinal at 53, and finally as Pope. In

¹ See the present work, Vol. VIII, 117.

² See *Ricordo de' figli che nascevano di me Flavio Chigi [ob. October 28, 1611] e di Laura Marsilii [n. 1566, ob. April 7, 1639]:

1591 21 Agosto: Ortensia [with name in religion Alessandra, ob. August 4, 1618, at Siena].

1593 25 Giugno: Ersilia [with name in religion Lutgarda, ob. July, 1612].

1594 22 Settembre: Mario [ob. 1667].

1596 13 Maggio: Gismondo [ob. October 21, 1647].

1597 4 Novembre: Agnese.

1598 [st. flor.] A dì 13 [not 12, as MORONI and NOVAES state] di Febraro in Martedì a hore tredici nacque un figlio, si battezzò il dì detto, fu compare M. Francesco Vanni et hebbe nomẽ Fabio.

1600 ult. Aprile: Flaminia.

1602 6 Ottobre: Caterina.

1605 3 Dicembre: Augusto [ob. October 11, 1651].

1607 3 Gennaio: Caterina [with name in religion Marta, ob. July 23, 1637, at Siena].

1611 13 Aprile: Elena [with name in religion Flavia, ob. October 25, 1678, at Siena].

Autograph note in Family Archives, Ariccia.

all these portraits the striking feature is the sallow complexion of the narrow, finely chiselled face ; this paleness is further enhanced by the darkness of the hair. This paleness hints at delicate health, whilst the bright eyes and lofty forehead betray considerable gifts of intellect.¹ Even as a child Fabio

¹ A magnificent bronze bust of Alexander VII. by Bernini was in the Chigi Library ; in 1924 it got into the Vatican, as also a marble bust of the school of Bernini, which had been kept there. Another bust of the school of Bernini is in the possession of Prince Chigi (*cf.* besides FRASCHETTI, 287 *seq.*, 290, also BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 249, where reference is also made to the bust in the Palazzo Zondadari at Siena). Bronze busts of Alexander VII. are also in the choir of S. Maria di Monte Santo, Rome, and in the Vestibolo della Sala Capitolare of the Duomo of Siena. A terracotta bust of Alexander VII. passed from the possession of the Torlonia into the collection of L. Pollak, Rome. The monumental marble statue of Alexander VII. in the right transept of the Duomo of Siena was executed from Bernini's design by his pupil, Antonio Raggi. It renders in excellent manner the mild character of this Pope and his expression of weariness, a consequence of his poor state of health ; see BENKARD, *Bernini*, 26, 41, *ill.* 45. *Cf.* FRASCHETTI, 285. There is a bronze statue in the Sala Farnese of the Palazzo Comunale at Bologna by Dorastante d' Osio, 1660. The bronze statue on a column in the Piazza Nuova (Ariostea) at Ferrara was destroyed in 1796, and is only known from a sketch in the State Archives, Rome. The bronze statue of the Pope presented to Ravenna by Cardinal Cesare Rasponi and cast by Bandini in 1673, was removed during the revolution of 1798 ; it was re-erected in 1821, but in 1867 it was badly damaged by the anti-papal mob and was then stowed away in a warehouse. Finally in 1885 it came into the possession of Prince Mario Chigi, who caused it to be erected in the vestibule of his palace in Rome in 1906. When the Chigi palace was sold to the Italian State in 1918 the statue was once more taken to Ravenna. *Cf.* PASOLINI, *Ravenna*, 215 ; *Riv. stor.*, 1918, 265 ; RICCI in *Felix Ravenna*, XXV. (1917) ; see also the article in the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, October 9, 1892, "*Ein verschollenes Denkmal*," and MUÑOZ, in *L'Arte*, 1917. There is also a statue of Alexander VII. at Fermo. Of the portraits in oil of Alexander VII., the one by G. B. Gaulli

underwent many illnesses and on one occasion his death seemed so near that the candles for his funeral were bought.¹ The precocious youth lost his father when only twelve years old, after which his pious and solicitous mother took charge of his education. The sincerely pious and serious boy gave early proofs of a literary bent and began to write verses. His memory was such that he could retain anything after one reading or hearing. His studies were very thorough; five years were devoted to philosophy and the law at the University of Siena. During this time the learned Celso Cittadini introduced him to the study of archæology,² and he also studied the history of art. The Chigi library in Rome (now embodied in the *Vaticana*) preserves many extracts dating from that

(Baciccio) at the beginning of 1660, is no doubt the best. The original, together with its companion piece, the bust of Mario Chigi, was in the Messinger Gallery (Munich) which was sold by auction in 1918; see VOSS, *Malerei*, 586; VENTURI, in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 14 *seqq.*; U. OJETTI, *Il ritratto italiano dal Caravaggio al Tiepolo*, Bergamo, 1928, p. 2, pl. 1; copies are in the Stockholm Museum and in Prince Chigi's house. The latter possesses also a picture which represents Fabio Chigi, afterwards Alexander VII., visiting the Queen-Mother of France at Cologne. Portraits in oil of Alexander VII. are also in the sacristy of S. Carlo al Corso at Rome, and in the papal palace of Castel Gandolfo. The portrait by P. Mignard was engraved by Pitau (see MOÛY, I., 37). The portrait by Cornelius Vischer in W. V. SEIDLITZ, *Histor. Porträtwerk*, I., Munich, 1886. A good specimen of the engraving of Fr. de Poilly (*cf. Miscell. di stor. ital.*, XV., 206) is in the Corsini Library, Rome. Other engravings are given by DRUGULIN, *Allg. Porträt-Katalog*, Leipzig, 1860; *cf.* also G. LANG, *Catalogo* XVIII., 5. Among the medallions of the Pope the best is that by Bernini; see VOSS, in *Zeitschr. für Numismatik*, XXVIII., Berlin, 1910, 231 *seqq.* On the Hamerans, who since Alexander VII. were in charge of the papal mint and did excellent work, see NOACK, *Deutschum in Rom* (I., 140, 221). The firm of Hameran in Via dei Coronari, 192.

¹ *Cf.* for what follows PALLAVICINO, *Vita*, I., 27 *seq.*

² Celso Cittadini distinguished himself also as a writer; his *Opere* (400 p., in 8^o) ed. by GIROLAMO GIGLI, Rome, 1721.

period.¹ Fabio was anxious to become a priest but his prudent mother urged him not to precipitate so weighty a decision. He began by devoting four years to the study of theology at Siena, his guides being St. Thomas, Gregory of Valencia, and especially Suarez. He brilliantly concluded his studies in the autumn of 1626, and dedicated the theses he defended on the occasion to the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi. After this the youthful Doctor set out for Rome, where he arrived on December 10th, 1626. Two more years were devoted to private study and intercourse with men of letters and scholars; in particular he made friends with the Jesuits, Famiano Strada and Sforza Pallavicino, the Dean of the Rota, Clemente Merlini, and the poet Ciampoli. After his entry into the prelature, Urban VIII. appointed him in January, 1629, referendary of the two highest judicial Colleges (*Referendario della Segnatura di Grazia and di Giustizia*). A little later the Pope, who recognized his talents and valued him as a poet also, named him Vice-Legate of Ferrara. During his five years' term of office in that city he gave proof of administrative talent also, especially during an outbreak of the plague. Chigi's relations with Cacchetti, the Cardinal Legate, had the intimate character of those of a son with a father. In 1635 Urban VIII. named him Bishop of Nardò and sent him to Malta as Inquisitor and Apostolic Visitor. There he happily settled a dispute in connection with the election of the Grand Master. Before setting out for Malta he received priest's orders. In a letter of that period he wrote that to serve the Church was the greatest honour.

¹ *Abbozzi e minute dal 1618 fino al 1624 in Siena di Fabio Chigi, in *Cod.*, A. I., 28, Chigi Library, Rome. Numerous manuscripts of the library are enriched with Flavio Chigi's marginal notes. It is from Flavio's **Chigiae familiae commentarii* (*Cod.*, A. I., 1) that CUGNONI, the excellent librarian of the Chigiana, to whom I am indebted for many data on the life of Alexander VII., published the *Vita di Agostino il Magnifico* in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.* II., 46 seqq. Cf. also P. POLLIDORUS, *Vita F. Chisii* in *N. Raccolta di opusc. scientif.*, IV., Venezia, 1758, 267 seq., and PICCOLOMINI in *Bollet. Senese.*, XV. (1908), 99 seqq.

He suffered much from the tropical climate of the island but he bore this "exile", and attended to his diocese though separated from it by so great a distance.¹

Chigi's tried ability, his piety and learning, as well as the recommendations of his friends in Rome, especially Pallavicino's,² singled him out as the right man for the post of nuncio at Cologne to which Urban VIII. appointed him in June, 1639. In August, Chigi arrived on the banks of the Rhine where he was to spend the next thirteen years. The transition from the African climate of Malta to that of Germany affected his delicate health adversely, but for all that he scrupulously carried out his duties. His simple ways, his prudence and moderation in defending ecclesiastical immunity, made him so popular that sympathy was universal when, towards the end of 1642, he had to undergo a grave operation for gravel. His prestige in Rome may be gauged from the fact that as early as February, 1643, Cardinal Barberini deemed him worthy of the purple.³ In the following year Urban VIII. died. The new Pope, Innocent X., left the nuncio at Cologne, though he was not personally acquainted with him. Chigi had obtained a thorough knowledge of the situation in Germany when his nomination as nuncio extraordinary to the peace congress of Münster set him a diplomatic task than which none more arduous could be imagined. At that assembly he boldly stood up for the strictest principles of the Curia, for he loathed every form of dissimulation, but when these were not in question he showed the utmost gentleness towards non-Catholics. It was in keeping both with his prudence and with his Christian feeling, when he showed every kindness towards those who had fallen from high estate, as Queen Marie de Medici at Cologne in 1641, the Duchess of Longueville at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1650 and Mazarin in 1651.⁴

¹ Cf. PICCOLOMINI, *loc. cit.*, 105 seq., 107 seq.

² On Pallavicino's paternal interest in Chigi, cf. the letters in MACCHIA 12 seqq., 16 seqq. *Letters of Pallavicino to Alexander VII. also in *Cod.*, C. III., 63, Chigi Library, Rome.

³ See Pallavicino's letter of February 28, 1643, in MACCHIA, 63.

⁴ See TOURTUAL, 18 seq., 22 seq.

Chigi's conduct during the peace negotiations so completely satisfied the Pope that he made him his Secretary of State in 1651 and a Cardinal in 1652.¹ One of his strictest principles was "to do much but to speak little".²

Chigi's uncommon gifts sufficiently account for the fact that the highest hopes were set on his pontificate. Even numerous Protestants in France and Germany welcomed his elevation.³ The favourable opinion of the new Pope, which was universal, was confirmed by his initial measures. Immediately after his elevation he had a coffin made and placed in his bedroom, so that on awakening he might be reminded of the vanity of earthly things. A skull on his writing table, carved by Bernini, served the same purpose.⁴ On the occasion of his taking possession of the Lateran, on May 9th, 1655, he forbade the erection of triumphal arches, a custom introduced during the Renaissance.⁵ His servants were forbidden to accept tips. Superfluous officials were dismissed.⁶ Donna

¹ See XXX., p. 43. Cf. also PICCOLOMINI, *loc. cit.*, 117 seq. F. Chigi's *Letter of thanks to Siena for the congratulations on his nomination as a Cardinal, dated March 16, 1652, in State Archives, Siena.

² "Molto fare e poco dire" (Letter of Rovenius in *Arch. v. d. geschiedenis v. h. aartsb. Utrecht*, XXXIII. [1908], 13). On a supposed autobiography of Alexander VII., see Appendix No. 6.

³ See PALLAVICINO, I., 133, 270. On the favourable opinion of Alexander VII. in Paris, cf. G. HERMANT, *Mém.*, éd. Gazier, II., Paris, 1905, 661 seq.

⁴ *Report of G. Riccardi of April 8, 1655: "Al Bernini ha ordinato che gli faccia fare una cassa da morto e che gliela porti per tenerla in camera e che prima non gli darà audienza" (State Archives, Florence); **Avviso* of April 10, 1655, Pap. Sec. Archives. In his *Musae iuveniles*, n. 66, he writes: "Mortalis regimen vitae meditatio mortis." Cf. NOVAES, X., 188. Prince Rosso Scaletta has in his villa in Rome a picture of Alexander VII. with the marble skull on his table.

⁵ See PALLAVICINO, I., 268. On the *Possesso*, see CANCELLIERI, 256 seqq.

⁶ See **Avvisi* of June 19, July 14, and November 5, 1655, Pap. Sec. Archives. Cf. PALLAVICINO, I., 265.

Olimpia Maidalchini, Innocent X.'s sister-in-law, who had played so disastrous a rôle in the Eternal City, was obliged to leave Rome.¹

Alexander VII. began his day with prayer and meditation, after which he said his Mass and assisted at another. Heedless of the warnings of his physician and of his confessor, the Jesuit Giambattista Cancellotti, the Pope exceeded the measure of his strength. Each day from six to seven hours were devoted to audiences. On Sunday mornings there was a general audience so as to enable the poor also to present themselves before him. The Pope won hearts not only by his kindness and geniality, but likewise by his eloquence. He spoke Italian with the beautiful accent of Siena, whilst his Latin had a classic gracefulness about it. The more important documents he read himself; he also transacted a good deal of business in person, whilst for some he gave oral instructions to the Secretary of *supplicas*, Lelio Piccolomini.² His stays at Castel Gandolfo, which the busy Pontiff allowed himself in spring and autumn, did not make up for the exertions he underwent in Rome, all the more so, as he was continually tortured by gravel and kidney trouble. Fortunately he surrounded himself with excellent assistants. The Dataria was given to Cardinal Corrado, an eminent canonist, as diligent as he was pious; Giulio Rospigliosi, who had given proof of his disinterestedness during his nunciature in Madrid and of his ability as Governor of Rome during the conclave, was made Secretary of State; Natale, a brother to Cardinal Rondinini, a man endowed with

¹ She died end of September, 1657, in San Martino; see CIAMPI, 185 *seq.*, 189 *seq.* “*Povera mia Donna Olimpia è pur morta senza nessuno de' suoi intorno,” wrote Cardinal Gualtieri to Nic. Aug. Caferra on October 5, 1657. Orig. in Doria-Pamfili Archives, Rome.

² See PALLAVICINO, I., 267, 280; NOVAES, X., 190. To the exhortations of his physician and his confessor to take more care of himself, Alexander VII. replied, “che per zelo della sua carica gli conveniva far d'avantaggio di quello faceva.” **Avviso* of November 25, 1655, Pap. Sec. Archives

poetic gifts, was made Secretary of Briefs ; the learned Mattia Naldi was appointed personal physician to the Pope,¹ whilst Ranuccio Scotti remained Maggiordomo for the time being.² As a proof of his love for Germany, Alexander VII. admitted into the ranks of his private chamberlains the learned Ferdinand of Fürstenberg who, a poet himself, had published a new edition of the Latin poems of the Cologne nuncio.³ Among the Cardinals, the Pope's chief advisers were Sacchetti, Corrado, and Borromeo, the two Jesuits Oliva and Pallavicino and the Oratorian Virgilio Spada.⁴ A profound impression

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 263 *seq.* On Corrado, see GÉRIN, I., 277 *seq.* ; on the *Poemata postuma* of NATALE RONDININI : *Zeitschr. f. Gesch. Westfalens*, LVI., 2 s., p. 41. After Rondinini's death Francesco Nerli succeeded him in his post (*ibid.*, 170). On the Briefs of Alexander VII., see WIRZ, XXVI. Numerous *documents which belong to the Pap. Sec. Archives passed through Giulio Rospigliosi into the Rospigliosi Archives. According to the *Indice dell' Arch. Rospigliosi fatto 1777*, they contain the *Litterae ad princ. (Brevi)* : of Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., during the whole of their pontificate ; those of Gregory XIV. and Innocent IX., for the years 1591 and 1592 ; those of Clement VIII. only for the year 1593 ; those of Paul V. for the years 1605-1620 ; those of Gregory XV. only for the year 1621 ; all those of Urban VIII. (many vols. with corrections) ; those of Innocent X. "*Litt. ad princ., 1644-1655*" *con altre lettere di segret. d. stato* ; those of Alexander VII. "*Lettere e brevi, 1655-1665 con lettere d. segret. d. stato, relazioni e istruzioni per Nuntii*".

² Cf. *Cod.*, B. I., 12, Chigi Library, Rome : *Primo ruolo della famiglia di N. Alessandro VII. nell' amministrazione di Msgr. Rannuccio Scotti vesc. del Borgo Sandonnino, Maggiordomo di S. S^{ta}. After Scotti the post was held by Girol. Farnese, Volunnio Bandinelli, Girol. Boncompagni, Giac. Fil. Nini ; see MORONI, XLI., 267 *seqq.*

³ The Poems known under the name *Philomathi Musae iuveniles* were published for the first time at Cologne, 1645, by William, Ferdinand's brother ; the second edition, prepared by Ferdinand himself, appeared at Antwerp in 1654 ; see *Zeitsch. für Gesch. Westfalens*, LVI., 42.

⁴ See **Avviso* of February 19, 1656, Pap. Sec. Archives ;

was created by the new Pope's determination to avoid every form of nepotism. This resolve did not spring from a lack of feeling, for whilst in far away Germany, Chigi ever cherished the thought of his kindred,¹ but now that he was Pope he was anxious to repress any inordinate affection for them. In vain Cardinals and ambassadors represented to him that it was his duty to do something for his kinsfolk, who were in a by no means flourishing condition. No Siena Chigi was allowed to show himself in Rome.² When the Florentine envoy suggested that Mario Chigi should be summoned to Rome, the Pope replied with a smile: "We have many other things to think of besides our relatives, who are doing quite well at Siena." The suggestion that Mario had great aptitude in financial questions left the Pope equally cold, so that the only explanation of the Pope's resistance the envoy could think of was the influence of the Jesuits and the Cardinals of the "flying squadron".³ To one of his intimates Alexander remarked that as Fabio Chigi he had had brothers and relations but that as Pope he had no kinsfolk.

For centuries only a very few Popes, such as Adrian VI., Marcellus II., and Pius V., had shown such strictness. However, it was soon to be seen how extraordinarily difficult it was to break completely with a custom which had only become so firmly rooted because, in some respects, it was commendable and natural enough. Disinterested friends

SAGREDO in BERCHET, II., 234, and the report of the Luccan ambassador in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 230. Cf. GÉRIN, I., 278 *seq.*

¹ Cf. PICCOLOMINI, *loc. cit.*, 115.

² Already, on April 8, 1655, G. Riccardi reported concerning the Pope: "Stamattina ha ordinato al Nini suo segretario che scriva al suo fratello e nipote che se per il passato si sono portati con modestia, da qui avanti procurino di farlo davantaggio e non si movino nè mutino il loro posto." State Archives, Florence.

³ See *Report of June 5, 1655, *ibid.* When the ambassador intervened again on behalf of the nephew, the Pope said decisively: "Pensaremo a loro, quando non havremo da fare altro, adesso ci sono gran cose in aria." Report of August 14, 1655, *ibid.*

represented to the Pope that even the stringent decrees of Trent allowed ecclesiastical superiors to assist their relatives, not indeed as such, but as persons in need of help ; and that the kinsfolk of a Pope should be suitably provided for. Alexander was by no means blind to this fact, but he did not consider it lawful to spend part of the secular, and still less any fraction of the ecclesiastical revenues of his office on his relatives. He rejected every compromise proposed to him ; " Time," he said, " will show a solution." ¹

Though during the pontificates of Urban VIII. and Innocent X., some outstanding theologians, among them Lugo and Pallavicino, had declared that the Pope might bestow from 50,000 to 100,000 scudi a year on his relatives.² Alexander VII., in the first years of his reign did not spend a single soldo of the funds of the Apostolic Camera on his kinsfolk ; all he did was to compensate them, by small gifts from his private income, for the expenses they had had to incur in consequence of his elevation to the papacy. Even those of his kinsfolk, who, like Antonio Bichi, had rendered valuable services to the Holy See, or who, like Giovanni Bichi, were in close relationship with the Pope, were not allowed to present themselves before him.³ This stern resolve, apart from Alexander's own principles, was also inspired by the damage which, as he knew from painful personal observation, had been done to the prestige of the Holy See by the conduct of the Pamfili. On this subject he expressed himself with great vigour.⁴

He was wont to tell his intimates that he would only arrive at a decision with regard to his relatives after the first year of his pontificate. Meanwhile he had come to the conclusion that the complete detachment which he had

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 272, 287 *seqq.* Cf. DENIS, I., 324 *seqq.* (May, 1655).

² Pallavicino, like Lugo, held stricter views on nepotism in the later years of their lives ; see below, Clement IX., Chapt. I.

³ See PALLAVICINO, I., 416 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. the *Reports of G. Riccardi of April 17 and May 31, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

hitherto observed, could not go on, though he continued to reject the idea of making use of his nephews in the management of the varied business of the Holy See. When in April, 1656, the Florentine envoy suggested such a course, he replied: "Since we are determined to do everything ourselves, we work all day long, with the result that we are quite exhausted at night. Some help is desirable, but if we were to summon our nephews, we should have to keep an eye on them so that we should only have added to our work."¹ If in the end Alexander VII. made up his mind to summon his nephews to Rome, his action was determined by quite different and very weighty considerations. As Pope, he thought, he would be setting an even better example if he summoned his relatives, but kept them within limits, than if he kept them at a distance; he likewise felt that it was not right that the relatives of the Head of the Church should be simple citizens of Siena, since he could not prevent the people of that city from paying princely honours to his house; moreover he feared lest misunderstandings should arise between it and the Grand Duke of Tuscany.²

Before taking a final decision the Pope sought the advice of the Cardinals. In a consistory of April 24th, 1656, he called upon them to tell him, either by word of mouth or in writing, whether it seemed good to them that he should employ in the service of the Church such of his relatives as were worthy of the honour.³ In addition to the Cardinals, most of whom replied in the affirmative, some theologians of mark, especially Pallavicino, were likewise consulted.⁴ The latter began

¹ See *Report of G. Riccardi, April 1, 1656, *ibid.*

² See PALLAVICINO, II., 5 *seqq.*, 10 *seqq.*

³ See *Acta consist.*, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 232 *seq.*; PALLAVICINO, II., 11 *seq.* Cf. GÉRIN, I., 266. An *opinion on the summoning of the nephews to Rome in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 201, p. 131 *seq.* Pap. Sec. Archives; another, anonymous, in FANFANI, *Mescolanzæ letterarie*, Firenze, 1879, 104 *seq.*

⁴ " *Lettere, voti e scritture dei sig. cardinali e teologi circa di chiamarsi da PP. Alessandro VII. a Roma i parenti più stretti e circa di potersi donare dal medesimo liberamente a loro

by examining the arguments for and against the employment of the nephews and ended by suggesting a middle course, namely the publication of a Bull which would confine them within clearly defined boundaries. A nephew should only be raised to the cardinalate after due preparation, and after

somma determinata. Dell'anno 1656 " (*Cod. Ottob.* 1061, Vatican Library). " *Lettera e quesiti di propria mano d'Alessandro VII. al Pallavicino circa il chiamare a Roma i parenti " (*Cod. C. III.*, 70, p. 143 s., Chigi Library, Rome. " Celebriamo," it says at the beginning, " la messa già più giorni su questo argomento." *Ibid.*, p. 431 : " Ex voto P. Pallavicini : ac demum concludit [Pallavicino] posse dare [the Pope] sponsal nepotis occasione nuptiarum scutata 15.000." RANKE (*III.*, 35) writes : "The Rector of the Jesuit College, Oliva, made without doubt the greatest impression, when he declared that the Pope would commit a sin if he did not summon his nephews ; the foreign ambassadors would never have as much confidence in a simple Minister as in a blood-relation of the Pope ; the Holy Father would be ill-informed and would not be able to administer his office so well." In proof of an assertion which by itself is hardly credible, Ranke refers to a manuscript of the Corsini Library, Rome : *Scritture politiche*. The complete untrustworthiness of this anonymous source is incontestable. In *Ottob* 1061 (Vatican Library), I found the **Vota* of the Cardinals of April and May, 1656, and also **Extracts* from the *Voti di teologi e canonisti* ; among them appears Pallavicino, but of Oliva there is no vote. Neither is there such a vote of Oliva in the **Raccolta di voti* of *Cod. C. III.*, 70, Chigi Library, Rome, from which I give in Appendix Nr. 4 the vote of Pallavicino, given May 9, 1656, in which there is no trace of the opinions which Ranke ascribes to Oliva. Also among the numerous **Letters* of Oliva to Alexander VII. in *Cod. C. III.*, 63, Chigi Library, there is no trace of any such advice, hence it must be regarded as a fable. On the basis of an untrustworthy anonymous assertion, Ranke (*III.*, 129) speaks of Oliva as leading the life of a glutton. On the contrary, all trustworthy sources show that Oliva, so long as his health permitted, was a strict ascetic and practised external austerity to an almost exaggerated degree (DUHR, *Gesch.*, *III.*, 6 seqq. ; *Hist. Jahrb.*, 1907, 372).

his elevation he should be assigned clearly defined revenues.¹ Alexander VII. decided, in substance, to follow these suggestions. On May 2nd he published a Constitution forbidding even his nephews to accept gifts from candidates for offices and benefices; the income from the sale of offices, which until then had, for the most part, gone to the papal nephews, was henceforth to flow in its entirety into the Apostolic Camera; lastly, the *Monti vacabili*, whose renewal and fresh sale had been of considerable profit to the nephews, whilst it had been a heavy burden on the public exchequer, was commuted into a consolidated State rent, the rate of interest being reduced from 10 per cent to 4 per cent.² As a result of this measure the nephews henceforth could only look for such revenues as their offices yielded. When these barriers had been set up Alexander VII., on May 12th, 1656, from Castel Gandolfo, where he was spending a short holiday, sent for three of his relatives in Siena. They reached Rome on the 16th May, and met with a kindly reception, though they were made to feel at once the strictness of the new principles.³

Flavio, the son of Alexander's eldest brother, was sent to the Jesuit novitiate, there to prepare for the priesthood. Every request that he would hasten the elevation to the cardinalate of the twenty-five years old youth, was consistently rejected by the Pope during the whole of the second year of his pontificate; only after Flavio had adequately prepared himself for his new position was he raised to the Sacred College, on April 9th, 1657. Though he was now granted the customary privileges of a Cardinal nephew and, therefore, together with Rospigliosi, dealt with affairs of

¹ See text in Appendix Nr. 5, Chigi Library, Rome.

² Constitution *Inter gravissimas*, Bull., XVI., 156 seqq. Cf. PALLAVICINO, II., 9, 18; BERCHET, II., 235 seq.

³ See PALLAVICINO, II., 19 seqq.; CLARETTA, *Cristina di Svezia*, 68. Original text of the *Briefs "*Abbati Flavio, Mario fratri, and adolescenti August.*", in *Epist.*, II., Pap. Sec. Archives.

State, he was nevertheless allowed no influence whatever.¹ The same also happened to Mario who had been made General of the Church and entrusted with the superintendence of the Borgo and the *Annona*, a duty for which he seemed especially qualified in view of his earlier activities in Florence.² However, now as before, Cardinals Sacchetti, Rospigliosi, Corrado, and the Jesuits Pallavicino and Oliva, remained the Pope's chief advisers,³ and for a time all the nuncios were retained in their posts.⁴

In May, 1656, Agostino Chigi, a son of his deceased brother, was appointed by Alexander VII. castellan of Castel S. Angelo,⁵ but anxious to be free from all foreign influence, the Pope refused to consider the most tempting offers for Agostino's marriage made to him by the Duke of Modena,⁶ by Mazarin, and by the King of Spain. Nor would he consent to an alliance of his family with the Colonna; in the end he decided to marry the twenty-three years old Agostino to Maria Virginia Borghese. Rome was amazed when the wedding (in July,

¹ See PALLAVICINO, II., 23 *seqq.*, 79 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 150 *seq.* Cf. A. Correr and Sagredo in BERCHET, *Relaz.*, Roma, II., 198, 220, 236; **Avvertimenti dati in voce da P. Alessandro*, VII. *al card. Chigi*, recorded by the latter himself in *Cod. Bolognetti*, 201, p. 133 *seq.* Pap. Sec. Archives.

² See PALLAVICINO, II., 7; PAGLIUCCHI, II., 84. Mario was also employed on business in the Papal States. Riccardi reports of him on June 17, 1656: " *Il sig. Don Mario travaglia grandemente nelle congregazioni di sanità e dello sgravio delle comunità dello Stato, sì che dalla mattina alla sera è in congregazione e in verita è smagrato, credo con lo stare a sedere." State Archives, Florence.

³ Already on February 3, 1657, an **Avviso* says that Pallavicino and Oliva are in such high esteem with the Pope that everybody expects that both will soon receive the purple. Pap. Sec. Archives.

⁴ See BIAUDET, 59.

⁵ See PAGLIUCCHI, II., 84.

⁶ See *Report of T. Suidoni, May 20, 1656, State Archives, Modena.

1658), contrary to precedent, was celebrated with the utmost simplicity in the Pope's private chapel and in the presence of only two Cardinals. The wedding feast, too, was held not in the Vatican, but in Agostino's residence, and with complete avoidance of all display.¹

The Pope also sought the advice of the Cardinals on the subject of the financial provision for his relatives, but they only answered in general terms, leaving it to his own conscience to decide how far he would go. He also privately consulted two theologians whom he held in particular esteem, and two canonists whose moderation commended them to him. Flavio Chigi bought for Agostino the former Castello Farnese, now a principality, for which he paid in part with his own money and in part with a subsidy from the Pope; the annual revenue of the principality did not exceed 5,000 scudi. Agostino received an additional gift of 15,000 gold scudi.² At a later date, however, the Pope showed himself more liberal, for he bestowed on Agostino, Ariccia and Campagnano, the Palazzo Aldobrandini in the Piazza Colonna and a number of *luoghi di monti*. Agostino's young son, Sigismondo Chigi, the most talented member of the family, received a few *commendas*.³

¹ See PALLAVICINO, II., 226 *seq.* Cf. **Avviso* of July 17, 1658, Pap. Sec. Archives. *Documents on the conclusion of the marriage in the Family Archives, Ariccia.

² See PALLAVICINO, II., 231 *seqq.* **Breve che conferma la compra d. terra di Farnese*, dat. January 16, 1662, in Family Archives, Ariccia.

³ See PALLAVICINO, II., 232; RICCI, *Ariccia*, 276, 292 *seq.* RANKE (III., 36, n. 2), reproduces a passage of a **Vita di Alessandro VII.*, the source of which he does not indicate; I found the *Vita* in *Cod. Barb.* 4690, Vatican Library. Ranke supposes the work to date from 1666, but in this he is mistaken, for the author says that Alexander VII. had reigned nine years by then. Ranke also denies that the figures which this *Vita* gives of the nephews' income have any value, but in the *Appendix* (III., 189*) he praises the *Vita*, which evidently was written by a bitter enemy of Alexander VII. The inaccuracy of Ranke's statement that the author is a well-informed, and on the whole

Antonio Bichi, a more distant relative, obtained the purple, whilst his brother was made commander of the papal galleys. All this shows how the ageing Pope, once he had taken the first step, yielded ever more and more ; in the sequel, to the grief of his friend Pallavicino,¹ he bestowed on his relatives more than what was just,² so that he was all the more severely blamed as he had raised such high hopes for the complete elimination of the evil. However, his nepotism always remained within reasonable limits.³

Neither Cardinal Flavio nor Mario were allowed to meddle with any business except that of their respective departments ;

well-disposed (towards Alexander VII.) contemporary, may be gathered from his remark about the famous colonnade of St. Peter : “ *Procura [Alessandro VII.] gloria dai sassi mediante il colonnato di S. Pietro dove spende un tesoro per fabbricare un redotto della baronataglia più infame et un pisciatoio al bisogno de’ cani.”’ For the most part, as, e.g. with regard to the above-mentioned indication of figures, the *Vita* follows a forged document, namely the *Relatione di Roma del Pietro Basadonna* of 1663 (now printed in BERCHET, II., 291), which Ranke (III., 187 *seq.*) also quotes and which he (in spite of there being some doubt about it) regards as authentic (III., *Appendix*, Nr. 134). That it is a forgery, see BERCHET, II., 259. Another document also which RANKE (III., *Appendix*, Nr. 132) and CHANTELAUZE, in his monograph of Cardinal Retz quote, namely the Report of ANGELO CORRARO, which, in 1663, appeared in a French translation at Leiden, is also a forgery, as has been proved by GÉRIN, in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, LIV. (1880), 570 *seqq.* The authentic text of Corraro’s report is in BERCHET, II., 197 *seqq.* According to GÉRIN (I., 258) these reports are satires which mingle truth with falsehood and evident calumnies ; they served the polemic aims of French politics.

¹ See *Arch. stor. ital.*, *App.*, VI., 398. Cf. above, p. 20, n. 2.

² Raggi says that Alexander VII. gave to his relatives “ fra beni ecclesiastici, secolari e offitii vacabili quasi 4 milioni e mezzo ” ; see NERI in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 685. Raggi, however, is not a reliable witness, for he is very hostile to Alexander VII., who had many a quarrel with Genoa.

³ See MACCHIA, 40.

the Bichis, too, had no influence whatever on current affairs.¹ If the secular nephews failed to resist the temptation to enrich themselves by unlawful means, there was no need for Flavio to have recourse to such expedients, for he had been granted such rich benefices that he was in a position to live in great style. His worldly tastes betrayed themselves by his love of the pleasures of the table, the theatre and the chase,² though he did not withhold his patronage from men of learning. The handsome man, with his dark, curly hair, soon won for himself a distinguished position in Roman society.³

In the family palace at Ariccia, Flavio, in imitation of some other great people, got together in 1679 a collection of thirty-six portraits of the most beautiful women of Rome, among them being Maria Mancini, Louis XIV.'s first flame.⁴

How difficult it is for a Pope to satisfy the world was proved by the complaints that Alexander VII. allowed his nephews no influence⁵; on the other hand, more equitable judges acknowledged that a strict religious tone prevailed at the papal court. An excellent impression was made by the Chigis' modesty, and by the fact that, in marked contrast to the period of Innocent X., the women of the family were kept

¹ Cf. BASADONNA, in BERCHET, II., 267; GÉRIN, I., 272, II., 52 seq.

² See DU TOT [= CORRARO] in RANKE, III., 186,* and A. NERI, *Saggi sulla corrispondenza di Fernando Raggi agente genovese a Roma*, in *Riv. Europ.*, February, 1878, V., 663 seq. Journalists (cf. SCHEIBLE, *Das Kloster*, VI., Stuttgart, 1874, 39) and satirists also attacked Chigi's moral conduct; but Raggi himself says: "La corte di Roma è maligna" (*loc. cit.*, 674). An *Inventory left by F. Chigi in Family Archives, Ariccia. *Ibid.* **Bolle e brevi spettanti al cardinale Flavio e Sigismondo Chigi*. Beautiful marble busts of Cardinal Flavio and of Sigismondo Chigi, of the school of Bernini, in Prince Chigi's possession, now in his residence in the Farnesina, Rome.

³ Cf. BASADONNA, in BERCHET, II., 265; MORONI, XIII., 87 seq.; GÉRIN, I., 268.

⁴ See *Bollet. d'arte*, 1917, 3 seq.

⁵ See BASADONNA, *loc. cit.*, 265; cf. 269.

within very narrow boundaries ; if they wished to see the Pope they had to stand in the street with the crowd. For the rest, Mario's wife, Berenice della Ciaja—the exact antithesis of Olimpia Maidalchini—was in complete agreement with the Pope's strictness.¹ She devoted herself exclusively to her domestic duties and to the practice of piety ; in fact, she would have liked nothing better than to retire to Siena for good.²

Nepotism, to which Alexander VII. paid tribute in the last years of his pontificate, threw its shadow also upon the administration of justice in Rome, so much so that Mario Chigi was accused of abusing his position to enrich himself.³ Such an example was bound to lead to evil results. Even the hands of the supreme tribunal of the Rota were not clean. One of its officials, who had been in its employ for twenty-eight years, presented to the Pope a list of the abuses that had crept into that body. Though at the beginning of his pontificate Alexander VII. had forbidden the acceptance of gifts in questions of privilege or justice,⁴ the memorandum of the aforesaid official reveals the fact that not only the lower officials and the servants, but even the auditors themselves

¹ See BASADONNA, *loc. cit.*, 236 *seq.* Cf. GÉRIN, I., 280 *seq.* The Anglican Canon John BARGRAVE, who knew the Rome of Alexander VII. from personal observation, nevertheless disseminated the most scandalous stories in his book, *Pope Alexander VII. and the College of Cardinals* (ed., J. C. Robertson, London, 1867). From Geneva a veritable campaign of calumny against the Holy See was set in motion ; Alexander VII. saw the dangers of such a campaign. Already on September 4, 1655, he issued a “ *Cifra circolare a tutti i ministri ” with orders that the nuncios should take steps against the “ gazzettanti's ” calumnies directed against the Roman court. *Cod.*, C. III., 76, Chigi Library, Rome.

² See the evidence of BASADONNA, in BERCHE, II., 267.

³ See BERCHE, II., 266. How much Mario was hated in Rome was seen after his death, November 14, 1667 ; see NERI, *Corrispondenza di F. Raggi*, *loc. cit.*, 666.

⁴ See PALLAVICINO, I., 412.

did not shrink from accepting presents.¹ Is it any wonder if similar abuses in the administration of justice and in the government, were even more grievous in the provinces? In a memorial written shortly before his death in 1663, Cardinal Spada remonstrated with the Pope against these abuses. He paints in the strongest colours the evil of the oppression of the poor who were exposed, without means of defence, to the arbitrariness of the mighty; the lowering of justice when Cardinals, nobles, and palace officials intervened on behalf of one of the parties; the long delays, sometimes of years, in settling affairs that could be disposed of in a couple of days; the victimization to which anyone exposed himself who appealed from a lower to a higher authority; the callousness and harshness of the system of tax collection which seemed to exist simply for the personal enrichment of those who bought the right to gather the taxes and to render odious the head of the State.²

¹ " *Disordini che occorrono nel supremo tribunale della Rota " (*Barb.* n. 5404, Vatican Library): " Con le male decisioni di questo tribunale supremo si corrompe la giustitia a tutti gli altri minori." Cf. RANGONI, n. 28; RANKE, III., 76.

² Sacchetti's memorandum of June 17, 1663, is often found in manuscript, e.g. *Vat.* 7497, p. 15 seq., Vatican Library, *Barb.* 6337, p. 37 seq., *ibid.*, in the Communal Library, Vicenza, and in the State Library, Munich, *Ital.*, 86, p. 267 seq., and 93, p. 329 seq. It is printed in GALEOTTI, *Della sovranità e governo temporale dei Papi*, 87, and already before in ARCKENHOLTZ, *Mem.*, IV., *App.*, XXXII., p. 395 seq. DÖLLINGER (*Kirche und Kirchen*, 541) says with regard to the diminution of the population—which emigrated to escape oppression—that Sacchetti exaggerates. The text resembles so much the invectives of this period that a falsification of the original text is not excluded. In those days even the final text of Venetian reports was falsified (see above, p. 25, n. 3 on BASADONNA). Equally doubtful seems to be the authenticity of the " *Relatione della corte di Roma del Marchese Fr. Nerli ambasciatore d' ubidienza del Duca di Mantova alla Stà di Alessandro, VII.," in *Barb.* 5191, p. 99 seq., Vatican Library, for the **Relatione* of the same Nerli in Mantua Archives is much shorter.

To do away completely with such deplorable conditions, a longer reign would have been required, and still more greater experience in the art of civil government, as well as a stronger hand than Alexander VII.'s, especially in view of his chronic illness. How greatly he had at heart the welfare of his subjects was shown at the very outset of his pontificate, when the Papal States were visited with bad harvests which caused a dearth. Notwithstanding his financial straits the Pope immediately devoted the sum of 300,000 scudi for the purpose of assuring cheap bread for the poor, but his very liberality eventually led to the weight of the loaf having to be reduced from 8 to 6 ounces. The Romans, who had imagined that the golden age was about to return, could blame neither the Pope, whose solicitude was obvious, nor his nephews, since these had not yet arrived in the Eternal City ; for all that they said that if Alexander had summoned his relatives to Rome, he would not have been imposed upon by his officials.¹ The Pope took no notice of this foolish talk and, realizing that lack of provisions was a worse evil than dearth, he did his utmost to provide Rome with corn. These efforts, and other measures on behalf of the poor, did not fail to impress the City, and these steps were followed by various ordinances against the exactions of officials in the Papal States.²

In the very first year of his reign Alexander VII. set up a Congregation of thirteen Cardinals, whose duty it was to remedy the state of indebtedness in which many communes

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 313 *seqq.* Cf. *Report of Abbate Tini, July 31, 1655, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

² See PALLAVICINO; I., 316 *seq.*; BENIGNI, *Getreidepolitik*, 57 *seq.* *Ibid.*, on the useless attempts to drain the Pontine Marshes. The survey of the Agro Romano under Alexander VII. (DE CUPIS, *Le vicende*, 268), and the ordering of the system of feudal titles (CAPOGROSSI GUARNA, *I titolari delle provincie nella seconda metà del sec., XVII.*, Roma, 1893, 5-6), deserve to be mentioned. In 1661 the Jews were exempted from walking in the carnival by paying a sum of money (*Saggiatore*, I., 129).

of the Papal States found themselves.¹ The Pope also entered into an agreement with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with a view to dealing with the plague of brigandage on the Tuscan frontier.² His efforts to raise the woollen industry in the Papal States by prohibiting the importation of wool, failed in consequence of the indolence of the parties concerned,³ just as his attempt to drain the Pontine Marshes with the aid of Dutch engineers also proved a failure.⁴ Alexander VII.'s conduct was above all praise when, notwithstanding every precaution, the bubonic plague, after working the most terrible havoc in Naples,⁵ also broke out in Rome in May,

¹ See *Letter of the Abbate Tini of June 19, 1655, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Reports of M. A. Ranucci of July 7 and August 4, 1655, State Archives, Bologna. On the successful efforts of Alexander VII. to compose the disputes about the payment of arrears of taxes at Perugia, see " *Relatione del governo spirituale, temporale e misto del S. Pontefice", in *Barb.* 5683, p. 415^b, Vatican Library, where there is also a good summary of all the public authorities of the time.

² See *Report of the Florentine ambassador of May 22, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

³ Cf. DE CUPIS, *La lana e la sua industria in Roma*, Rome, 1923, 8.

⁴ RUHMANN, *Pontinische Sümpfe*, 135; *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Hist. Institut*, 1926, 193 seq.; " *La concessione delle paludi fatta a detto effetto al Nicolao Vanderpellen," by Alexander VII., 1659, *Cod.*, H. II., 43, Chigi Library, Rome.

⁵ Cf. DE RENZI, *Napoli nell'a, 1657* (s. l. e. d.), *Arch. stor. Napol.*, XXI., 204 s.; RIGILLO, *La peste del 1656 a Napoli*, Pistoia, 1907; NICASTRO, *Contributo alla storia della peste del 1656-57, Melfi*, 1912; FUMI, *La peste di Napoli nel 1656*, Roma, 1895 (according to the reports of the nuncio); P. EMANUELE DA NAPOLI, *I Cappuccini nella peste napoletana dell'a, 1656*, pubbl. per BONAVENTURA DA SORRENTO, 2^a ediz., Sorrento, 1884. Zuccarone (S. I.), " Lamento per la peste di Napoli nell'a, 1656." Boncompagni Archives, Rome, M. 15. The papal letter to the Archbishop of Naples to invite the Regulars to the service of the plague-stricken in *Bull.*, XVI., 200.

1656.¹ The Pope was staying at his summer residence at Castel Gandolfo when the first news of the peril threatening

¹ Cf. for what follows, besides the detailed description of PALLAVICINO (II., 21 seqq., 84 seqq., 92 seqq., 98 seqq., 106 seqq., 143 seqq., 165 seqq.; with the annotations by the hand of Card. Fr. Barberini, in **Barb.*, LXXIII., 56, Vat. Library); P. A CASTRO, *Pestis Neapolitana, Romana et Genuensis annorum 1656 et 1657 Veronae*, 1657; HIERON. GASTALDI, *Tractatus de avertenda et profligenda peste*, Bononiae, 1648 (with illustrations); G. BALESTRA DA LORETO, *Gli accidenti più gravi del mal contagioso osservati nel lazzeretto all'Isola*, Roma, 1657; NARDUCCI, *Notizia del contagio di Roma negli anni 1656 e 1657*, Roma, 1870. A passage from the *Diario* of Gigli in CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 460; DENIS, I., 327; SCHEIBLE, *Alte Zeit*, I., 938. See also PFEIFFER et RULAND, *Pestilentia in nummis*, 103, 109. DENGEL, *Palazzo di Venezia*, 121; D. RAPOLLA, *Del card. G. B. de Lucca*, Portici, 1899, 89 s.; *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Hist. Institut.*, V., Roma, 1925, 159 seq. (here p. 163 seq., also on the new measures taken when in 1663-4 the plague broke out in Amsterdam); the numerous ordinances on this matter are in *Editto.*, V., 61; Pap. Sec. Archives; *ibid.*, the **Avvisi* of 1656. In *Cod.*, 171, Corsini Library, Rome: *Memorie di Roma in tempo del mal, contagioso, 1656*. Cf. also **Barb.* 4991, p. 3 seqq., 23 seqq., and 4236, p. 172 seqq., Vat. Library. *Statistics of deaths from August 26, 1656, to February 10, 1657, in *Ottob.* 3264, p. 20 seqq., *ibid.* (Reports to the nuncio in Venice, August 26-30, 1656: ninety-three cases of death; August 30 to September 2, 1656: fifty-two cases of death.) Two *Letters of Pallavicino on the measures taken against the plague in *Cod.*, A. III., 53, p. 246 and 259, Chigi Library, Rome; cf. also *ibid.*, E. 62 and C. III., 6, p. 280, 286. Some private letters belonging to this place are in *Lettere di Casentinesi*, published by A. VIRGILI (Nozze-Publication, Florence, 1893). Unpublished, a *Letter in Azzolini Archives, Empoli Vecchio, now in the Royal Archives, Stockholm. On the work of the Roman physician, PIETRO CASTELLO, which appeared in Messina in 1656: *Flagello della peste nel quale si considerano le cose sospette di contagio e si propone il rimedio di correggerle*, see L. HUETTER, in *Corriere d'Italia* of January 31, 1928.

the Eternal City reached him. He at once returned to Rome ¹ in order to superintend in person the precautions taken for the protection of the capital and the Papal States. In this task he was assisted by his brother, Mario. A special health Congregation, headed by Sacchetti, was set up; the Pope's physician was also made a member, as well as his brother, Mario, who greatly distinguished himself during this trying period.² Special commissaries were appointed to watch lest the plague should spread from the Neapolitan territory, whilst they were also to see that there was no lack of provisions. Only eight of the city gates remained open and these were carefully guarded. Special commissaries were appointed to watch over the health of each of the fourteen districts of the city. Every case of plague had to be notified at once under pain of death. The Trastevere was for a time completely shut off from the rest of the city. In order to isolate the sick from those who were whole, a hospital for the plague-stricken was established in the Isle of St. Bartholomew. For those who were discharged from hospital as cured a house near S. Pancrazio was used for quarantine, whilst another near S. Eusebio ³ sheltered those who were shut out

¹ See *Report of Riccardi, May 20, 1656, State Archives, Florence.

² Cf. " *Relazione del contagio di Roma nel 1656, " in *Cod.*, E. III., 62, Chigi Library, Rome. An inscription in the cathedral of Frascati records the deliverance of the town from the plague which was attributed to the intercession of ss. Sebastian and Roch; see the inscription in CLUZEL, *Frascati*, Souvigny, 1901, 25.

³ Good illustrations of the hospitals in contemporary woodcuts by Giacomo Molinari. On three large woodcuts Louis Roubier of Dijon showed in twenty-nine pictures all the episodes of the plague. These sheets were published by Giov. Giac. de Rossi under the title : *Ordini diligenze e ripari fatti con universal beneficio dalla paterna pietà di N. S. PP. Alessandro VII. et em. ss. cardinali della S. Congregatione della sanità per liberare la città di Roma dal contagio*. They are also of interest because they give us a picture of the Rome of that time. Three *accounts of BENEDETTO RITA PROTOMEDICO, about the epidemic of 1656, in *Ottob.* 2485, p. 398 *seqq.*, Vat. Library. *Ibid.*, a pencil

of their own homes because of cases of plague. The victims of ordinary diseases were received in the hospital della Consolazione. Those who died of the plague were buried near St. Paul's, outside the Walls. For these burials the greatest precautions were prescribed,¹ as well as for the religious functions which had been instituted in order to appease the anger of God.² The Pope himself gave proof of great courage; he continued his public audiences and repeatedly showed himself in the streets, sometimes in a sedan chair and at other times on foot. From the height of S. Pietro in Montorio he blessed those who had been discharged from hospital, as they made their way to the quarantine near S. Pancrazio. His alms also were more generous than at other times.³ He only laughed when told that a rumour was circulating that at audiences he sheltered behind a glass screen.⁴ His imperturbability was still further admired when the plague carried off several of his servants.

As a result of these stringent precautions the plague did not assume the same proportions as at Naples, though from the end of May, 1656, up to August, 1657, close on 15,000 out of Rome's 120,000 inhabitants fell victims to the epidemic.⁵ Nevertheless, the order and tranquillity of the

sketch with the note of 1656: "Habito con il quale vanno i medici per Roma." Cf. also *Cod.*, 34, D. 17, Corsini Library, Rome.

¹ Cf. MAES, *Curiosità Romane*, III. (1885), 53. As a prayer for the Dead, the so-called *Ave Maria de' morti* (Psalm *De profundis*) was ordered, which has continued down to our own days. Cf. **Avviso* of November 25, 1656, Pap. Sec. Archives.

² See *Orationi e devotioni efficacissime contro la peste*, Roma, 1656.

³ See **Avvisi* of 1656, Pap. Sec. Archives, and Riccardi's *Report of July 8, 1656, State Archives, Florence. Cf. GÉRIN, I., 267.

⁴ See Riccardi's *Report of July 22, 1656, *ibid.*

⁵ See GASTALDI, 116. In 1655 the population of Rome numbered 122,978; in 1656, 120,596; in 1657, 100,019; in 1658, 104,965; after that it rose gradually, so that in 1667 it stood at 110,489;

city were not disturbed during this heavy trial, nor was there at any time a scarcity of provisions. In token of their gratitude the Romans were anxious to erect a statue to the Pope on the Capitol, but Alexander declined the honour with the remark that he deemed himself sufficiently rewarded if his image was engraved on the hearts of the Roman people.¹

Alexander deserves credit for his efforts to reduce the public debt.² If the financial situation nevertheless continued unfavourable, and fresh debts could not be avoided,³ the cause lay, on the one hand, in the fact that Alexander VII., being by nature of a most generous disposition, left a free

see CERASOLI in *Studi e docum.*, XII., 179. After the census, taken at Easter, 1656, by order of Alexander VII., the population of the provinces of the Papal States was 1,685,934, not counting children under three years of age; with Rome included, it amounted to 1,801,780; see BELOCH, in *Bullet. de l'Institut internat. de Statistique*, III., Roma, 1888, 16; CORRIDORE, *La popolazione dello stato Romano*, Roma, 1906, 14. According to the *Carte Stroziane* (I Ser., II., 769, n. 22 seq.) the inhabitants of Rome numbered in 1621: 118,356; in 1663, 105,433 (not counting the Jews); in 1672, 121,064. Cf. Vol. XXX., p. 374. In 1657 influenza broke out in Civitavecchia; see A. CORRADI, *L'influenza*, Bologna, 1890.

¹ See PALLAVICINO, I., 166 seq.; RODOCANACHI, *Capitole*, 131; STEINMANN, *Die statuen der Päpste auf dem Kapitol*, Rome, 1924, 17 seq. "Statuam optimus princeps exemplo ad hunc diem inaudito erigi vetuit," says the author of the **Orationi in lode di Alessandro VII.*, in *Cod.*, C. 2, 15, Bibl. Angelica, Rome. But on March 21, 1658, the city put up the inscription: *Alexandro VII. P.M. cum statuam publice sibi decretam ob remotam ab urbe pestilentiam honoris significatione contentus erigi vetuisset* (*Cod.*, G. III., 78, Chigi Library, Rome). An inundation of the Tiber, November 5, 1661, gave occasion to Alexander VII. to take measures against this scourge, which occurred so frequently; see BUONAROTI (1871), 23 seq. A second inundation is mentioned in **Avviso* of January 29, 1667, Papal Sec. Archives.

² Cf. on this, COPPI, *Finanze*, 16 seq. See also with regard to Monti, the **Relazione*, p. 459 seq., quoted above, p. 31, n. 1.

³ Cf. *Analecta iuris pontif.*, 1895, 248 seq.

hand to his ministers in money questions ¹ and on the other in the conditions of the time. The precautions against the plague and the subsidies for the Emperor and the King of Poland for their wars against the Turks and the Swedes swallowed large sums.² To this must be added the patronage extended to art and learning, as well as some extraordinary expenses which he could not help incurring as Head of the Church. To this category belong the sums spent at the very beginning of his pontificate on a worthy reception of the Queen of Sweden, Christine, the convert daughter of Gustavus Adolphus.

¹ "S. Stà non è punto economo et assai assuefatto a spendere quel che egli haveva lasciando maneggiare dal maestro di casa a suo modo, e adesso fa il simile con lasciare operare ai suoi, ministri." Riccardi's report of November 20, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

² Cf. COPPI, *Finanze*, 80 *seq.* On the money given to the Emperor in 1656 and 1664 and for Poland, see below, Ch. V.

CHAPTER II.

THE RETURN OF QUEEN CHRISTINE OF SWEDEN TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND HER STAY IN ROME.

AFTER Luther and Calvin, probably no man had inflicted such grievous wounds on the Catholic Church as the King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus, a man equally remarkable as a statesman and as a military leader. His intervention in the epic struggle between the ancient Church and Protestantism put a stop to the Catholic restoration and led to the settlement on which the Peace of Westphalia put the seal. Hence it is easy to understand that a real terror seized the Protestant world when it became known that the Queen of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus's most gifted daughter and his successor on the throne, a woman whose mind and extraordinary attainments were the wonder of all Europe, had returned to the old faith.

Christine's abdication and her hurried departure from Sweden, by themselves alone, gave rise to the greatest dissatisfaction in that country. Even Chancellor Oxenstjerna so far forgot himself as to remark that the Queen must be mad.¹ When her conversion became an accomplished fact, Protestant bitterness vented itself by spreading vulgar rumours and biting satires. No words seemed strong enough with which to brand "the Queen's deliberate return to the darkness of the vain and foolish superstition of the papists". It was stated that she had embraced the Catholic religion without real interior conviction and merely for the sake of certain external advantages; in her craving for the natural beauty and the arts of southern countries, she had arrived at the conclusion that she could live nowhere else; in view of her inadequate income she had hoped to receive help from the Pope or from some of the Catholic princes, and ever since foreign scholars

¹ GRAUERT, II., II n.

had inoculated her with atheistic principles she had been indifferent to all religions and looked on them as purely outward forms.¹ These dishonourable motives, which were put forward not only by the Protestants but by the French also,² have long been accepted as historical facts. But all such attempts at an explanation fade into thin air before a thorough historical investigation, and there is not a shadow of proof that Christine was a contemptible hypocrite. To-day no serious scholar denies that the most momentous step in the Queen's life was taken in consequence of a real conviction.³ A number of excellent and credible sources enable us to trace the long and arduous path which the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus had to traverse up to her reception into the Catholic Church, and the motives which decided her to take it.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, 16 seq., 95 seq.

² PALLAVICINO, I., 365.

³ This has been particularly emphasized by M. LANDAU (*Beilage zur Allg. Zeitung*, 1893, No. 296), BILDT (25-6), NAVENNE (I., 205), and BAIN (p. x). The latter observes, as against FRYXELL, that nothing is more certain than that Christine's conversion was sincere. The best presentment of Christine's motives is found in the dispassionate account of GRAUERT (II., 59 seqq.); it shows that the assertion that the Queen had embraced Catholicism without conviction is devoid of tangible proof.

⁴ The chief sources are the accounts of the two Jesuits who were particularly concerned in the conversion, viz. P. MALINES (first published by ARCKENHOLTZ, IV., 382 seqq., App. 27, and again from a copy in the Parma State Archives in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, XXXII., where on p. 257, 4th line, "Guemes" must be read instead of "Generale"; another copy in the University Library, Bologna) and P. CASATI (in part in RANKE, III., 61 seq., 183* seq.; fully from the Modena State Archives, Vol. XXXII., App. 3). To this must be added the two justifications of November and December, 1655, in ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 511 seqq., II., 129, seqq., App. No. 70, and PALLAVICINO's interesting, documented account (I., 240 seqq.). Among recent accounts the best is that of GRAUERT (II., 18 seqq.). He corrects Ranke in many places (p. 32, 42, 44, 63, 435, 437, 438), and in particular he refutes the certainly

Born at Stockholm on December 8th, 1626, of a mother, Eleonore of Brandenburg, a Hohenzollern princess, aunt of the Elector Frederick William, who was not only sickly but also mentally abnormal, Christine had the further misfortune to lose her famous father when she was only six years old. Before setting out for Germany, Gustavus Adolphus had given instructions that in order to prepare her for her career as a ruler, his daughter should be given the same bodily and mental training as if she were a prince. These ideas fitted admirably with Christine's inclinations; she hated skirts, despised personal adornment, and displayed complete incapacity for every form of womanly work. On the other hand, she quickly learnt to master the most fiery horses and to shoot a hare on the run. Her intellectual gifts were out of the common; she possessed great acumen of mind, a quick

erroneous and totally unsupported assertion of the Berlin historian that "Christine had often confessed that she could not accuse Protestantism of any error in matters of faith". Though GRAUERT has proved up to the hilt that this assertion is based on a misinterpretation of a grammatical construction by ARCKENHOLTZ—*cf.* on the point SCHAUERTE, *Christine von Schweden*, Freiburg, 1890, 93—RANKE, in later editions, merely struck out the word "often" quite arbitrarily inserted by him, but for the rest repeated his presentment which, clever as it is, betrays a certain embarrassment. Not a word about Christine's careful study. Her leaning towards Catholicism he describes as "unaccountable", her aversion for Protestantism he derives from a feeling, the origin of which it is impossible to trace, but which was heightened merely by circumstances. He looks for no motives or proofs of a religious kind as an explanation of the Queen's step; according to him, self-will, a thousand circumstances, attraction by opposites, of which she had only a dim perception, a woman's need of devotion to an infallible authority, led to a decision which, in such an account, must of course remain an enigma. F. W. BAIN (*Christina*, London, 1890, xiii., *seq.*) also sides with GRAUERT against RANKE. GEJER (*Gesch. Swedens*, III., 419) has nothing of importance to say on the conversion, nor has CARLSON, who continued his work (IV., i., *seqq.*) on the motives of the abdication.

grasp of things, an extraordinarily retentive memory and a rare talent for languages. Filled with a passionate and insatiable keenness for knowledge, she daily devoted twelve hours to study. Small wonder that she became round-shouldered and exceedingly nervous. When, at the age of eighteen, she assumed the government of Sweden, the "Swedish Minerva", as she was called, was universally looked upon as a miracle of learning. She spoke and wrote fluent German, French, Dutch, Italian, Latin and Greek, and had even a smattering of Hebrew and Arabic. Oxenstjerna had initiated her into the principles of statecraft, whilst excellent teachers had made her thoroughly acquainted with ancient classic history, theology, jurisprudence, mathematics and astronomy. Even on the throne, and notwithstanding the weight of business of State, Christine continued her studies and over them completely forgot the care of her delicate health. There can have been but few women who cared so little for their outward appearance. She wore quite ordinary clothes, and only once a week at most did she comb her beautiful hair; only on Sunday did she devote half an hour to her toilet; on other days less than fifteen minutes was deemed sufficient. Just as she was satisfied with from three to four hours' sleep, so was she utterly indifferent to what she ate; she never drank anything but water. During the icy cold nights of winter this truly Spartan woman could be seen driving about for hours, and even attacks of fever did not prevent her from assisting at the sittings of the Senate. Negotiations with foreign ambassadors she conducted in person; at all times she displayed the utmost self-confidence. Generals whose very name struck terror into all hearts in Germany, trembled in silence before her.¹ "Should

¹ The credit of having disposed of mere scandalmongering and of having drawn the first historically accurate picture of the greatly admired but even more maligned Queen of Sweden, belongs to W. H. GRAUERT, whose monograph (2 vols., 1833-1842) is justly described by SRBIK (*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, Phil.-hist. Kl., CLXXVI., Abh. 4, p. 45) as "a

war break out," a contemporary wrote, " this woman who is not afraid of heat, cold, or want of sleep, would put herself at the head of her troops." ¹

monument of the most admirable diligence and scholarship". The first vol. of Grauert's work was in print when RANKE (*Päpste*, III., 52 seq.) published his short but, as always, clever and vivid sketch for which he was the first to make use of Casati's letter. Grauert had already drawn attention to the falsification of the Mémoires of CHANUT (Paris, 1674-5), from which Ranke made considerable borrowings. A thorough critical examination by WEIBULL, in *Hist. Tidskrift*, 1887, 49 seqq., 151 seqq., and 1888, 1 seqq., 131 seqq., has finally destroyed the prestige of this source. Another Swedish scholar, Baron v. BILDT, has done valuable work in throwing light on the life of the Swedish Queen. He had the good fortune of discovering and decoding Christine's intimate letters to Cardinal Azzolini and he has also drawn upon many other new sources. In his *Christine de Suède et le Cardinal Azzolini* (Paris, 1899), he gave a complete bibliography up to 1666. His point of view is that of the modern man of the world. He devotes very little space to the religious evolution. In addition to new sources he also throws light on Christine by studying her pathological characteristics, but in this he probably goes too far. BUSCHBELL (*Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIV., 151) justly observes: " It must be admitted that Christine was of a nervous temperament which reacted in many ways on her disposition. She was authoritarian, could be cruel, and was abundantly conscious of her own importance. These features of her character are, in our opinion, given too much prominence in Bildt's picture. In fact, it cannot be said that he is excessively well disposed towards Gustavus Adolphus' daughter. At times his judgment seems to be based on the period, in that he ascribes to the Queen the faults of her time." Among more recent writers, cf. BAIN (London, 1890), CLARETTA (Torino, 1892), FRIIS (Kopenhagen, 1896, German transl. by KLAIBER, 1899), TAYLOR, *Christina of Sweden*, London, 1909 (the portrait in the book is not of Christine but of her maid of honour, Sparre!), MASI, *Donne di storia di romanzo*, Bologna, 1903, 3 seqq., gives nothing new. CHLEDOWSKI's account (II., 289 seqq.) teems with mistakes.

¹ See Manderscheid's letter in ARCKENHOLTZ, II., App. 95 seqq. In the Papal Secret Archives, Miscell., I., 19, p. 259, the letter

The thought of marriage must have been intolerable to such an amazon. Only once, as a girl of seventeen, even she paid toll to the universal law of nature, when she experienced a tender sentiment for her cousin, Charles Gustavus of Wittelsbach, Count Palatine of Zweibrücken-Kleeburg, but all too soon she was forced to realize that she had bestowed her affections on an unworthy object. After this cruel disillusionment she declared she would rather die than marry. She was wont to say that she would leave the world as she had entered it, free. On the other hand, her masculine character caused her to love to consort with men, especially with men of learning, just as she despised intercourse with women. The court of Stockholm increasingly became the *rendezvous* for Europe's most famous scholars, for the highly accomplished Queen was anxious to establish closer relations between the North and the culturally more advanced countries of Central and Southern Europe, from which it had been somewhat cut off until then. To this end she shrank from no sacrifice either of money or effort. Isaac Vossius, Gabriel Naudé, and Nicolas Heinsius were busy collecting in France, the Netherlands, and Italy manuscripts and rare books for her library. She also acquired precious stones, coins, and antique statues. Special messengers were dispatched to Rome for the purpose of recovering Swedish documents and deeds which Archbishop Olaus had at one time taken there. Philologists of the first rank, such as Freinsheim, Gerhard Vossius, with whom she read Plato in the original text, the famous critic Salmasius, and the celebrated philosopher Descartes, were invited to Stockholm where favours were showered upon them. She likewise attracted artists and architects.¹ Such was her thirst for knowledge that even when business of State was most overwhelming, she somehow managed to snatch a few hours every day in order to converse in her library with the dead who, as she wrote to Vossius in June, 1650, imparted life

is dated Innsbruck, January 3, 1655, whereas Arckenholtz gives October 10, resp. December 10.

¹ GRAUERT, I., 253, 266 *seq.*, 372 *seq.*, 400 *seq.*

to her, whereas the living brought her death at every moment." ¹

It was natural that in view of these extensive studies and her learned associations, so active and acute a mind as Christine's would also busy itself with the greatest problem of the time, the religious question.

In the programme arranged by the Estates for Christine's upbringing, it was laid down that she should be most accurately taught the Lutheran faith, and carefully preserved from every contagion of Calvinism and papistry.² She was taught religion by Dr. John Mathiä, a man of gentle and noble character, but no pedagogue. In addition to this Christine was made to frequent, even as a child, the sermons of the preachers. These discourses did not appeal to her, so much so that, though she was religiously inclined by nature, she conceived a repugnance for certain Lutheran dogmas which seemed to her "unworthy of God".³ What she herself relates concerning her scepticism throws much light on her intellectual precocity: "That which most strengthened my unbelief," so we read in a recently discovered fragment of her autobiography, "was an incident which occurred in my sixth or seventh year. When for the first time in my life I heard a sermon on the Last Judgment, the preacher so terrified me with his exaggerated description of that final cataclysm that I felt as if all were lost. I imagined that heaven and earth would crush me in their own ruin. I began to shed bitter tears for I imagined the catastrophe would happen at once. After the sermon I sent for my teacher and asked him: 'Father, why have you never told me of that dreadful day? What will become of me then? Will it all happen this coming night?' He smiled at my simplicity and said: 'You will go to

¹ " *Je ferois mon possible de desrober quelques heures pour les passer dans mon cabinet en conversation des morts qui me rendent la vie au lieu que les vivants me donnent a tout moment la mort." Letter in WIESELGREN, 65 *seq.*

² ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 33; GRAUERT, I., 78, II., 28.

³ ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 209. On the authenticity of the passage, *cf.* GRAUERT, II., 23, n. 62.

Paradise, but for that you must obey your teachers, and pray and study earnestly.'

"This answer gave rise to thoughts which I could not put out of my mind and which were beyond my age and power of understanding. In the following year I heard the same sermon once more and again I felt shaken as I listened to the description of judgment, though much less than on the first occasion. This time I did not cry and when it was over I again asked my teacher: 'When will the judgment come of which everybody speaks?' He replied: 'It will come! Don't worry about it; God alone knows the time, but we must ever be prepared for it.'

"This answer did not satisfy me and I began to think for myself, to question, and to distrust even my teacher, though I felt great regard and affection for him. And when in the third year, I heard a *réchauffé* of the same sermon, I began to make fun of it and no longer believed anything. I doubted the whole story and one day during lessons I said to my teacher: 'Tell me the truth: is not all we are told about religion just a myth, like the Last Judgment?'

"Thereupon he began to scold me vehemently, saying that it was an awful sin and crime merely to entertain such thoughts and that if I dared to talk again in this strain, he would have me whipped by my governess. This threat made me angry and I told him: 'I promise you never again to speak like this, but I will not submit to a whipping; if you do that you will regret it!'"¹

After this she hated the frequent and lengthy preachments of the Lutheran clergy. The picture they drew of God seemed to her a caricature. She felt that the way in which the Supreme Being was made to speak was only for the purpose of deceiving her, in order to get her to obey unconditionally. Accordingly, as she grew up, she invented a religion of her own.² Contemporary evidence confirms her lack of Lutheran

¹ BILDT, *Christine*, 12 seqq.

² Autograph note, in ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 209 seq.; cf. GRAUERT, II., 23, 30 seq.

orthodoxy. In a well informed report of the year 1654 on the court of Stockholm, written by an Italian, we read that the Queen had held liberal views from an early age. She professed Lutheranism solely because of her subjects, whilst of outward religious practices, such as grace before and after meals, the Lord's Supper, hearing sermons, she only observed a minimum, sermons in particular wearied her, for the extreme triviality of their content and their rude form, offended her splendid intelligence as well as her refined taste, which she had acquired by the study of the best literary products of the various nations.¹

Hand in hand with her scepticism there went a religious toleration which was exceedingly rare in contemporary Sweden. In this Christine was supported by her teacher, Mathiä, who cherished dreams of the reunion of all Christian Confessions. The Queen took the liveliest interest in these irenic aspirations, as she did, in fact, in all religious questions.²

Whilst her acute intellect clearly discerned the errors and contradictions of Lutheranism, she realized with something like a shock, as a result of her relations with Catholics, such as the French ambassador Chanut and the philosopher Descartes, who assuredly did not seek her conversion, that the teaching of the Catholic Church differed completely from the description given of it by the Lutheran preachers.³ She was also immensely impressed by a saying which she came across in Cicero, to the effect that among so many divergent opinions on religion only one could be right, though all might be false.⁴

Christine felt a great need of a definite faith. In order to

¹ ARCKENHOLTZ, II., App. 47, p. 90.

² GRAUERT, II., 25 *seq.*, 28 *seq.*

³ Besides GRAUERT, see BILDT, *loc. cit.*, who rightly observes : " Descartes et Chanut ne sont cependant pas les convertisseurs. Bien loin de là. Chanut est même contraire à une résolution qui doit fatalement entraîner la perte de la couronne et pourra compromettre les intérêts de la France dans le Nord."

⁴ CICERO, *De nat. deor.*, I, 2, *cf.* PALLAVICINO, I., 343, and GRAUERT, II., 32 (against RANKE).

find it she studied the Bible, the Fathers of the Church—Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory, Cyprian, Lactantius, Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius, Minutius Felix, Gregory Nazianzen—the ancient and modern philosophers, and even atheistic writers. What she read she eagerly discussed with men of learning.¹ However, during this five years' search for the true religion she examined everything exclusively in the light of human reason; accordingly, she became entangled in an even worse labyrinth of doubt until at last she found herself on most insecure and shifting ground, where everything positive seemed to dissolve and to vanish before her eyes. Though she did not stray so far as to deny the existence and oneness of God, she nevertheless began to doubt whether Providence concerned itself at all with the moral actions of men and whether God demanded any definite form of worship and a rigidly determined faith. After a minute examination of all religions, she came to the conclusion that none of them was the true one, and for a time she decided to content herself with the outward practice of the religion of her country and to satisfy her conscience by observing the dictates of reason and morality.² However, in this she could find no lasting peace; her generous heart thirsted for truth. In fervent prayer she implored God to enlighten her. "Thou knowest," she exclaims in her autobiography, "how often I have besought Thee for this grace in a language unintelligible to common spirits, and how I promised to obey Thee, should it cost my life and happiness."³

It was then that Providence so disposed things that she at last found the right men to settle her doubts. In 1650 the Portuguese Jesuit Antonio Macedo arrived at Stockholm in the capacity of chaplain to the Portuguese envoy, Pinto Pereira. Pereira, who knew no Swedish, made use of his secretary as interpreter in his negotiations with the Queen.

¹ See ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 511; *ibid.*, II., App. 97; GRAUERT, II., 33.

² Cf. Casati's *account (State Archives, Modena) in App. No. 3; PALLAVICINO, I., 343; GRAUERT, II., 34 *seq.*

³ ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 210 n.

When the secretary was taken ill, Macedo took his place. The Queen quickly perceived that she could open her mind to this sensible and reliable man, but she also realized that if her purpose were discovered, she risked her crown, nay perhaps her very life. It was necessary to proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection. To keep the matter as secret as possible, she discussed the question even during Pereira's audiences. The latter could not help wondering at the lengthy conversations occasioned by the simple questions and brief reports of his interpreter; however, he was all the more ready to accept the latter's explanation that the Queen introduced all sorts of questions of literature, as he hoped to promote his diplomatic business by this means. In any case, relations with Macedo were beset with many obstacles, nor was there any prospect of their continuation, and Christine deemed it equally dangerous to deal with so weighty a matter by means of the post.¹ She accordingly requested Macedo to go to Rome in order to make known her attraction towards the Catholic faith to the General of the Jesuits and to ask him to send two Fathers to Stockholm; these were to be Italians, as they would be less easily recognized in Sweden.

When all was ready an unforeseen obstacle arose owing to the envoy's refusal to allow Macedo to depart. However, woman's cunning found a way out. Macedo was told to set out secretly, whilst officially Christine took steps to have him brought back by force. Of course, he successfully escaped with a passport given him by the Queen.² When Macedo reached Rome towards the end of the autumn of 1651, neither the Jesuit General nor Francesco Piccolomini, to whom Christine had addressed Macedo's credentials, were living so that he was obliged to approach the German Assistant,

¹ Cf. Malines' *report in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 254.

² PALLAVICINO, I., 344 *seq.*, who evidently had before him Macedo's report and whose account agrees with that of Malines, *loc. cit.* If in *Divi tutelares orbis christiani*, Lisbon, 1687, 506, Macedo claims the initiative for himself, he is justified; cf. GRAUERT, II., 40.

Goswin Nickel. The latter felt that in a matter of such importance he could not act on his own initiative, hence he took the Secretary of State, Chigi, into his confidence. The difficult mission to Sweden was entrusted to Fathers Paolo Casati and Francesco de Malines. Both were sprung from noble families, were able and learned, and spoke French, Christine's favourite language. The circumstance that Casati had been a professor of mathematics provided an excellent pretext for his interviews with the Queen who, in the meantime, had also had several conversations with the Jesuit Godfrey Francken, the chaplain of the Spanish ambassador at Copenhagen.¹

Casati and Malines took boat with the utmost secrecy on December 12th, 1651, at Venice.² After a tiresome voyage, during which they made some acquaintances which stood them in good stead during their stay in Sweden, they at last arrived at Stockholm on March 6th, 1652.³ They described themselves as Italian noblemen, travelling for the purpose of studying the country and its people. Christine's sharp mind guessed at once that they were the men she had been waiting for and she summoned them to court. After the first presentation they went into the drawing-room and as Casati walked immediately before the Queen, she whispered to him: "You surely have a letter for me?" He nodded without turning round, on which the Queen added: "Don't mention it to anyone." That very day Christine sent her confidential chamberlain, John Holm, to fetch the letter, and the strangers were bidden to an audience with her on the following morning.

¹ Malines (*Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 255) and Gualdo (17) speak of some conversations with Francken, but as GRAUERT already perceived (II., 43 seq.), they were of so little consequence that PALLACINO very properly does not mention them.

² For what follows, cf. besides Malines' report (*loc. cit.*, 254 seq.), especially that of Casati, *loc. cit.*

³ The date according to Malines (*loc. cit.*, 254) and *Casati, *loc. cit.* In PALLAVICINO, I., 347, 1651, must be understood in *stil. flor.*

This interview lasted an hour. The Queen thanked them both for coming, assured them that they had nothing to fear, but recommended the utmost caution and secrecy. At the same time she observed that if she could feel satisfied, their laborious journey would not have been in vain. "By the end of April," the Queen herself declares in her manifesto, "I had definitely made up my mind to become a Catholic."¹

From this moment the determination to change her religion appears in intimate connection with her abdication, a step which Christine had already announced in the summer of 1631, on the occasion of Macedo's mission to Rome.

Christine was fully alive to the risks she would run by returning to the Catholic Church and the enmity she would draw on herself by such a step both in Sweden and among the Protestant Powers. Hence it was natural that she should have been on the look-out for support. When at the beginning of May, 1652, Casati had been dispatched, with the utmost secrecy, to Rome, with a letter to the Jesuit General,² the Queen took her French physician, Bourdelot, and the Spanish ambassador, Pimentel, into her confidence. Bourdelot was instructed to sound Paris on the possibility of her taking up residence in France after her abdication, but he was not to mention the change of religion. Pimentel represented to the Queen that both the French Government and the Emperor were hampered by numerous considerations for Sweden; he accordingly advised her to make use of the services of Philip IV. of Spain. To this Christine agreed. On May 13th, 1653, Malines left for Madrid for the purpose of obtaining from the King of Spain a letter to Innocent X. in favour of Christine. He was also the bearer of letters of the Queen to the Pope, the Secretary of State, Chigi, the Cardinal nephew, and the General of the Jesuits³; in fact, with the

¹ ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 512.

² Cf. Casati's *report, *loc. cit.* PALLAVICINO, I., 348.

³ Cf. Malines' report, *loc. cit.*, 255 *seq.*, which PALLAVICINO evidently had before him (I., 348).

last named the Queen was in constant correspondence.¹ Assumed names were used to veil the subject-matter of these letters.

Pimentel, whose recall was about due, was requested to give personal support to Malines at Madrid, but he was not to travel in his company, for now that several persons were initiated into the secret, the risk of discovery was so much greater. As early as 1652 rumours about the Queen's conversion were circulating at the court of Stockholm which also came to the ears of some Italian musicians then staying there.²

¹ Only part of Christine's correspondence with the Jesuit General is preserved in the Archives of the Society because most of the letters were destroyed soon after arrival in view of the necessity of keeping the impending conversion secret. Both parties made use of borrowed names and these were changed on several occasions. Further information will be given by I. METZLER, S.J., in a work on Christine's relations with the Society of Jesus, especially during the period before her conversion.

² In a " *Memoria della conversione della Regina Christina di Svetia " (Papal Sec. Arch., *Miscell.*, I., 19, f. 256) we read : " Si cominciò a sentire che la Regina Christina di Svezia che havesse pensiero d'esser cattolica da molte parti dal 1652 et in particolare mediante un musico chiamato Tomasso, che era stato al suo servizio e tornato entrò nel servizio di S. Pietro. Da questo hebbe Mons. Holstenio canonico e primo custode della Biblioteca Vaticana molte notizie delle sue attioni, desiderosa sempre di sentir delle grandezze e fabbriche di Roma da quelli che ivi capitavano et in particolare da detto musico, che minutamente raccontava a detto Holstenio, che n'era desideroso di sapere, per esser stato chiamato al suo servizio con haverli mandata una medaglia col suo ritratto di valore di scudi sessanta, restata in mano al signor cardinale Francesco Barberino come suo herede. Non si mancò dal suo padre Gustavo di provederla di molti dotti e virtuosi Tedeschi, Hollandesi e Francesi, come Ugone Grotio. — I predicatori, nel porgere le loro false dottrine, s'accorgevano che sempre teneva libri avanti e leggerli, e spinti dal loro zelo volevano vedere chi autori fossero ; ma essa destramente li porgeva poeti etc., benchè n'haveva cattolici, e credo trattati de' Santi."

After Casati's arrival in Rome, on June 9th of the following year, a letter of his to Malines, which revealed the close connection of the two men, was intercepted in Sweden, in consequence of which Casati, who had meanwhile left Rome and reached Hamburg, was not allowed to return to Stockholm.¹

Malines was held up by contrary winds, so that he only reached Madrid on August 2nd, 1652, where he waited in vain for the arrival of Pimentel, who had, indeed, embarked but had been compelled by storms to return to Stockholm where his Government now ordered him to remain. The Queen welcomed this change of plan, for in Pimentel she had a trusty counsellor and a man in whom she could confide. In place of Pimentel she now dispatched to Madrid the Dominican, John Baptist Guemes, who, by order of the Spanish ambassador in Denmark, Count Rebolledo, set out dressed as a secular priest. However, Guemes's arrival in the Spanish capital was delayed until March, 1654.²

Through the Jesuit Manderscheid, Pimentel's chaplain, Christine was in constant correspondence with Casati, Malines, and their General. The General kept the Secretary of State, Chigi, informed, but the latter only gave hints to Innocent X., partly because he feared the instability of the female character and partly because he did not consider it advisable that Christine should come to Rome where Olimpia Maidalchini exercised so much influence.³ Chigi's doubts as to the Swedish Queen's constancy were without foundation, for the latter pursued her aim with truly virile determination. On June 6th [16th], 1654, at the royal Castle of Upsala, she laid aside the crown in favour of Charles Gustavus of Zweibrücken, whilst reserving for herself an annual income of 200,000 thalers, her property and sovereignty and, in particular, her royal authority over her suite.⁴ The whole country was

¹ Cf. Malines' report, *loc. cit.*, 256.

² *Ibid.*, cf. PALLAVICINO, I., 949 *seq.*

³ PALLAVICINO, I., 350 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 383, GRAUERT, II., 124, 140.

deeply affected for the people were loath to see the departure of the last descendant of the Wasas. Attempts were made to delay her departure for as long as possible, but she herself felt as if she were walking on hot bricks. Not another moment would she tarry in a country in which " veneration for the Pope was reckoned an unforgivable sin ".¹ She was more weary than ever of the government of her subjects. With Virgil's tag on her lips: *Viam fata invenient*—fate will show a way—she escaped from her native land in male attire, traversed Denmark without being recognized, from whence she passed in all haste through Hamburg, Münster, and Deventer, until she reached Antwerp at the beginning of August, 1654, when she resumed female attire.²

Notwithstanding every precaution, the rumour of Christine's impending reception into the Catholic Church had spread wider and wider, whilst she herself still thought of keeping her resolution secret. When on Christmas night, 1654, at Brussels, she made profession of the Catholic faith in presence of the Dominican Guemes, the act took place in the private chapel of the Lieutenant, Archduke Leopold, before a small number of trusted persons, among whom was Pimentel who had returned from Spain as envoy extraordinary.³ In the sequel also she carefully kept from the world all knowledge of her conversion; she only heard Mass and received Holy Communion in secret, though she likewise carefully avoided everything that might have been interpreted as a profession of Protestantism. The consequence was that a rumour arose that she had no faith at all, that in fact she was an atheist. This notion received support from the free and often ill-considered remarks with which she sought to disguise her real belief.

¹ Christine's words in her letter to the Pope of November 5, 1655, in PALLAVICINO, I., 361.

² GRAUERT, II., 7 seq.; WIRZ, XLVII.

³ See the Spanish original of J. B. GUEMES' *letter to his General in which he prays to be allowed to remain the Queen's confessor (Papal Sec. Arch., *Miscell.*, I., 19). Cf. Malines' report, *loc. cit.*, 258; PALLAVICINO, I., 353 seq.; GRAUERT, II., 15.

This secretiveness, though she now found herself in a Catholic country, was prompted by the fear that once her conversion became generally known, Charles Gustavus might be forced by the indignation of the people of Sweden, to withhold her annual apanage. Accordingly, she sought to obtain the immediate payment of a round sum by way of indemnity, which she intended to invest in a place of safety.

She informed the King of Spain of this project and likewise prayed him to inform Alexander VII., who had become Pope in the meantime, of the fact of her conversion.¹ Christine's strong leaning on Spain and her thoughtless utterances, extraordinarily embittered the French. They revenged themselves by the publication of calumnious pamphlets in which aspersions were cast on the Queen's morals, though these libels were without the slightest foundation.²

On July 1st, 1655, Malines presented to the new Pope a letter of Christine. Philip IV.'s detailed letter arrived only in the first days of September. Alexander VII.'s joy was all the greater as he was one of the few persons who had been initiated in the secret and could even justly claim to have had some share in the event. Through the Jesuit General he sent the Queen an autograph letter expressing his lively satisfaction; at the same time he explained that the distinguished convert could only be received in the Papal States with all the honours due to her rank after she should have made a public profession of faith.³ Thereupon, on September 22nd, Christine set out from Brussels, where brilliant festivities had been given in her honour, for Innsbruck, accompanied by a suite of 200 persons, among them two Jesuits and the Dominican Guemes, viâ Louvain, Cologne, Frankfort, Würzburg, and Augsburg. The Pope dispatched to Innsbruck to meet the Queen the learned Keeper of the Vatican Library, Luke Holstenius, a convert

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 354 *seq.*

² GRAUERT, II., 71 *seq.*

³ Malines, *loc. cit.*, 258; PALLAVICINO, I., 356. Cf. also **Cifra* (to Holstenius) of November 13, 1655, in *Barb.* 6487, p. 58, Vat. Lib., which renews the demand.

himself, who had corresponded with Christine. He was the bearer of a flattering Brief and an invitation to Rome ; he was likewise empowered to receive the Queen's profession of faith.¹

Previous to Holstenius's arrival at Innsbruck, the archducal court had no idea that the stay of the Queen in the capital of the Tyrol would become the occasion of so great a solemnity and one of such significance for the Catholic Church. In accordance with the taste of the period a programme of purely secular festivities had been drawn up in honour of the distinguished guest ; the religious function of her public reception into the Church had now to be wedged into this programme.²

On November 3rd, 1655, dressed in a plain robe of black silk and wearing no other ornament except a diamond cross on her breast, the Queen went from the royal palace to the Hofkirche, escorted by the Archdukes Ferdinand, Karl, and Sigismond. Kneeling before the altar she read " with clear, easily audible accents and a joyful heart, slowly and distinctly, in a loud and as it were manly voice ", the Tridentine profession of faith which Holstenius had handed to her. After she had confirmed this profession of faith with an oath, her public reception into the Catholic Church was carried out with the customary ceremonies, amid the tense emotion of all present. The Jesuit court preacher, Staudacher, preached in German from the text : " Hearken, O daughter, and see, and incline thine ear, and forget thy people and thy father's house : and the King shall greatly desire thy beauty ; for he is the Lord thy God, and him they shall adore " (Ps. XLIV., 11 seq.).

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 357 ; GRAUERT, II., 79 seq. ; in *Barb.* 6487, Alexander VII.'s Brief to Holstenius, dated October 10, 1655, and p. 29 seqq., the **Istruzione* for Holstenius drawn up by G. Rospigliosi, Secretary of State. *Lucae Holstenii* " **Ephemeris itineris Oenipontani, Aº, 1655* " (beginning on October 6 and ending on December 17), in *Barb.* 2226, Vat. Lib. On Holstenius see our data, XXIX., 440 seq.

² BUSSON, *Christine von Schweden in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1884, 29, 56 seq.

High Mass followed and the *Te Deum* was sung at the conclusion of the religious function. At the end of the banquet pages gave a torch dance and a mythological play was performed.¹ An official account of the transaction at Innsbruck was drawn up by Holstenius and taken by himself to Rome, together with the profession of faith in which the Queen herself had inserted her name, as well as the original text of her abdication. These documents are preserved in the Papal Secret Archives to this day.² Christine now informed Charles Gustavus of her conversion. To the Pope she addressed a letter of homage, in Italian, which was read at a consistory of November 15th, 1655. On that occasion Alexander described the conversion and exhorted the Cardinals with grave words to see to it that the new convert was not shocked by their conduct, for during his nunciature at Cologne he had learnt with what sharp eyes the Northerners watched the Romans.³

¹ *Ibid.*, 50 *seq.* Cf. also the *letter to Guemes quoted above, p. 52, n. 3, and Holstenius' full *report, dated Innsbruck, 1655, November 5, in *Barb.* 6487, p. 108 *seq.*, Vat. Lib. The "Facultas absolvendi reginam Christinam", dated October 10, 1655, is in *Bull.*, XVI., 74.

² In A.C. Inf. I., 81, A.1. The bag in which the documents were taken to Rome contains also the following items: (1) the original Swedish text of Christine's renunciation to the crown, signed by Brahe, Oxenstierna, and the Senators, with some 300 seals, together with an Italian translation; (2) "Instrumentum publicum actorum Oeniponte," by L. Holstenius, dat. November 3, 1655, original with seal; (3) "Forma professionis fidei," etc., printed by Holstenius (the profession bears the Queen's autograph signature: "Christina"; then follow the names of all the witnesses and finally: "L. Holstenius hanc professionem excepi et subscripsi"). Cf. also Holstenius' *letter on the abjuration, dat. Innsbruck, November 5, 1655, in *Barb.*, 6487, p. 108 (minute), Vat. Lib.

³ The allocution opens with the words: "Iam quantum agi annum ex quo pater luminum ac misericordiarum Deus Christi filii sui sanguine redemptam ovem in remotis septentrionis regionibus aberrantem respexit (Acta consist., *Barb.* 2924, Vat. Lib. Cf. PALLAVICINO, I., 363; where there is also the text of the Pope's letter (361 *seq.*).

Meanwhile, after a stay of eight days, the Queen left Innsbruck for Ferrara, journeying viâ Trent and Mantua. Italy shared the joy of the whole Catholic world over her conversion. Almost everywhere she was received with so much pomp that her journey resembled a triumphal progress.¹ When, on November 21st, Christine entered the territory of the Pontifical States, she was solemnly welcomed by two Archbishops acting as papal nuncios, and by two other high prelates. The cost of the rest of her journey and that of the solemn receptions at Bologna, Rimini, Pesaro, Ancona, Loreto, Macerata, Foligno, and Assisi, were met by the Pope. Everything possible was done to honour the Queen : triumphal arches, banquets, tournaments, fireworks, pompous addresses, whilst ecclesiastical functions gave expression to the religious significance of her action.² At Loreto, Christine offered to the Mother of God a crown and sceptre of solid gold adorned with many diamonds and rubies. From Assisi, where she venerated the tomb of St. Francis, she set out for Caprarola and Bracciano, where the lord of the manor, Paolo Giordano II.

¹ Cf. besides PALLAVICINO, I., 368, MARCHESI, *Il passaggio d. regina Cristina per li stati Veneti*, in *Atti dell' Accademia Udinese*, II. (1890-3).

² Cf. FESTINI, *I trionfi della magnificenzia Pontificia celebrati per lo passaggio . . . della regina di Svezia*, Roma, 1656 ; *Relatione dell' viaggio d. regina di Svezia per lo Stato eccl.*, Roma, 1656 ; BERCHET II., 186 ; GROTTANELLI 37 seq. ; GUALDO, 110 seqq. ; GIORDANI *Mem. patric.*, Bologna, 1839 ; MALAGOLA, *Cristina di Svezia in Bologna*, 1881 ; RICCI, *Vita barocca*, Roma, 1912, 20 seqq. ; CLARETTA, 363 seqq. ; SOMMI-PICENARDI, *Di Cristina di Svezia*, Pisa, 1889 ; E. GADDI, *Cristina di Svezia in Forlì*, in *Riv., d'Italia*, 1905 ; G. BENADUCCI, *La regina Cristina di Svezia in Tolentino*, Tol., 1895 (Nozze-Publ.). *Regin.*, 1109, contains " *Applausi poetici composti dagl' Accademici di Fano alla regina Cristina di Svezia " (Vat. Lib.). A *Libro delle spese fatte nell' allogio d. regina di Svezia per lo stato eccl. in the State Archives, Rome. See also *Bull.*, XVI., 88. In his *report of December 4, 1655, Ranucci, the ambassador, bears witness to Alexander VII.'s satisfaction at the honours paid to Christine at Bologna (State Archives, Bologna).

Orsini, who had previously exchanged poems and letters with her, sumptuously entertained her for a whole day.¹

Meanwhile at Rome preparations had been made for a reception as magnificent as possible of the Northern Queen.² On December 19th she was greeted in the name of the Pope³ near the Villa Olgiati, 9 miles from Rome, by Cardinals Gian Carlo de' Medici and Frederick of Hesse, who had come out to meet her with a large suite. With them the Queen entered a magnificent carriage designed by Bernini and adorned with pictures and golden statues. It was seven o'clock in the evening when, amid the glare of countless torches, she drove through the Porta Pertusa into the Rome of the Cæsars and the Popes.⁴ A great crowd, among them many strangers, had flocked together, for the illustrious guest had been anxiously awaited for weeks.⁵ As Christine drove into the Vatican through a side door, she laughingly remarked: "This, then, is how one enters Rome incognito."⁶

Though at other times Alexander VII. strictly insisted that no woman should lodge in the Vatican, he nevertheless made an exception on this occasion. Until her public entry Christine was lodged near Torre de' Venti. The Pope had himself

¹ BILDT in *Arch. Rom.*, XXIX., 8 *seqq.*, 32.

² See the *report of Tommaso Suidoni, dat. November 13, 1655 (also that of December 6, 1655), State Archives, Modena also **Avviso* of December 18, 1655, Papal Sec. Arch. Riccardi's *report of November 6, 1655, makes it clear that Alexander VII. forbade Olimpia Maidalchini to come to Rome during Christine's stay there.

³ *Bull.*, XVI., 97.

⁴ RICCI, *Vita barocca*, 21, who, like CLARETTA (31) and FRASCHETTI (274), writes *Porta Portese* (in the Trastevere) instead of *Porta Pertusa*.

⁵ **Avviso* of November 27, 1655, Papal Sec. Arch. According to an **Avviso* of December 4, 1655 (*ibid.*), Olimpia also wished to come to Rome, but the Pope prevented her.

⁶ GUALDO, 189 *seqq.* Cf. the *report of the Bolognese envoy Ranucci, dat. December 22, 1655, State Archives, Bologna; also the *report of T. Suidoni, December 25, 1655, State Archives, Modena.

superintended the decoration of the rooms with great attention and all the delicate taste that distinguished him. That very evening he received the Queen in a private audience lasting half an hour, and on the following morning Christine visited incognito the Vatican art treasures and the library, when she astonished her guides by the extent of her information.¹

For the solemn entry, which was fixed for December 23rd, a detailed ceremonial had been laid down, and every effort was made with a view to bringing home to the spectators as vividly as possible the triumph which the conversion of the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus meant for the Catholic Church.² The streets, houses, and churches, especially St. Peter's, were adorned with costly tapestries towards which the entire nobility had contributed. Since, according to custom, the entry was to start from the Villa of Julius III., the interior gable of the Porta del Popolo had been decorated with particular care. To this day the inscription drawn up by Alexander VII. himself : *Felici faustoque ornata ingressui anno sal. 1655*—"adorned for the happy and prosperous entry in the year 1655," and the six hills surmounted by a star, viz. the arms of the Chigi, recall Christine's splendid triumph.³ The Queen, escorted by Cardinals, was mounted

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 371 *seqq.* ; FRASCHETTI, 274.

² Loose sheets entitled : *Ingresso Solenne in Roma della M^{ta} di Regina di Svezia* (Giov. Jac. de Rossi, 1655), with pictures of the cortège, the Porta del Popolo, St. Peter's, and the illumination of Castel S. Angelo, were distributed.

³ See, besides GUALDO, 193 *seq.* PALLAVICINO, I., 375 *seq.*, and the reports quoted by GRAUERT, II., 87, the dispatch in CLARETTA, 33 *seqq.*, and FRASCHETTI, 274 ; the **Giornale* of Neri Corsino in *Cod.* 1206 of the Corsini Lib., Rome ; B. LUPARDI, *Vera e distinta relatione della s. cavalcata fatta in Roma nell' ingresso della M^{ta} di Cristina, etc.*, Roma, 1656. The cost—often greatly exaggerated—(*cf.* GRAUERT, *loc. cit.*), which had to be met by the Apostolic Camera, amounted to 100,000 scudi ; see the justification in PALLAVICINO, I., 366 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Cod.* H. II., 40, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Poem in *Vat.* 7487, p. 93 *seq.* *Vat. Lib. Barb.* 2538, p. 101 (*ibid.*), has a " *Epigramma

on a magnificent white horse, but the Romans were somewhat taken aback by her appearance. In her riding habit and with her small stature and rickety figure, her mannish and unbeautiful features, her aquiline nose and her hair cut short, she presented a curious picture. But her proud, bold bearing impressed the beholders. From those big, dark eyes of hers flashed the genius and energy of her famous father. Everyone agreed that she looked more like a man than a woman and this impression was heightened by her resonant, strong voice. At the Porta del Popolo she was greeted by the entire College of Cardinals, after which she was escorted to St. Peter's amid the blare of trumpets and the thunder of the guns of Castel S. Angelo. On entering the magnificently adorned and illuminated basilica, she prayed before the Blessed Sacrament and the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, after which she repaired to the Vatican where the Pope received her in solemn consistory. Two days later he gave her the Sacrament of Confirmation when he allowed her to take the name of Alexandra. On the following day he invited her to his table when the Jesuit Oliva made a short speech and selections of religious music were performed.¹ For a time Christine took up residence in the Palazzo Farnese which the Duke of Parma had put at her disposal.²

de Christina Suecorum regina, cum Romam peteret". View of the Porta del Popolo in 1640 in EGGER, *Veduten*, 69.

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 378; Ranucci's *report of December 25, 1655, State Arch., Bologna. The **Avviso* of January 1, 1656 (Papal Sec. Arch.), gives the menu: first a hot dish, then a cold one followed by *persicata*. A detailed account of the journey to Rome and of the first days in Rome is found in " **Racconto istorico del trionfo in Vaticano di Cristina Regina di Svezia* ", dedicated to Alexander VII. (*Urb* 1681, Vat. Lib.). On the impression made by the Queen cf. besides Raggi's account in NERI, *Riv. Europea*, 1878, V., 668, Suidoni's *letter of December 25, 1655, in which we read: " Questa gran signora ha assai del virile. Piccola di statura, fiera e bizzarrissima e non molto bella." State Archives, Modena.

² NAVENNE, I., 187 seq.; *Rev. hist.*, LXXXVI., 7 seq.

At her very first reception the majesty of the Vicar of Christ so impressed the Queen that for a moment all her self-possession left her.¹ Alexander VII., too, was deeply moved when he beheld, humbly kneeling at his feet, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, in whose name the Peace of Westphalia, against which he had been obliged to protest as nuncio, had been concluded.² In his subsequent interviews with her, the cultured Pontiff was delighted with the wide information, the acute intelligence, and the witty conversation of the Queen. He recognized in her a pure and noble soul who loved what was good precisely because it was good for, as she herself one day assured Pallavicino, she would not do a wrong action even if God did not see it. The Pope was immensely pleased with the vigour with which Christine affirmed her religious convictions; he was thereby strengthened in his hope that the example of this princess, on whom, more than on any other, the eyes of the world were centred just then, would lead to further conversions in the North. As a matter of fact, the Count Palatine Karl August of Sulzbach, as he himself attested, was led to take a similar step by Christine's example.³

However, the brilliant qualities of the new convert were bound to increase the anxiety of the Pope on account of a number of defects and peculiarities which to some extent

¹ PALLAVICINO'S statement is confirmed by the **Avviso* of December 25, 1655, Papal Sec. Arch., and the Florentine report in GROTANELLI, 42.

² " *Con i suoi modi artificiosi et humili ha preso talmente l'animo del Papa, che se ne è fatta padrona." Report of T. Suidoni, December 25, 1655; State Arch., Modena.

³ PALLAVICINO, I., 379 *seqq.*, who is very well informed, since he often saw both the Pope and Christine. On the conversion of the Count Palatine of Sulzbach, see RIEZLER, VII., 34; MENTZ, II., 206; KOLDE, *Beiträge zur bayrisch. Kirchengesch.*, VI., 133. Cf. also the **Brief* to Christian Augustus of October 6, 1657, *Epist.*, IV.-V., Papal Sec. Arch. In 1660 Gustavus Adolphus, of Baden, a godson of the King of Sweden, also became a Catholic (WEECH, *Badische Gesch.*, 354).

obscured the impression made by the Queen's magnanimous act. He learnt with amazement that both in dress and manners, this woman of genius rode roughshod over all conventions and clung, even in Rome, to the freedom between the sexes which obtained in the Germanic countries; that, in fact, in her conversation with young men she permitted herself remarks and jests which, though clever, were nevertheless unbecoming. But he was even more grieved by her lack of outward devotion, for the Northern amazon relished neither religious conversations nor the reading of pious books, and she was remiss even in her attendance at church, still less would she perform any bodily austerities; as for leading a strictly cloistered life, as Princess Maria, daughter of Charles Emmanuel of Savoy, who died in Rome in 1656, had done,¹ there never was question of it, though the ascetic on Peter's Chair had probably hoped for something of the kind from Christine. The peculiar conduct of the Queen in religious matters was in part due to her principle that in order to be unalloyed, virtue must avoid every sham, and aim only at the glory of God, not the applause of men. Alexander VII., nevertheless, drew her attention to the fact that she could not neglect all outward practices of religion, though he did so with the utmost caution. He presented her with pious books and endeavoured to convince her that there was much merit in showing one's devotion outwardly, provided it was done for God's glory alone, hence it was more meritorious to say one "Hail Mary" in public than a whole rosary in private. The Queen was at first taken aback but ended by yielding to these exhortations; her attendance at Church became more frequent and she no longer disguised her devotion during Mass, whilst during Lent religious exercises took the place of the conferences of the learned Academy founded by her.²

¹ TELLUCINI, *La traslazione delle salme di due Principesse di Savoia dalla chiesa dei SS. XII. Apostoli in Miscell. di stor. ital.* 3 series, XIII. (1911).

² PALLAVICINO, I., 384 seqq.; cf. *Arch. Rom.*, XXIX, 162.

Of her other peculiarities,¹ which were due to her upbringing, she was unable to rid herself. Northern rudeness and mannish feeling were so ingrained in her that womanly reserve and caution were unknown to her. The more we study her character the more evident it becomes that she lacked none of the elements that constituted the Renaissance's ideal of woman—the *virago*. But those days were over, and since the triumph of the Catholic reformation much importance was attached in Rome even to outward decorum. That is why the Queen's unheard of disregard of the conventions gave so much offence. To this must be added yet another circumstance. Filled as she was with a profound sense of her royal dignity, she demanded from others the strictest compliance with the ceremonial in her regard, whilst she herself, in consequence of her extremely vivacious nature, was incapable of maintaining the dignified bearing which, at that time, was expected from crowned heads. Hence there were frequent painful scenes. One day she offended a diplomatist, on another a Cardinal, for she knew no self-control. Heedless of consequences, she gave free scope to her ironical moods, and in the same spirit she exercised her mental acumen at the expense of relics and legends reputed sacred ever since the uncritical Middle Ages. When on the occasion of a visit to the Gesù she was not, in her judgment, sufficiently honoured as a Queen, a coolness ensued even towards the Jesuits, though she owed them so much. Every representation on the subject of her free and easy manners and her cavalier ways she met with the answer that people had to take her as she was.²

¹ The embassy reports often speak of the “*stravaganze della Regina*”; cf. Riccardi's *letter of May 27, 1656, State Archives, Florence.

² PALLAVICINO, I., 386; II., 37 *seq.*; CLARETTA, 57 *seqq.*, 65 *seqq.* In an unfortunately undated *note of Pallavicino to Alexander VII. a “*disturbio*” of the Queen with Cardinal Ludovisi is referred to. Pallavicino reasoned with Christine for an hour and a half: “*nel principio la trovai sì turbata, che ha pianto dirottamente in mia presenza. L' ho lasciata assai serena.*” *Cod.*, C. III., 63, p. 31, Chigi Library.

Christine was anxious to enjoy with the utmost freedom the new world into which she entered at Rome in her twenty-ninth year, that is, not only the ecclesiastical functions¹ and the sights of the Eternal City, its churches, sanctuaries, and convents,² or acquaintance with works of art as well as with scholars, she was also eager to enjoy everything that this unique centre of contemporary baroque civilization had to offer, such as pompous receptions, plays, concerts, tournaments and masquerades. Roman society, that is the nobility as well as the higher clergy, did all they could to entertain and honour the exalted guest. Christine's pride, which was great enough as it was, could not but grow under the influence of the adulation paid to her with Southern exaggeration. Wherever she appeared she was greeted with inscriptions, speeches and poems. The students of Propaganda were made to address her in twenty-two different languages and the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, presented her with a miniature obelisk bearing an inscription in her honour in twenty-three languages. Similar honours were paid to her by the University.³

Many medals were likewise struck in her honour.⁴ Her portrait and an inscription perpetuate her visit to the Capitol.⁵ During the carnival of 1656, interminable festivals were given in her honour. In the courtyard of their palace near Quattro

¹ " *Alla cappella della Candelara (Feb. 2, 1656) la Regina intervenne a vedere tutta la funzione e stette fuori dei cancelli in una trabucca preparatavi a porta." Note of G. Pelachi in *Vat.* 8414, *Vat. Library*.

² Cf. the Pope's permission for the visit of churches and convents in *Bull.*, XVI., 105 *seqq.*, 108.

³ See Suidoni's *report of January 22, 1656, *State Arch.*, Modena; the **Avviso* of January 25 and February 5 and 26, 1656, *Papal Sec. Arch.*; GUALDO, 229; GRAUERT, II., 89 *seq.*; CLARETTA, 35. In *Cod. Regina*, 1463; **Christina Suecorum reginae laudes sive concordia linguarum collegii de Prop. fide*, *Vat. Lib.* Cf. the *collection of poems, *ibid.* *Cod.* 2021.

⁴ BILDT, *Les médailles Romaines de Christine de Suède*, Rome, 1908.

⁵ GRAUERT, II., 99; BORBONI, *Delle statue*, 325 *seq.*

Fontane the Barberini staged a masque, which was watched by the Queen and Cardinals Retz, Imperiali, Azzolini, and Borromeo. At this entertainment, of which a painting by Salvatore Rosa may be seen to this day in the aforesaid palace, there were exhibitions of fights between Knights and Amazons, impersonated by Roman nobles, which were the talk of all Rome. In an opera entitled "Human Life", which was likewise given by the Barberini, most enchanting scenes were staged and ballets filled the *entr'actes*. If the performances given by Camillo Pamfili in his palace in the Corso were not more brilliant, they were at least even more flattering, for during one of them a poem on Christine's abdication was recited, of which the Prince himself was the author. At the palace of the French ambassador she witnessed a performance of Corneille's "Héraclius", and at the German College she saw a dramatic representation of the sacrifice of Isaac.¹ But all these entertainments did not distract her from her scientific and artistic pursuits.

In the midst of this surfeit of amusements the Queen found herself in the most painful financial embarrassment. She had never been good at figures. Her finances were in the same brilliant disorder as her domestic establishment. She would no more hear of limiting her great liberality, or her expensive collecting of books and works of art, than of accepting financial assistance.² But when, as a result of the war between Poland and Sweden, her apanage was reduced by one-half and further payments became doubtful, on the advice of her anxious friends she induced Charles Gustavus to transfer to her the claims which Sweden imagined she still had on France from the time of the Thirty Years' War. To get these claims honoured she was eventually compelled to journey to France. It is certain that unpleasantness between

¹ CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 451 *seqq.*, 464 (copy of painting by Salv. Rosa); ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 68 *seqq.* Cf. also A. CAMETTI, *Cristina di Svezia, l'arte musicale e gli spettacoli teatrali in Roma*, in *Nuova Antologia* of October 16, 1911, 641 *seqq.*

² PALLAVICINO, I., 380 *seqq.*; II., 38 *seqq.* BILDT, *Christine*, 31, 35, 44, 46 *seq.*

her and the Spanish party was a contributory cause of this decision. The Spaniards were completely disappointed in their hope that Christine would prove a pliant tool with which to influence the Pope; they also resented her relations with the independent Cardinals of Innocent X., more particularly her friendship with the accomplished Cardinal Azzolini and her frequent interviews with the French ambassador, so much so that they spread dishonourable rumours and calumnies about her. To this was added the danger of the plague. But the decisive factor in her departure from Rome, as she herself, with a sense of profound humiliation, had to confess to the Pope, was her financial embarrassment. Notwithstanding a subsidy to the amount of 10,000 scudi from Alexander VII., she was compelled to pawn her jewels. On July 18th, 1656, with tears in her eyes, she left the Eternal City which she had come to love so much.¹

Paris received her with royal magnificence. Here her acute mind applied itself to the study of political conditions in France and endeavoured to sound the characters of Mazarin, the widowed Queen Anne, and youthful Louis XIV.² The real object of her journey, the settling of her financial situation, receded more and more into the background before a political project which had taken shape in her restless mind either during the journey or perhaps even earlier. The scheme was that the French minister, whose country was still at war with Spain, should help her to win the crown of Naples, she herself undertaking in return to adopt a French prince as her successor. Mazarin pretended not to reject her proposal altogether, for it was at any rate calculated to frighten Spain, but he put her off for the time being, whilst in her optimism the Queen imagined that she could rely on the Cardinal's vague promises. As the plague made it impossible for her to return to Rome, she stayed for a time in

¹ GRAUERT, II., 96 seq.; CLARETTA, 74 seq.; BILDT, 52 seq. (instead of June 18 read July 18). The *donativi* to the amount of 10,000 scudi entered in *Cod. H., II., 40, of Chigi Library.

² In BILDT, 55 seq., her masterly description of the political situation (in a later letter to Azzolini).

beautiful Pesaro, at the Governor's palace, where in her own genial fashion she divided her time between worldly pleasures, study, and pious exercises, but above all she pursued with increasing nervousness her fantastic political schemes. Her confidential agents, Monaldeschi and Santinelli, succeeded in obtaining for her from Mazarin considerable sums on account, the knowledge of which she kept even from Azzolini and which she at once squandered on the Neapolitan scheme. In view of the fact that the coldly calculating Mazarin refused to commit himself definitely to her pet scheme, she decided in the summer of 1657 to pay a second visit to the French court.¹

During this second stay in France the Queen allowed herself to be betrayed into a deplorable mistake. Her chief equerry, Gian Rinaldo Monaldeschi, had shamefully abused his mistress' trust by betraying her secrets to the Spaniards. In virtue of her sovereign rights, Christine ordered in cold blood the execution of the traitor. The sentence was carried out on November 10th, 1657, at Fontainebleau.

Monaldeschi's guilt was as clearly established as was the Queen's sovereign right to punish a traitor in her service; hence there can be no question of an assassination. But the punishment implied an excessive stretch of her extra-territorial rights and a lack of consideration for the hospitality of the French court, which were bound to cast a heavy shadow on the Queen,² and which sensibly injured her reputation.³

¹ PALLAVICINO, II., 44 *seqq.*; GRAUERT, II., 103 *seq.*, 113 *seq.*; BILDT, *Christine*, 62 *seq.*; GROTELLI (2nd edit.), 159; NEGRI, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXII., 112 *seqq.*, 134 *seq.*

² Cf. the thorough, calm account and discussion in GRAUERT, II., 115-142. To the sources used by BILDT (74 *seqq.*) have been added letters of Azzolini and the Venetian ambassador Giustinian. Cf. also PICENARDI, *Di Cristina di Svezia*, Pisa, 1889, 10 *seq.*; GROTELLI, 68 *seq.* In BILDT's view Christine acted as a neurasthenic, from fear of the consequences of Monaldeschi's treason. He, too, says that the deed was "une affreuse tache sur sa mémoire". See also BAIN, 264 *seqq.*, who adopts Leibnitz' view with regard to the Queen's right.

³ CLARETTA, 109 *seqq.*

Alexander VII. received her coldly on her return to Rome on May 16th, 1658.¹ In other respects also the Queen's situation, especially her financial plight, became very difficult, for the payments from Sweden had ceased altogether. Her secretary, the convert Davison, whom she dispatched to Sweden for the purpose of upholding her claims, was not received by Charles Gustavus, a strict Lutheran. Perhaps an even greater humiliation for Christine was the fact that, in order to live, she was compelled to pawn her silver plate and other valuables, and in the end even her coronation mantle. But these measures did not remedy her impecuniousness because her *maggiordomo*, Francesco Maria Santinelli, was an accomplished scoundrel who, by his intrigue with the widowed Duchess of Ceri, implicated the Queen in unpleasantness with the Pope.²

Previous to this Alexander VII. had been greatly annoyed when, on her return, Christine installed herself immediately opposite the Quirinal, the papal residence, in Mazarin's palace (now Palazzo Rospigliosi) in order to promote from there, amid her entourage of Neapolitan emigrants, her project with regard to Naples. The Pope was anxious to avoid trouble with Spain, hence he forbade under pain of death the enlistment of armed men, and for fear of disturbances, or even a *coup de main*, he took various military precautions. Christine indulged in heavy sarcasms on these measures but ended by giving way before the Pope's stern determination. She disbanded her bodyguard, ceased to favour Santinelli's matrimonial plans and ended by dropping the Neapolitan project which had cost her so much money.³ Cardinal Azzolini was instrumental in re-establishing good relations with Alexander VII. This result was greatly helped by Christine's eagerness for an anti-Turkish league and by her giving up her lodgings in Mazarin's palace. In July, 1659, she went to live

¹ Cf. the *notes of G. Pelachi in *Vat.* 8414, *Vat. Lib.*; also the **Avviso* of May 25, 1658, *Papal Sec. Arch.*

² PALLAVICINO, II., 234 *seq.*; BILDT, *Christine*, 83 *seqq.*, 86.

³ BILDT, 88 *seqq.*, 91.

in the Palazzo Riario (now Corsini), on the other side of the Tiber, whither she now transferred her library together with her collection of pictures and her furniture, which had been stored at Antwerp.¹

It was a further merit of Azzolini that he unmasked Santinelli and thereby brought about his fall. After that he enjoyed the Queen's entire confidence and gained increasing influence over her, an influence which proved exceedingly wholesome. The Cardinal brought about a thorough purge of the Queen's suite from all doubtful characters, put order into her finances and moderated her eccentric nature. However, even he failed to change completely her highly strung character, but at any rate he succeeded in keeping within bounds her faults and extravagances, in fact, he was the only man from whom she would accept counsel and correction.² The question whether the friendship between Azzolini and the Queen bore an unlawful character must be answered in the negative. In the many recently discovered letters of Christine to Azzolini we only read of the gratitude, trust, and affection of a much tried woman towards one who had become a disinterested adviser and a faithful friend—of anything else there is not the shadow of proof.³

¹ **Avviso* of July 12, 1659, Papal Sec. Arch.; CLARETTA, 137 seqq., 145 seqq.; BILDT, 93 seqq. Also BILDT, Svenska Minnen, 100 seq.

² BILDT, *Christine*, 94, 96.

³ Cf. BUSCHBELL in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, XIV. (1900), 151, who like DANIELS (*Preuss. Jahrb.*, XCVII, 1899, 64), does not approve the reserve which Bildt adopts on this question as a sceptical man of the world and recalls the fact that RANKE, whose knowledge of human nature was so profound, absolves Christine. For the rest even the scurrilous pamphlet, entitled *Histoire des intrigues galantes de la Reine Christine*, etc. (Amsterdam, 1697), notwithstanding its hostility to Christine and Azzolini, describes the rumours of an amorous intrigue as unfounded. On this *Histoire*, cf. GRAUERT, II., VIII., and 366 seq.; on the Italian origin of the pamphlet, see BILDT in *Riv. delle Bibliot. e degli Archivi*, 1895; E. DANIELS, *loc. cit.*, 60 seq.

Charles Gustavus' death obliged Christine, in July, 1660,¹ to journey to Sweden where she demanded from the regency and the Diet not only a fresh confirmation of the terms of her abdication, but likewise the recognition of her right to the crown in the event of Charles Gustavus' son, then a minor, dying without issue. However, there could be no question of her ever again ascending the throne of Sweden as a Catholic. She was soon to learn by experience how far hatred for the Catholic religion could go in Sweden. The regency denied her, notwithstanding her sovereign and royal dignity, every freedom to practise her religion, though this was granted in Sweden to foreign princes and ambassadors. The first measure against her was to forbid her to have Mass said with open doors at the royal castle, and her chaplain was expelled from the country so that thereafter she was obliged to attend Divine Service at the French Embassy. When she subsequently retired to Norköping, a private property of hers, the ambassador put his chaplain at her service, but the latter was also banished by the regency though he had said Mass behind closed doors. Now that she saw herself robbed of all religious help, Christine was seized with mortal terror lest she should die suddenly without the Sacraments of the Church. The thought became unbearable; accordingly she left Sweden for Hamburg in May, 1661. There her banker, Isaac Texeira, a wealthy Portuguese Jew, put order into her finances. During her stay the Queen did her utmost to obtain the free exercise of their religion for Catholics in Hamburg and Sweden, but all her efforts were in vain.²

On June 20th, 1662, she was back in Rome and presented herself at once, in her travelling clothes, before Alexander VII., who received her very graciously. Owing to some time

¹ See **Avviso* of July 24, 1660 (Papal Sec. Arch.), which corrects the inaccurate statements in GRAUERT, II., 156, and BILDT, 100.

² GRAUERT, II., 153 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, 177 *seq.*; BILDT, 100 *seqq.*, 104 *seqq.*, 108 *seqq.* A laudatory **Brief* to Christine for her efforts on behalf of Catholics in the North, dated March 18, 1662, in *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

having to elapse before the Palazzo Riario could be ready to receive her, she occupied for six months the so-called *Casino*, viz. the garden house in the beautiful park on the Janiculus, from which one enjoys a wonderful view over the Eternal City.¹ To-day the spot is occupied by a monument to Garibaldi.

The next four years Christine spent in Rome, until anxiety for her apanage forced her to undertake a second journey to Sweden [May, 1666].² These Roman years were among the happiest of her troubled life : the period of stress and storm was over. She became acclimatized in Rome and ever more and more identified with Roman Society.³ But her lively spirit was still busy with a plan for helping Venice against the Turks and she threw herself with immense zest into amusements and festivities, especially the entertainments of the Carnival,⁴ though the best of her energy was devoted to her old favourite occupation, learning and art. A better management of her finances enabled her once more to give generous support to men of learning and to make considerable additions to her library and her collections of works of art. The philologist, Ezechiel Spanheim, arranged her valuable collection of coins, one of the most outstanding of the period, and in his gratitude for her patronage he dedicated to her his celebrated work on numismatics, an amazing monument of information.⁵ To her library, already rich in literary treasures, she was constantly adding further valuable manuscripts and rare books.⁶ It was there she received the celebrated

¹ GRAUERT, II., 181 ; CLARETTA, 153 *seqq.* ; BILDT, III *seqq.*

² **Avviso* of May 29, 1666, Papal Sec. Arch. ; GRAUERT, II., 188 *seq.* ; BILDT, 254 *seq.*

³ BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 286.

⁴ CLEMENTI, *Carnevale*, 471 *seqq.*

⁵ GRAUERT, II., 182 ; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXXV., 52. On the collection of coins see BILDT, *Médailles*, 20 *seq.*, and D. H. GAEBLER in *Corolla Numismatica*, Oxford, 1906. Cf. *Riv. ital. di numismat.*, XX., 2, 336 *seq.*

⁶ The Queen's library fell to her sole heir, Cardinal Azzolini, whose nephew bought it for the *Vaticana* in 1689, with the

astronomer Cassini, and the mathematician Vitale Giordani, in whose researches she took as lively an interest as in those of Luke Holstenius, her adviser in all library matters.¹ The work of the mathematician and physician, Giovanni Alfonso Borrelli, on the mechanics of animal motion, which became so important for the development of physiology, was printed at her expense.² In accordance with the manners of the period, she likewise dabbled enthusiastically in alchemy and astrology.³ Among the artists her preferences went to

exception of a part that went into the Papal Secret Archives and another which went to Cardinal Ottoboni, but which was also embodied in the Vatican Library under Benedict XIV. See ARCKENHOLTZ, I., 270 *seqq.*; BLUME, III., 55 *seqq.*; DUDIK, I., 123 *seqq.*; Stevenson, *Cod. graeci Suec.*, Romae, 1888; CARINI, 91 *seqq.*; *Arch. Rom.*, XVI., 505 *seqq.*, XVII., 197 *seqq.*; *Mél. d'arch.*, XVII., 285 *seqq.*, XVIII., 225 *seqq.*, XIX., 85 *seqq.*; DOREZ in *Reo. des biblioth.*, II. (1892), 129 *seqq.*; H. WIESELGREN, *Drottning Kristinas Bibliotek*, Stockholm, 1901; BILDT, *Svenska Minnen*, 119 *seq.*; ELTON, *Christina of Sweden and her books*, in *Bibliographica*, London, 1895. From H. Grotius' widow she bought the latter's library and MSS.; see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CLIV., 163.

¹ TIRABOSCHI, VIII., 26 *seq.*; A. STERN, *Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. des 16 u. 17. Jahrh.*, in RAUMER'S *Taschenbuch*, 1893. Cf. MASI, *Cristina di Svezia e la sua corte*, in *Rassegna naz.*, CIX. On the *Avvertimenti di cavalcare* (Pesaro, 1661), compiled by Christine's *scudiero e cavallerizio*, Almerico Emilii, see the edition Nozze, limited to 70 copies, by G. VANZOLINI: *La briglia d'oro di A. Emilii*, Forlì, 1894. On Giordani, cf. *Biogr. universelle*, XVII., 403.

² J. PAGEL, *Gesch. der Medizin*, I., Berlin, 1898, 245; cf. 241, 257.

³ BILDT, *Christine*, 131, 388, and *Svenska Minnen*, 161 *seqq.*, 180. MABILLON dedicated to her his work on the Gallican liturgy; see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CVI. (1890), 165. On Marchese Massimiliano Palombara, who was known to Christine and who tried to discover the "Philosopher's Stone" to produce gold, and on his magic gate, now in the garden of the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome, see *Nuova Antologia*, XLIII. (1895), 527 *seq.*, and the suppl. to *Allg. Zeitung*, 1895, no. 141.

Bernini.¹ Such was her interest in classical antiquity that she herself had excavations made near the tomb of Cecilia Metella.² She owned a number of choice antique sculptures as, for instance, besides the well-known group styled " S. Ildefonso ", the statue of a walking Momus, probably modelled on a work by Praxiteles, a remarkable copy of Polycles' athlete in the act of tying the victor's wreath round his head, as well as other valuable statues, busts and reliefs, now preserved at Madrid.³ The library and the collection of statues were rivalled by the Queen's picture gallery, the basis of which was formed by works from the art gallery of Rudolph II. Here one could admire works by Raphael, Titian, Correggio, Paolo Veronese, Rubens, and other great masters.⁴

Thus her palace on the Lungara constituted a real museum of sculptures, pictures, and other works of art. The sittings of the Academy founded by her in January, 1656,⁵ attracted

¹ GRAUERT, II., 182, 210 ; FRASCHETTI, 276 ; on the Queen's painters, cf. BILDT in *Nineteenth Century*, LVI. (1904), 990 seq.

² In the Azzolini Archives at Empoli Vecchio I saw an undated *report on this undertaking ; the document was bought by the Swedish Government in 1927 for the Royal Archives in Stockholm.

³ Cf. HÜBNER, *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid*, Berlin, 1862, and *Deutsche Rundschau*, 1897-8, III., 346 seq.

⁴ Cf. O. GRANBERG, *Kristinas Tafvelgaleri*, Stockholm, 1896, and *La galerie des tableaux de la Reine Christine de Suède ayant appartenu auparavant à l'Empereur Rodolphe II., plus tard aux Ducs d'Orléans*, Stockholm, 1897. Cf. WURZBACH in *Kunstchronik*, 1896-7, 490 ; ANCEL in *Mél. d'archéol.*, XXV. (1905), 223 seqq. ; BILDT, *Svenska Minnen*, 104 seq., and *Queen Christina's Pictures in Nineteenth Century*, December, 1901 ; BÖTTIGER, *Svenska Stalen Samling af vafda tapeten*, Stockholm, 1895.

⁵ The statutes of the Academy in CLARETTA (366 seqq.), who on p. 46 gives January 29, 1656, as the date of the foundation, but the first session took place on January 24 ; see the *note of G. Pelachi in *Vat.* 8414, *Vat. Lib.* Cf. also the **Avviso* of January 28, 1656, *Papal Sec. Arch.* A *report on subsequent sessions in *Ottob.* 1744, from which we may quote the following extracts : " Dominica 11 di Novembre, 1674, fu la prima Academia

the choicest minds in Rome, and in general scholars, artists, and musicians were for ever frequenting the house of the learned and art-loving princess. At her brilliant receptions poetical and musical presentations alternated. In spite of her oddities, all who called on her admired her extraordinary memory, her quick intelligence, the frankness and assurance of her answers and her stimulating and spirited conversation.

The Queen's relations with the accomplished Alexander VII. ended by becoming once more excellent. When work on her palace was completed the Pope paid her a first visit on March 19th, 1663. He began by inspecting her splendid picture gallery, after which he studied the magnificent gobelins which had come from Stockholm. He admired these treasures no less than the vast number of sculptures and other artistic

publica degli Academici reali nel Palazzo della Regina " at which Msg. Suarez, N. Maria Pallavicini, Ant. Cottone spoke. " Presenti 18 cardinali e molti prelati e nobiltà."—December 6, 1674: the following spoke: Angelo della Noce, Archbishop of Rossano, P. Cattaneo (*cf.* STEINHUBER, II., 16), P. Vieira. " Presenti 22 cardinali "—1675, January 8. Speakers: Nic. Maria Pallavicini, S.J., Lud. Casale " in difesa di Platone " and Stefano Pignatelli " in difesa di Aristotele ". " Presenti 23 cardinali."—1675, February 5. Speakers: L. Casale, Franc. Cameli, and Giov. Alf. Borelli, on the triremes of the ancients. " Presenti 14 cardinali."—1675, February 25. Addresses on astrology: N. M. Pallavicini, Fr. Cameli, Suarez, Archbishop of Rossano, P. Cattaneo, G. A. Borelli, L. Casale, Cottone. " Conclusione del P. Pallavicini."—1675, November 18. Speakers: Stefano Pignatelli, Alb. Gradini " in favore di Scevola ", the Archbishop of Rossano against Scevola. " Presenti 14 cardinali."—1675, December 16. Speakers: Silv. Mauri, S.J., *Avvocato* G. B. de Luca. " Presenti 12 cardinali " (Vat. Lib.). RANKE's mistake, who placed the foundation of the Academy in 1680 (III., 67), has already been corrected by E. MEYER (*Om Drottning Kristinas literära verksamhet in Italien*, in *Samlaren Tidskrift*, 1884, Stockholm, 1885, 86). MEYER observes (*ibid.*, 88) that Ranke is likewise in error when he says that the Academy served a political aim. On the Academy, *cf.* ZACCAGNINI in *Riv. Abruzzese*, XIV. (1898), 7.

objects and concluded his visit, connoisseur as he himself was, by inspecting the matchless library.¹

The favour of so stern and unforgiving a Pope as Alexander VII. in matters touching morality is the best proof that there is no foundation whatever for the unfavourable rumours which the jealousy of Christine's enemies caused them to spread about her conduct. Like other personages in exalted positions, she too did not escape the hateful gossip of a scandalmongering age, all the more so as by her lack of restraint, her inconsiderate frankness and rudeness, she directly challenged public opinion. When one examines carefully the libels written against her, it becomes apparent that it is precisely those who strive their utmost to calumniate her who can least furnish proof of her alleged immorality.² Nor are we without positive testimony in her favour. In a most reliable account of the condition of the Roman court at that period it is expressly stated that those who seek to incriminate the conduct of the Queen during her stay in Rome, merely show that they know nothing about it, or they purposely seek to blacken her character against their better knowledge and the plain truth to which millions might bear witness, nor could it be denied that the Queen had been fervent and exemplary in the performance of her religious duties.³ For all that there were not wanting those who dragged even her piety in the mire. If it had been previously asserted that she had come over to the Church without anterior conviction, the rumour was now spread that she had not kept the Catholic faith.⁴ Proofs, however, there are none. If she

¹ BILDT, *Svenska Minnen*, 130. Christine promptly returned the Pope's visit; cf. *Avviso* of March, 31, 1663, Papal Sec. Arch.

² GRAUERT, II., 366.

³ *L'état du Siècle de Rome*, Cologne, 1707, I., 193 seq.

⁴ With a view to confuting the rumour spread by the Protestants that she was thinking of returning to Lutheranism, the Queen, on the occasion of her stay at Augsburg in August, 1660, lodged at the Jesuit College there with her entire suite; see DUHR, III, 125. For all that similar rumours reappeared later on.

adopted a sceptical attitude towards medieval legends and relics, the spuriousness of which her acute mind was quick to discern, or if her sincerity caused her to abhor all affected piety, or sharply to criticize certain politicizing court confessors, she merely used her good right. Such dispositions are in no wise in contradiction with a sincerely religious conviction, or with Catholic dogma.

Her want of outward devotion—she talked even during Mass ¹—was due to the great vivaciousness of her character, and when in later years she became more calm, she improved in this respect also.² Even the author of one of the most venomous libels against Christine cannot deny that she often heard Mass, regularly received the Sacraments, that she held the Sacrament of Penance in particular esteem and strictly insisted on her servants fulfilling their religious duties.³ How deeply penetrated she was with the truth of the Catholic faith is shown by her conduct in Sweden, her efforts to obtain liberty for Catholics in Protestant countries to practise their religion, and the assistance she gave to such as returned to the ancient faith.⁴ She was therefore fully justified when she declared that the welfare of the Catholic religion lay nearest her heart ; that if she had a thousand lives she would gladly sacrifice them for it.⁵ She affirms with the utmost energy that from the time she came to the use of reason she had given no credence to the teachings of Luther and Calvin, and

¹ In this way she gave offence not only in Rome but elsewhere also ; see C. SARDI, *Cristina di Svezia in Lucca nel 1658, Lucca, 1873*.

² The Queen, Basadonna, the Venetian ambassador writes, who came to Rome ignorant of Italian customs and but a recent Catholic, is more orderly in her conduct since her return in 1662. She studies much and only frequents intelligent people. When she goes out she mostly visits the churches. Both the Pope and the court hold her in esteem (BERCHET, *Roma*, 286).

³ *Hist. des intrigues gal.*, 288 seqq.

⁴ See above p. 69 and GRAUERT, II., 381 seq., 383 seq.

⁵ ARCKENHOLTZ, III., 464.

that she subsequently embraced the Catholic religion because it appeared to her as the only true one ; to Lutheranism she would never go back, even if she had the misfortune to lose the Catholic faith.¹

In her highly original and characteristic autobiography, which unfortunately only describes her youth, she condemns in the strongest terms the apostasy of Gustavus I. from the Church, and laments in moving words her inability to ascertain whether her illustrious father was perhaps touched, in the very last moment of his life, by a ray of divine grace.² This is an important testimony to her Catholic sentiments, for these memoirs reveal " a seriousness, a sincerity, a free and strong mind, that silence calumny ".³ It might be objected that this autobiography was intended for publication and that it often exaggerates.⁴ But the same can assuredly not be said of the " Thoughts and Reflections " (*pensées*) which were found among her literary remains and which had been written down solely for her friends. In these notes, which are remarkable for their terseness and vigour of expression, their psychological subtlety and depth of thought, she says among other things : " God makes known His will by one oracle alone, namely the Catholic and Roman Church, outside which there is no salvation. To her decrees we are bound to submit without question or hesitation. God has deigned to communicate authority to the Pope and to the Church, through so many miracles, so many Councils and other extraordinary events, that no reasonable man can doubt the fulfilment of His magnificent promise, namely that He would give her power over hell until the end of time. He has willed that the government of His Church should be a monarchical one ; He has communicated His infallibility to the Pope, not to the Councils : the Pope is everything ; they are nothing without him. How can a man be a Christian if he is not a

¹ *Ibid.*, IV., 130, note.

² *Ibid.*, I., 12 *seq.*, 31.

³ RANKE'S opinion (III., 68).

⁴ GRAUERT, II., 379.

Catholic ? And how can one be a Catholic if one refuses to the Pope the submission that is due to him ? " ¹

¹ Christine's aphorisms, which she repeatedly revised, were published by ARCKENHOLTZ (IV., 13 *seqq.*), though with many alterations which greatly diminish the originality of the expression. BILDT (*Pensées de Christine reine de Suède*, Stockholm, 1907) has published the original text together with an instructive preface, thus adding to his work for the great Queen.

CHAPTER III.

RELATIONS OF ALEXANDER VII. WITH FRANCE AND VENICE. DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKS AND DISPUTE WITH LOUIS XIV. LAST YEARS OF THE POPE.

FRANCE'S leading statesman, Cardinal Mazarin, having done his utmost to prevent the election of Cardinal Chigi, was as embarrassed by the issue of the conclave as he had been in 1644 by the elevation of Innocent X. He did his best to hide his discomfiture from the public, but he lacked sufficient magnanimity to establish good relations with Alexander VII., though the new Pope held out the hand of friendship from the very outset of his pontificate and chose for his advisers men like Rospigliosi and Corrado, whose appointment ought to have breathed confidence into the French Government.¹ That the Pope was no partisan of the

¹ GÉRIN, I., 62 *seqq.* In *Arm.*, 45, I., 41, p. 84, of the Papal Sec. Arch. I found Alexander VII.'s first autograph *letter (April, 1655), to Louis XIV., which is missing in Gérin. "Providence," we read, "has raised us to the pontificate. No one can be nearer our heart than Your Majesty seeing that in you long-standing merit is united to piety." "Si accrescono a Noi sommamente le speranze di vedere con la publica pace della christianità segnalati i primi anni del suo regno e del Nostro pontificato e rimosse da per tutto e particolarmente d'Italia quell'armi che l'hanno oppressa fin'hora. Questo è l'unico soggetto, al quale chiama V. M. il bisogno della republica christiana afflitta e lacerata per ogni lato dalle guerre et il danno, che ne deriva alla nostra santa religione. E ciò parimente spinge il zelo della carità Nostra paterna, a procurare non solo per mezo de' ministri, ma con la prontezza di portarci Noi medesimi, dovunque sia opportuno, il frutto di quell'opera, che per tanti anni da Noi imprecata nelle negotiationi di Munster ci fece sperimentare frequentemente la bontà e 'l zelo della M. V. grande anco nell'età sua più tenera verso il publico bene." "We shall always have the welfare of your kingdom at heart."

Habsburgs, as was fairly commonly asserted, became evident when he not only declined to receive the Constable Colonna as imperial ambassador,¹ but insisted on the acceptance, as nuncio in Madrid, of Camillo Massimi, who had been refused under Innocent X.² Notwithstanding this and other unpleasantnesses, both the German and the Spanish Habsburgs, with true discernment of what was to their advantage, took care to establish good relations with the Holy See.³ Paris acted otherwise. The royal letter of congratulations to the newly elected Pontiff was so worded as to cause embarrassment to Mazarin's diplomatic agent, Hugues de Lionne; in fact, it was so lacking in respect that it could not be presented. Lionne was not appointed ambassador, and no *obbedienza* embassy was dispatched.⁴ None the less, in connection with the question of Cardinal Retz, who had fled from France to Rome, an affair which Mazarin had very much at heart,⁵ Alexander gave proof of the utmost good will, though this was necessarily limited by the dispositions of Canon Law concerning the safeguarding of ecclesiastical immunity. The Pope insisted on the observance of a legal procedure, whilst Mazarin strove to make of the Holy See a docile instrument of his aversion for Retz, his rival and enemy. Blinded as he was by the passion of hatred, the Cardinal minister seems to have seriously imagined that Retz exercised great influence over the Pope, whereas in reality Alexander VII. treated the fugitive, whose restlessness he feared quite as much as his connection with the Jansenists, with great severity. Retz was but rarely received in audience, and notwithstanding his extensive learning, he

¹ See M. A. Colonna's *report to the Emperor, dat. Rome, 1655, February 6. State Archives, Vienna, and PALLAVICINO, I., 256 *seqq.* Cf. *Cod. E.*, VI., 205, p. 582 *seqq.* De sectione cadaveris Alexandri VII., Chigi Library.

² PALLAVICINO, I., 306 *seqq.*

³ BERCHET, *Relaz. Roma*, II., 212 *seqq.*, 249 *seqq.*, 276. *Ibid.* *Spagna*, II., 288 *seqq.*

⁴ GÉRIN, I., 66 *seq.*

⁵ Cf. XXX., p. 67 *seqq.*

was not invited to join any of the Congregations.¹ The Paris nuncio, Bagno, adopted a no less conciliatory attitude towards Mazarin than the Pope, though the same cannot be said of Lionne's behaviour towards the latter. On one occasion, when Lionne presumed to reproach Alexander with partiality towards Retz, the Pope replied with the countercharge that Paris was being supplied with reports that were not true. These words hit Lionne all the more painfully as he himself keenly resented the unworthy rôle assigned to him by Mazarin, as appears from the envoy's confidential letters to his uncle.²

With untiring patience Alexander VII. was for ever on the look-out for new means with which to satisfy Mazarin in the affair of Cardinal Retz. With the consent of the Sacred College he declared his readiness to allow the archbishopric of Paris to be administered, in the name of its lawful occupant, by a Coadjutor Bishop, approved by the King. This was the greatest concession which it was possible for the Holy See to make. Lionne was triumphant, and even Mazarin was satisfied, but the Gallican members of the French hierarchy, in conjunction with the parliamentary opposition and the intrigues of the Jansenists, defeated this peaceable arrangement.³

Mazarin's anger now vented itself on the perfectly blameless Pontiff whose exhortations to peace⁴ he resented no less than his neutrality and his intervention on behalf of peace with Spain. He was determined to silence the moderating voice of the Holy See. Accordingly he rejected the choice of Rome as the seat of the congress. The affair Retz was an excellent

¹ PALLAVICINO, II., 62 ; GÉRIN, I., 68 *seq.*, 80 *seqq.*

² GÉRIN, I., 85, 92 *seq.*

³ See the detailed, documented account in GÉRIN, I., 95 *seqq.*

⁴ The first *warnings (to the Kings of France and Spain, to Mazarin and Olivares) dat. September 11 (in *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. ; cf. Ranucci's *report of September 25, 1655, State Archives, Bologna), were repeated (to both Kings and the Emperor) on August 12, 1656 (*Epist.*, *loc. cit.*).

pretext for intimidating the Pope. In March, 1656, Lionne was recalled.¹

Even before he had been informed of this step, the Pope had exhorted the Assembly of the French Clergy in Paris, by a Brief dated March 20th, 1656, to give to the King's efforts on behalf of peace the support of their prayers. This action Mazarin described as an interference with affairs of State, against which he lodged a protest. The reply of the Assembly of the Clergy was so offensive that the nuncio refused to forward the document. All the accusations raised in Paris at that time were as false as was the assertion that Retz was the author of the Brief. In point of fact the latter, realizing that it was impossible for him to remain in Rome, was about to leave. When Retz' flight from Italy clearly showed that there was not the slightest ground for suspicion, it looked at one moment as if better relations were about to be established between France and the Holy See.² Alexander VII. recalled Bagno. In the late autumn of 1656, Lelio Piccolomini, the choice of whom Louis XIV. approved, was appointed nuncio extraordinary, whilst Carlo Bonelli was accredited to Madrid. Both were instructed to work for the conclusion of peace.³

Mazarin, who could not make up his mind to fill the ambassadorial post in Rome, nevertheless maintained there his secret agents, who did not shrink on occasion from rousing

¹ GÉRIN, I., 103 *seqq.*, 114, 138. Cf. PALLAVICINO, I., 379 *seqq.*

² PALLAVICINO, II., 63 *seqq.*; GÉRIN, I., 139 *seq.* Retz' excuses to Alexander VII. for having left Rome in *Annales de St. Louis*, IV., 373 *seq.*, and X., 264. In 1662 Retz made his peace with Louis XIV.; see GAZIER, *Les dernières années du card. de Retz*, Paris, 1875, 96 *seqq.*; CHANTELAUZE, *Le card. de Retz et sa mission dipl.*, Paris, 1879; COCHIN in *Mém. d'archéol.*, XXVIII. (1908), 97 *seqq.*

³ See the *Briefs to the Kings of France and Spain and the French and Spanish nobles, dat. 1 and 15 November, 1656, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. PALLAVICINO, II., 59 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 154 *seqq.* Oil portrait of Piccolomini in the Palazzo Piccolomini at Pienza.

his resentment against Alexander VII., even by false reports.¹ If at that time the Pope judged the French Cardinal Minister rather more severely, he had the whole Catholic world with him, for Mazarin's alliance with the usurper Cromwell, the Lord Protector,² who had expelled the lawful king and persecuted the Catholics, was a grievous scandal. The Cardinal also extended toleration to the Jansenists³ and with a view to preventing papal intervention in favour of peace, he sought to strike terror into Rome by urging the Dukes of Parma and Modena to attack the States of the Church.⁴ Meanwhile, he worked with cunning and tenacity for a peace with Spain which he intended to be the brilliant consummation of his career as a statesman.⁵

Until this time it had been customary for the Holy See, as a Power raised above all national strivings and the mediator between the various peoples, to send its representatives to all peace congresses, in order to co-operate in the settlement of the disputes of princes and peoples. Royal absolutism, to which Mazarin did homage as a fanatical defender of the supremacy of the State, would not hear of this, hence Alexander VII. was not invited to send a representative to the Franco-Spanish peace negotiations and he was kept in complete ignorance of their progress, though matters of concern to him would have to be dealt with. On November 7th, 1659, without any participation on his part, the Peace of the Pyrenees was concluded on the Isle of Pheasants, in Bidasoa, which sealed the end of Spain as a great Power in the same way as the Peace of Westphalia had done in the case of

¹ GÉRIN, I., 155 *seqq.*, on the reports of the Jesuit Duneau. This degenerate religious shamefully abused the confidence of unsuspecting Pallavicino and suggested to Mazarin to seize the papers of the Paris nunciature. Oliva justly insisted on the expulsion of this subject from the Order (GÉRIN., II, 140).

² BROSCHE, VII., 353 *seqq.*

³ See below, Ch. V.

⁴ GÉRIN, I., 175.

⁵ Cf. L. SIMEONI, *Francesco d'Este e la politica ital. del Mazzarino*, Bologna, 1922, 200 *seq.*

Germany. The instrument of peace stated that the contracting parties were determined, by themselves alone, to restore peace to Christendom—a clause which was generally interpreted as a rebuke to the Holy See.¹ The Pope's exclusion from a peace on behalf of which he had done so much, made a deep impression and strengthened the Catholic Governments in their absolutist tendencies, for if Mazarin, who as a Cardinal was surely bound to defend the Holy See, could thus set the Pope on one side, why should others seek his advice in political matters? ² To this must be added the circumstance that if the Pope was mentioned in the peace treaty, it was solely in order to proffer an accusation against him, for by articles 99 and 100, France and Spain undertook to support the pretensions of the Este to the salt mines of Comacchio, and those of the Farnese to Castro. Charles Colbert was dispatched to Rome for the purpose of pushing this affair, but he accomplished nothing: Alexander VII. explained that Castro was the property of the Roman *Camera* and as such it could not be alienated.³

Notwithstanding this slight discomfiture, Mazarin had achieved the main purpose of his life: Germany and Spain were broken and France was the first Power in Europe; everybody, including his bitterest enemies, bowed before the man on whose head his own countrymen had at one time set a price.⁴ However, the Cardinal was not long to enjoy his triumph: his life was drawing to its end. Only as he lay dying did the arrest of the French ambassador at Constantinople bring home to him the magnitude of the peril with

¹ See SAGREDO in BERCHET, II., 233.

² See in App., No. 5, the *Instruction for the Swiss nuncio Baldeschi of the year 1665, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ GÉRIN, I., 191 *seq.* Colbert's Instruction in HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, Rome, I., 41 *seqq.* Louis' *reply, dat. May 16, 1661, in *Epist.*, VI.–VIII, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ "La paix donne une reputation a M. le cardinal parmi ses ennemis même au dela de ce qu'on peut s'imaginer," we read in a Roman *Avviso*, in DENIS, I., 333.

which Alexander VII. had dealt with from the first days of his pontificate—the peril threatening from the East.

In the letter in which he thanked the Doge for his congratulations on his elevation, the Pope had promised to help Venice in its struggle for the defence of Crete against the attacks of the Turks,¹ but his exhortations to the Christian Powers to come to the assistance of the Republic² met with no response, for Venice itself seemed to show greater eagerness for a fight with the Spaniards than with the Turks.³ Alexander VII. himself viewed this with great displeasure, hence he made his help dependent on the Signoria's renouncing all such intrigues and preparing in good earnest for war against the Turks. Though the answer was in the affirmative, it was couched in very general terms⁴; this explains how a rumour obtained credence in December 1655, that Venice was about to conclude a most unfavourable peace treaty with the Turks.⁵ Happily things did not go so far. But the Pope was unable to send his galleys for the war as they were needed for the protection of the coasts of the Pontifical States against the English. In view of the fact that, for the time being, the exhaustion of the papal exchequer made a money contribution impossible, Alexander VII. suggested the expedient of suppressing a few Venetian monasteries and the confiscation of their property in order to finance the war against the Turks. The Pope judged that such a measure was all the more justifiable as it was to affect only the "Canons of the Holy Ghost" and the "Padri Crociferi", who had caused a good deal of scandal by their irregular and luxurious

¹ See the *Brief to the Doge, of April 24. 1665, in *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

² See the *Briefs to the Emperor and the Kings of France and Spain, June 5, 1655; also to Genoa, Savoy, Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, and Modena, June 12, 1655. *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.* Fresh exhortations with *Briefs of December 11, 1655, *ibid.*

³ Cf. Riccardi's *reports of July 17 and 31 and August 28, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

⁴ Cf. Riccardi's *report of December 4, 1655, *ibid.*

⁵ Cf. Riccardi's *report of December 18, 1655, *ibid.*

lives.¹ However, the Canons of the Holy Ghost were practically independent of the Pope and were only subject to the Council of Ten, hence the Signoria hesitated at first to sacrifice them, but in the end necessity overcame every other consideration. In April, 1656, both Orders were suppressed, their members were guaranteed a modest pension and their property assigned to the Republic for the Turkish war ; its sale yielded close on a million ducats.²

In addition to the threatening attitude of England, the outbreak of the plague rendered it impossible to make use of the papal galleys, hence the Pope saw to it that at least the fleet of the Knights of Malta came to Venice's assistance, and by promoting peace between France and Spain he sought to win over these two Powers for the Turkish war.³

As the Signoria's cries for help became ever more pressing, Alexander VII. judged the moment opportune for securing for himself also some concession on the part of Venice. He had expressed already to the *obbedienza* embassy his wish that the Jesuits, who had been banished from Venice ever since the dispute with Paul V. in 1605,⁴ should be allowed to return to the City of the Lagoons.⁵ Weighty reasons decided him to make further assistance dependent on this measure.⁶ The Jesuits had been banished for their submission

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 407 *seqq.*

² *Bull.*, XVI., 149, 152, 154. Cf. VALIERO, *Guerra di Candia*, Venezia, 1679, 340, 368 *seq.* ; MOLMENTI in *Atti dei Lincei*, 5 series, XXV. (1916-17), 227. After the suppression of the *crociferi* Alexander VII. assigned their church to the *Padri ministri degli infermi* ; see M. ARMELLINI, *Un monumento di Belisario a Roma e la chiesa di S. Maria in Sinodo* (S. Maria in Trivio), Roma, 1891, 7 *seq.*

³ PALLAVICINO, II., 57 *seq.*

⁴ Cf. our data Vol. XXV., 172 *seq.*

⁵ BERCHET, *Relaz.*, Roma, II., 189.

⁶ For what follows, cf. PALLAVICINO, II., 124 *seqq.*, and from the Venetian point of view VALIERO, 399 *seqq.* ; also MOLMENTI in *Atti dei Lincei*, 5 series, XXV. (1916-17), 229 *seq.* The *Instructions of the Secretary of State to the nuncio in Venice, 1656-8, in *Ottob.* 3262, 3264, 3265, Vat. Lib. See also Pallavicino's

to the Pope, hence their continued exile was in reality a standing insult to papal authority. Moreover, it was necessary to react against Sarpi's dangerous tendencies which were still operative in Venice, and the return of the Fathers was indispensable for the formation of youth, seeing that a great many Venetians were obliged, with the tacit consent of the Signoria, to send their sons to the Society's educational establishments in Rome, Bologna, Parma, and Gorizia.

The decisive negotiations were conducted in Rome by the Venetian Cardinal Bragadino, and at Venice by the nuncio, Carlo Carafa. They opened in July, 1656,¹ and proved exceedingly difficult. But the Pope remained firm; his Briefs of August 5th and December 23rd, 1656,² left no room for doubt on that point. The Senate's decisive discussion took place on January 19th, 1657. After a violent debate, 116 votes were cast in favour of the return of the Jesuits, fifty-three were against it and there were nineteen abstentions, but this concession was only made in the first instance for a period of three years and without restitution of their property. The Pope was informed by special courier on January 25th; the measure was looked upon as a considerable success,³ and two days later Alexander sent a cordial expression of thanks.⁴

Soon afterwards the papal galleys and 1,000 men were made ready for Dalmatia and permission was given for the raising of 150,000 scudi from Venetian Church property, for the prosecution of the Turkish war.⁵ On February 27th, 1657,

*letters to Alexander VII. in *Cod.*, C., III., 63, p. 5, 10, 13, 18, 28, 33, of the Chigi Library, and *ibid.*, C., III., p. 306, 310-12,

*documents relative to this matter. Cf. MACCHIA, 67 *seqq.*

¹ See the *Brief to Doge Valiero, dat. July 15, 1656, in *Epist.*, II., Papal Sec. Arch.

² *Ibid.*

³ PALLAVICINO, II., 139 *seqq.*

⁴ *Brief to the Doge and the Republic, dat. January 27, 1657, and beginning with the words: "Ingenti eximioque gaudio," *Epist.*, II., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ *Bull.*, XVI., 258. Cf. the *Brief of March 10, 1657, *loc. cit.*; PALLAVICINO, III., 141 *seq.*

Giovanni Bichi, a relative of the Pope, was named commander of the papal fleet. He put to sea on April 14th, and together with the ships of the Knights of Malta, took part in the battles of the Dardanelles, in which the intrepid but rash Venetian admiral Mocenigo met his death (July 19th, 1657). The Venetians now lost for a second time the islands of Tenedos and Lemnos which they had reconquered the year before. They laid the blame for their loss on Bichi, whom they accused of having precipitately left the scene of action, but the admiral succeeded in convincing the Pope that this reproach was unjustified.¹ After that repeated disputes broke out with the Venetians whose exaggerated demands Alexander was unable to meet.² During the whole of 1658, though the Pope had increased the number of his galleys,³ the war reduced itself to a few unimportant skirmishes in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles. An attack on the fortress of Canea in Crete, for which the plan was ready, had to be abandoned because of disputes between the Venetians

¹ GUGLIELMOTTI, 167 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 943 *seq.* Bichi's report was published in 1897 by Cugnoni in *Bollet. Senese di stor. patria*. A *' Relazione del combattimento dell' armata Veneta e Turchesca nel canale de' Dardanelli con morte del cap. gen. Mocenigo,' ' in *MSS. Glaub.*, 38, n. 6, of the City Library, Franckfort. On Bichi's return, see the *Avviso* in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 282.

² Cf. A. CORRER in BERCHET, II., 203 *seqq.* On the Venetians' greed see GÉRIN, I., 266, who justly observes: " Eût-il donné cent fois de plus, le pape n'aurait jamais satisfait l'avare République." This, and the ecclesiastico-political disputes (see below, p. 88, n. 2) explain how it was that the Venetian reports were often most unjust towards Alexander VII. Against CORRER see the critical notes of SCARABELLI in *Arch. stor. ital.*, App. VI., 393.

³ GUGLIELMOTTI, 223 *seq.*, and PICCOLOMINI, *Corrispondenza Fra la corte di Roma e l'inquisitore di Malta durante la Guerra di Candia*, 1645-1669. Firenze, 1910, 23 *seqq.* According to the *' Ristretto di quello si è speso per armamento di sette vasselli di guerra Marzo 1658 " the expenses amounted to 108,433 scudi (*Cod.*, H., II., 40, Chigi Library).

and the captains of the papal galleys.¹ In 1659 the Pope once again sent out his galleys, notwithstanding the fact that the ecclesiastical policy of Venice gave him grounds for complaint.² This time the operations were somewhat more successful, though they yielded no major result. One of the consequences of the Peace of the Pyrenees was the appearance of a French auxiliary corps of 3,000 men, but owing to bad leadership it achieved nothing in the campaign of 1660.³ In the autumn of that year the Pope allowed Venice to levy 100,000 scudi from Church property, and to impose a tenth.⁴ In 1661 he was obliged to compose a dispute between the Knights of Malta and the Venetians who could not agree on the division of the Turkish galleys captured near the isle of Tinos.⁵ Whilst these quarrels scandalized the whole world, an almost complete armistice occurred in Levantine and Cretan waters in consequence of the Turkish attack being diverted against Hungary and Austria.

On May 22nd, 1660, a Turkish army defeated Prince George Rákóczy of Transilvania, not far from Klausenburg. In this struggle Rákóczy was mortally wounded. By the end of August Grosswardein, the key to Hungary, had fallen into the hands of the infidels.⁶ A great attack on the Danube

¹ VALIERO, 455, 465 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 945 *seq.* Cf. ADEMOLO in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 287, according to which the expenditure amounted to 111,899 scudi.

² PALLAVICINO, II., 214 *seq.*; GUGLIELMOTTI, 253 *seq.* C. Carafa was nuncio in Venice up till September, 1658, his successor being Altoviti; **Registro* of his reports between 1658 and 1666 in the Altieri Archives, Rome (2 vols.). Cf. *Barb.* 5324, p. 225 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib. Altoviti's *instructions for his successor (dat. 1666) in *Cod. Stroz.*, 891, State Archives, Florence.

³ ZINKEISEN, IV., 947 *seq.*

⁴ *Bull.*, XVI., 597, 600.

⁵ VALIERO, 518-522; ZINKEISEN, IV., 949.

⁶ ZINKEISEN, 887 *seq.*; PRIBRAM, *Venez. Depeschen*, I., 446 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 118, 131, 136, 139, 143, 172, on the negotiations for Rákóczy's return to the Catholic Church. A great impression was made by the conversion, in October, 1660, of Rákóczy's widow; cf. PRIBRAM, I., 508.

region was to be expected for the following years. At the close of 1660 the Emperor sent a special envoy to Rome, with mission to expose the danger to Austria, should the Turks advance further, and to ask for counter-measures.¹ The Pope was prepared to put himself at the head of a league. He instructed all the nuncios to press the princes to help in the struggle against the Turks, and he dispatched appropriate Briefs to all the Catholic heads of States. To the Emperor he promised help even if the plan for a league did not materialize.² To raise the necessary money, tenths were imposed upon the clergy of the whole of Italy, with the exception of Venice.³

Shortly before Alexander VII. made these promises, Cardinal Mazarin, who had so long guided France's policy, died on March 9th, 1661.⁴ Out of the immense wealth which he had amassed he left the Pope 600,000 livres for the Turkish war. In the place of Mazarin, twenty-two years old Louis XIV., a ruler filled with boundless ambition and insatiable lust of glory, the finished type of an absolutist prince, now took the reins of government in his own hands.

The decision whether or no the whole of the Christian West could be mobilized for a joint defensive war against Islam, lay in the hands of this youthful prince, whose preponderant power on the continent of Europe was at that time unquestioned. However, the difficulties raised in Paris

¹ PRIBRAM, I., 525 seq., 535 seq., 542 seq., 544 seq., 550 seq., 584.

² *Ibid.*, 580. The *Briefs to the Emperor, to the Kings of France, Spain, and Poland, and to Venice, dat. February 2, 1661, in *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.* the *Briefs to the Italian princes, February 8, 1661. Cf. **Acta consist.* of February 21, 1661, Vat. Lib.

³ March 24, 1661; *Bull.*, XVI., 673.

⁴ MIGNET, *Mém. hist.*, 481. On the splendid funeral service for Mazarin at SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, cf. **Avviso* of April 30, 1661, Papal Sec. Arch. In Card. Carlo Barberini's collection of poems in *Barb.* 2075, p. 292 seqq: **musarum lacrymae in funere Iulii card. Mazzarini.*

against the payment of the 600,000 livres left by Mazarin,¹ proved that no great hopes could be set on France. For the negotiations concerning the league, France did not dispatch an ambassador, as became a Power of her rank, but only a very subordinate agent of the name of D'Aubeville, who arrived in the Eternal City on June 12th, 1661. Ostensibly D'Aubeville's mission was to promote the idea of a league, but in reality he was instructed to thwart it.² From the first Alexander VII. saw through France's political game which was secretly to rouse the Porte against Austria; accordingly he was not surprised when everything imaginable was done from that quarter in order to prevent the opening of the discussions. When they began at last D'Aubeville obeyed the secret orders of his chief, Lionne, which were that he should prevent a practical decision. In addition to this he did everything in his power to raise controversial questions and to intimidate the Pope: one day it was the affairs of Comacchio and Castro, another the difficulties with Retz, or the Jansenist troubles, that had to serve as a pretext, in fact the French party already threatened with a national council or "worse".³

Faithful to his instructions, D'Aubeville maintained, up to the last, the aggressive tone which he had adopted from the beginning of his mission. He displayed a real ingenuity in finding ever fresh matter for complaint against the Pope. The Papal Maestro di Camera, Nini, was fully justified when he said that this diplomatic agent was for ever working against the Pope. Shortly before his departure in the spring of 1662 he still provoked an incident by claiming for himself rights of immunity such as were not enjoyed even by ambassadors.⁴ He achieved his purpose all the more easily as the

¹ GÉRIN, I., 225 *seq.*

² See the Instruction for D'Aubeville in HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, Rome, I., 61 *seq.* Cf. GÉRIN, I., 227, and BROSCHE, *Gesch. aus dem Leben dreier Grosswesire*, Gotha, 1899, 91 *seqq.*

³ See the French reports in GÉRIN, I., 23 *seqq.*, 240.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 245, 252.

Emperor likewise hesitated between lust for war and love of peace.¹ The negotiations about the league had dragged on throughout the winter until it was too late for any action that year. Even so Alexander VII. gave proof of his eagerness to fight the Turks. He not only sent out his galleys to assist Venice,² but in March, 1662, he granted to the Emperor also a subsidy to the amount of 30,000 thalers, a considerable sum in view of his financial straits.³ About this time Louis XIV. at last appointed an ambassador to Rome in the person of the Duke of Créqui. This was done in view of the negotiations for an anti-Turkish league on which the Pope had set his heart. When on June 11th, 1662, the Duke of Créqui made his solemn entry into Rome, with a large suite including 200 armed men, eleven years had gone by during which no ambassador had represented the Most Christian King in the capital of the Catholic world. The Pope gave orders for every mark of honour to be bestowed on the ambassador and wrote to thank Louis XIV. for Créqui's appointment.⁴

France's aim in the dispatch of an ambassador to Rome appears clearly from the latter's Instruction and its secret appendix.⁵ Every line of that document reveals the apt

¹ PRIBRAM, I., 600, 608, 657. KÖCHER (I., 308 *seq.*), throws light on the way in which Louis XIV. grievously embarrassed the Emperor by a show of zeal for a war against the Turks.

² GUGLIELMOTTI, 279 *seq.*

³ LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 575, 730.

⁴ See the *Brief of June 5, 1662, in *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ HANOTAUX, *Recueil*, Rome, I., 98 *seq.*; GÉRIN, I., 283 *seqq.* Moüy starts from the fundamental mistake that with the dispatch of Créqui Louis XIV. sincerely sought to bring about an *accord entre la monarchie et le St. Siège* (II., 427), but feels compelled to admit that *qu'il n'avait pas été heureux dans le choix de son agent* (*ibid.*, 422). GÉRIN's information, based on the *Archives des affaires étrangères*, Paris, is far more detailed than Moüy's, hence he throws a fuller light on Louis's policy. Of permanent value, were it only for its documents and other information, is the *Histoire des desmêlés de la cour de France avec la cour de Rome*

pupil of Mazarin who had instilled into the youthful King distrust and hatred for the Holy See, and for its occupant for the time being. These sentiments were chiefly fostered in Louis' *entourage* by Lionne, the head of foreign affairs, who was himself filled with hatred and a desire for revenge on account of the complete failure of his Roman mission.

"Since the Pope had complained of the absence of a French ambassador," the Instruction stated, "the Duke had been appointed in that capacity, but on no account must he breathe a word of excuse or regret because of the prolonged interruption of regular diplomatic relations; all he was to do was to observe that his mission had been delayed by State interests." Créqui was likewise instructed to take, at the very outset, a step which the Pope was bound to resent as an insult; it was this: as the first among all kings, Louis XIV. pretended that Alexander VII.'s secular nephews should be the first to visit the representative of France. In consequence of this pretension the Chigis were unable to take part in Créqui's reception. The new ambassador's authority to conclude an anti-Turkish league with the Pope and the Catholic princes was a mere feint, because in reality Créqui was instructed, as D'Aubeville had been before him, to prevent a decisive step; but he was also told to proceed with such caution that no one should as much as suspect the existence of such an intention. There is no doubt that the negotiations,

au sujet de l'affaire des Corses (1707), by REGNIER DESMARAIS, Créqui's private secretary. Among the MS. collections of writings and documents on the quarrel mention may be made of the following: AIX, Bibl. Méjanes, *Cod.*, 279-280; CAMPELLO (near Spoleto), Campello Archives; FLORENCE, National Lib., *Cod. Capponi*; MUNICH, Staatsbibl., *Cod. ital.*, 808; ROME, Chigi Lib., *Cod. C.*, II, 43; Corsini Lib., *Cod.*, 172; Boncompagni Archives, *Cod. F.*, 43 and 44; Vallicelliana, M., 14 and 44; Vat. Lib.: *Ottob.* 24, 68, p. 181-345; *Ottob.* 1382 (collection made by Ant. Baruchi), *Ottob.* 2497; *Barb.* 5640 (this rich collection was made by Card. Carlo Barberini); *Barb.* 5635 contains " *Relazione scritta da Msgr. Cesare Rasponi di tutto che è seguito tra Alessandro VII. ed. il re di Francia."

in Rome, in connection with the league, were merely intended to throw a veil over the intrigues in which Louis XIV. was engaged in conjunction with the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, against the Emperor, whom he desired to keep in a state of constant alarm by means of the Turk.¹

Not only was the Most Christian King a friend of the Turks, he was likewise eager to continue Mazarin's anti-papal policy ; Créqui was accordingly instructed to weary the Pope even more than D'Auberville had done, by supporting the claims of the Farnese and the Este to Castro and Comacchio. Furthermore, he was to demand that only such men should be appointed to the Paris nunciature as were acceptable to the King, for His Majesty could not tolerate that the Pope should keep at the court of Paris "a secret spy of his enemies and those who envied him". On the other hand he was to refuse a promise of similar action in the appointment of French ambassadors. "It is a fortunate thing," the Instruction states in so many words, "that the Most Christian King is not in need of the favour of the Holy See, whereas the Popes are bound to rely on France, since she is the centre of gravity of European policy." Only then should the Holy See be met halfway if, through the nephew, Chigi, it allowed itself to be entangled in the meshes of France's political net. In view of such sentiments Louis XIV. himself felt that Créqui's embassy would be of short duration ; accordingly no special residence was hired for him but the Duke of Parma was asked to put the Palazzo Farnese at his disposal.²

The Instruction once given, Louis XIV. insisted on its execution, his only concession being the recall of the prohibition that Créqui was not to be the first to pay visit to the secular nephews. The haughty Duke was compelled to comply with this instruction and the nephews were courteous enough not to show any resentment.³ If Créqui had been obliged to

¹ GÉRIN, I., 284.

² GÉRIN, I., 286, n. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, 293, 296. RÉGNIER DESMARAIS (*Histoire*, 10), says that the order should either not have been given or not withdrawn.

yield on this point, he soon raised unusual demands in matters of etiquette to which much importance was attached everywhere in those days, especially in Rome. At a solemn function at the Lateran he refused to kneel before the Pope, though requested to do so by the Master of Ceremonies, and when he came for his audiences he demanded that he should be introduced to the Pope at once, without his having to wait even one moment in the antechamber.¹

Even more alarming than all this were the demands advanced by Créqui with regard to his diplomatic immunity, viz. the so-called "liberty of quarters", which he wanted to extend beyond his palace, "as far as his eye could see."² Accordingly he announced that he could not tolerate that the Corsican soldiers of the garrison should march past the Palazzo Farnese. However, this could not be avoided since the barracks of the Corsicans lay between S. Paolino and Trinità de'Pellegrini,³ so that on their way to the Carceri Nuove in the Via Giulia, the soldiers were obliged to march past at least the back of the Palazzo Farnese. Créqui also protested against some judicial proceedings in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Farnese, but it was pointed out to him that no Frenchman lived in that house. The Pope, it was explained, could only grant exemption from urban jurisdiction to the palaces of the ambassadors, but not to all the houses of the neighbourhood, if he wished to uphold law and order in his capital; otherwise all kinds of adventurers, even notorious criminals, would be able to escape from the hand of justice. However obvious this was, both the French Government and Créqui refused to see it; the whole thing, they declared, was simply a piece of chicanery of the Governor of the City, Cardinal Imperiali.⁴ Though Alexander VII. gave proof of the greatest patience

¹ See E. CAPPELLI, *L'ambasceria del Duca di Créquy alla corte pontificia* (according to documents in the State Archives, Florence), Rocca San Casciano, 1897, 27, 67. Créqui also made special claims in regard to Queen Christine (BILDT, 115).

² CAPPELLI, 28.

³ See the plan in MOÛY, I. (1893), 205 *seq.*

⁴ GÉRIN, I., 303 *seqq.*

in his dealings with the French ambassador, the latter's treatment of the Pope was such that the Paris nuncio felt constrained to point out that this was not the way to obtain further papal concessions. To this Lionne, the head of the foreign department, replied that none were expected!¹

Great was the delight of that bitter enemy of Alexander VII. when an incident occurred which he could exploit for his own ends.

In consequence of the provocative behaviour of Créqui's suite, there had been repeated conflicts with the Corsican soldiers, and the resentment to which these had given rise led to an explosion on August 20th, 1662.² On the evening of that day, near Ponte Sisto, a Corsican soldier was insulted and knocked to the ground by some of the men of Créqui's suite. When news of the incident reached the nearby barracks of the Corsicans, the soldiers became so infuriated by the insult done to their comrade that, deaf to all the appeals of their commanders, they surrounded the Palazzo Farnese and fired at it from every side. The life of Créqui himself, who went to the windows, was in danger; his wife's carriage was attacked by the infuriated soldiery on her return from church, and one of her pages was killed. The terrified woman fled for safety

¹ *Ibid.*, 307.

² Cf. the quite objective account of an onlooker which Cappelli (31-3) published from a MS. of the Corsini Library, Rome. RÉGNIER DESMARAIS' account from the papal point of view (12 *seqq.*) is confirmed by that of Rinuccini, the Florentine ambassador (*cf.* CAPPELLI, 31). In his furious report to his king, dated August 21, 1662 (*Revue des quest. hist.*, X., 83 *seq.*), Créqui exaggerates what really happened (*cf.* CAPPELLI, 36, also the documents published by LUCCIANA in *Bullet. de la Soc. des sciences hist. de la Corse*, VIII. (1888), and MOÛV, I., 211 *seq.*, 227, note). CHANTELAUZE'S view that the attack on the Farnese palace had been organized by the papal side is incompatible with documentary evidence and has been strikingly refuted by GÉRIN (I., 333 *seq.*). CAPPELLI (p. 59 *seqq.*) also opposes Chantelauxe and emphatically asserts that the Pope had had nothing to do with the attack. On the Corsicans, *cf.* A. DA MOSTO, *Milizie dello Stato Romano dal 1600 al 1697* in *Mem. stor. milit.*, 1914.

to the palace of the patron of French interests, Cardinal Este, on Monte Giordano. However, she was soon able to leave for her own lodgings, for the Governor of the city, Imperiali, and the commandant of the garrison, Mario Chigi, rushed so strong a troop of armed men to the scene that the Corsicans were forced to withdraw from the Palazzo Farnese and its neighbourhood. The incident had undoubtedly been provoked by the French, but the Corsicans had greatly overstepped the limits of lawful defence and grossly violated the privileges of an ambassador. This was at once realized by Alexander VII. and he was prepared to give satisfaction to the King of France. In accordance with the usual procedure of the Curia, he set up not only a special commission for the punishment of the culprits, but likewise a cardinalitial Congregation for the purpose of studying the question of satisfaction. Cardinal Sacchetti, France's candidate at the conclaves of 1644 and 1655, was appointed president of the Congregation whose members included Cardinals Rospigliosi and Azzolini, both well disposed towards France.¹ Thus there was every guarantee that the affair would be impartially and equitably examined and settled to the satisfaction of the French Government.

However, what Créquì wanted was not conciliation but Alexander VII.'s humiliation, and for this end the incident came most opportunely.² On August 21st he forbade the French Cardinals to take part in the consistory in which Cardinal Sacchetti made his report on the question of the canonization of the Bishop of Geneva, Francis de Sales, though in doing so he exceeded his powers.³ It was only with great difficulty that Cardinal Flavio Chigi obtained an audience

¹ DESMARAIS, 20 *seq.*

² " Si dichiarò meco, Rinuccini reports, che era desiderabile un simile avvenimento in Roma per si moderare et porre freno agli abusi radicati nel governo di Roma, che convien tarpare il nepotismo et che i cardinali ritornino nel pristino loro credito et autorità " (CAPPELLI, 71).

³ DESMARAIS, 17; GÉRIN, I., 312; on the consistory see **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.

from the Duke, on August 26th, for the purpose of offering his excuses. Although this step, undertaken by the nephew by order of the Pope, was equivalent to a handsome apology, Créqui remained unsatisfied. Cardinal Chigi also expressed his regrets to the Duchess into whose presence he had only been reluctantly admitted. The transfer of the barracks of the Corsicans to another part of the city, viz. to Capo le Case, and even the offer to remove those troops altogether from Rome failed to satisfy Créqui.¹ On August 21st, Mario Chigi had made a start with the arrest of the culprits and informed Créqui of his intention of punishing them in exemplary fashion. When some of them nevertheless succeeded in escaping, a pressing request was sent to Florence on August 26th for the arrest and extradition of those who had fled thither.² On August 29th a reward was promised for the arrest of the culprits who were not even to benefit by the right of sanctuary.³ When the trial of the prisoners opened, troops were concentrated for the purpose of maintaining order.

In all this Créqui, who knew nothing of Roman ways, saw only deliberate procrastination and ill will. He was especially confirmed in his unwillingness to yield by Alexander VII.'s particular enemy, Cardinal Este.⁴ By the latter's advice he pretended that his personal safety was imperilled. Accordingly he concentrated a troop of nearly 1,000 armed men in the Farnese palace, in consequence of which the situation became increasingly threatening. All attempts at mediation by Queen Christine, the Venetian ambassador, and the Cardinal of Arragon proved in vain.⁵ Notwithstanding all the Pope's guarantees and the measures taken by him, Créqui persisted in his assertion that his person

¹ DESMARAIS, 22 seq. ; GÉRIN, I., 311 seq., 315.

² GÉRIN, I., 338, 339.

³ MOÜY, I., 306 seqq. Text of the "Editto di taglia" in CAPPELLI, 95.

⁴ *Mém. du card. d'Este*, II., 113 seqq. Cf. DESMARAIS, 29. On Este, see GÉRIN, II., 282.

⁵ DESMARAIS, 28 seq. ; GÉRIN, I., 315 seq. ; BILDT, *Christine*, 119 seqq.

was in danger. By the advice of Este he left the Eternal City, on the morning of September 1st, together with his wife and Cardinal Este, to betake himself to Tuscan territory.¹ He was accompanied by only a few persons, himself thereby furnishing proof that he was not personally threatened.² Although he had not informed the Pope officially of his departure, Alexander VII. gave orders to all the authorities to facilitate Créqui's journey. From the frontier station of Radicofani Créqui addressed a circular letter to his diplomatic colleagues in which he stated his demands; they were: Imperiali's deposition from the cardinalate and the extradition of Mario Chigi as the "author" of the "attempt" of which he had been the victim, the execution in the Piazza Farnese of fifty Corsicans and their officers (who had had no share in the affair), the banishment of the remaining Corsicans and, lastly, the dispatch to Paris of a Legate for the purpose of presenting the Pope's excuses.³ It was doubtful whether Louis XIV. would identify himself with these demands. In his reports Créqui had done his best to rouse the young King who was particularly sensitive in all questions of honour, but on the other hand Pallavicino sought to calm him by a very skilful letter,⁴ whilst the Paris nuncio earnestly endeavoured to calm excited minds by explaining the true state of affairs. However, in Paris also there were those who worked against the supporters of the Pope. The foreign minister secured a decree ordering the Pope's representative to leave for Meaux where, on the plea of protecting him, he was placed under a

¹ DESMARAIS, 28 *seq.*; MOÛY, I., 307 *seqq.*, 311 *seq.*

² Card. Chigi drew attention to this in his letter of September 2, 1662, to Lionne: "Ou il croyait ou il ne croyait pas à la promesse de sécurité qu'il avait reçue du pape: s'il y croyait, quelle nécessité d'avoir un millier d'hommes au palais Farnèse? S'il n'y croyait pas, comment est-il sorti à la face de tout le peuple et des soldats en plein jour avec une suite si peu nombreuse?" (MOÛY, I., 314).

³ Letter of September 6, 1662, in DESMARAIS, App. 7 *seq.*; CAPPELLI, 68.

⁴ MACCHIA, 37.

kind of police surveillance.¹ Meanwhile Lionne spread the worst threats in Rome and everywhere. In Germany as well as in Spain, the incident of August 20th was represented as a carefully prepared attempt by the papal party against the French ambassador.² In so doing Lionne acted against his better knowledge for through impartial third parties, such as Queen Christine, he knew quite well that the incident had been occasioned by the men of Créquî's suite who, from the first had acted in the most provocative manner. Information from this quarter likewise made it clear to him that it was not for the sake of his personal safety that Créquî had left Rome. However, whilst the Queen's letters were carefully shut up in the Paris archives, the replies to her were broadcast in French and in Italian. These documents, which contained the most violent accusations against Alexander VII., represented the Pope's relatives and Cardinal Imperiali as the authors of the Corsicans' excesses.³ This was done even though Cardinal Chigi, in a letter to Minister Lionne of August 30th, and the Pope to the King by Briefs of August 28th and September 2nd, had given an accurate account of what had actually happened, had severely condemned the conduct of the Corsicans and denied any intention of giving offence to France. In his second Brief Alexander VII. expressed his regret at Créquî's sudden departure, protested against hostile machinations and made final appeal to the King's prudence and justice. In view of the impossibility of refuting these documents, though a rupture was desired, they remained unanswered.⁴

In a consistory held on September 4th, 1662, Alexander VII. laid these documents before the Cardinals and in a lengthy address explained all that had happened after the awful crime—*immane facinus*—of August 20th up to the moment of Créquî's departure. He stressed the fact that it was his intention to give Louis XIV. as great a satisfaction as possible

¹ DESMARAIS, 37 *seq.* ; GÉRIN, I., 322 *seqq.*, 327 *seq.*

² GÉRIN, I, 329.

³ *Ibid.*, 331 *seqq.*

⁴ DESMARAIS, 45 *seq.*, 70, and App. II *seq.*

by punishing the culprits according to their deserts. He ended by expressing the hope that the "goodness and justice" of the King of France would cause him to appraise what had happened otherwise than had been done by his representatives.¹ But at this time others besides Lionne were busy at the French court, rousing the susceptibility and pride of the King. By every possible means it was impressed on the young ruler that he should not believe the Pope when he denied his own and his brother Mario's complicity. The publicist, Vittorio Siri, submitted to the King a special memorial on the Pope's breaches of international law for which, in the interest of His Majesty's prestige, public and lasting satisfaction must be exacted.² Nevertheless it looked for one moment as if Paris hesitated to push things to extremes when, on September 11th, news arrived that Créqui had been obliged to leave Rome. This set Lionne going.³ A whole series of violent measures ensued with the aim of humiliating and intimidating the Pope. A lieutenant of the royal guards was dispatched to Meaux, where the nuncio was detained, to communicate to him the order to leave the kingdom without a moment's delay, and because it was feared that by publishing the papal Briefs, Piccolomini might reveal the true state of affairs, he was not even allowed to return to Paris for the purpose of winding up the nunciature, on the contrary, he was taken at once, as quickly as possible, and like a prisoner, to the frontier of Savoy by way of Lyons.⁴ "Even many Frenchmen condemned this act of violence," the envoy of Savoy wrote on September 12th, 1662.⁵ Créqui did not seem quite sure of the King, hence he continued to stir up the monarch's feelings. Never, he explained, had occasion been

¹ **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib. Cf. DESMARAIS, App. 3 seq.

² See the letter of the Florentine Resident in France, Marucelli, of September 1, 1662, in CAPPELLI, 70.

³ See Marucelli's report of September 12, 1662, in CAPPELLI, 72. Cf. Piccolomini's dispatch in GÉRIN, I., 349, note.

⁴ See Piccolomini's report of September 14, 1662, in GÉRIN, I., 349, note, and the Florentine reports in CAPPELLI, 72.

⁵ CAPPELLI, 72.

more favourable to humble the Holy See ; Rome would only be impressed by an imposing use of force. He accordingly suggested to the King that to this end he himself should be given the command of the troops which it was intended to dispatch to Italy.¹ Even before Créquî's letter was received in Paris, D'Aubeville had been ordered to proceed to Parma and Modena for the purpose of rousing the Farnese and the Este against the Pope. The French ambassador at Madrid had been instructed to take advantage of so favourable an opportunity to obtain, in France's interest, the execution of articles 99 and 100 of the Peace of the Pyrenees.²

Whilst the populace of Paris was being stirred up by a public manifestation in connection with the attempt on Créquî³ and by the publication of divers pamphlets,⁴ preparations were being made for depriving the Pope of Avignon.⁵

The French Government rejected every attempt at mediation on the part of Parma and the aunt of the King of France, the Duchess-Regent of Savoy. If the Briefs of August 28th and September 2nd had not been answered by the King, a third Brief, dated September 12th, was not even accepted ! In it the Pope once more protested, in the strongest terms, that neither he nor his advisers had had a hand in the attempt of August 20th ; at the same time he deplored Créquî's unjustifiable departure and protested against the expulsion

¹ GÉRIN, I., 350 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 351 *seq.* On articles 90 and 100, see above p. 83.

³ See Marucelli's report of September 15, 1662, in CAPPELLI.

⁴ In Fléchier's *Plainte de la France à Rome*, wrongly ascribed to Corneille, we find the following apostrophe to the Pope :—

Par un attentat et lâche et criminel
 Tu fais de ses faveurs un mépris solennel.
 On voit régner le crime avec la violence
 Où doit régner la paix avecque le silence.
 On voit les assassins courir avec ardeur
 Jusqu'au palais sacré de mon ambassadeur,
 Porter de tous côtés leur fureur vagabonde
 Et violer les droits les plus sacrés du monde.

Œuvres de CORNEILLE (ed. Hachette), X., app. 367.

⁵ GÉRIN, I., 354 *seq.* Cf. CAPPELLI, 91 *seq.*

of the nuncio.¹ In view of that incident the Supreme Head of the Church had every reason to protest to the Tuscan ambassador that it was not he, but the King, who had infringed the common law.² Nevertheless Alexander VII. observed the greatest moderation when, in a consistory of September 25th, he protested against the treatment of his representative in France.³ Cardinal Sforza Pallavicino, in a letter dated September 18th, 1662,⁴ and approved by the Pope, also sought to exercise a moderating influence on the King.

To what length Alexander VII. carried his love of peace, appears from the fact that in October he declared his readiness, through his plenipotentiary Rasponi, to agree to a large part of the French demands by consenting to fresh negotiations concerning Castro and Comacchio, to sending Chigi to France as Cardinal Legate for the purpose of making his excuses to the King and to disbanding the Corsican troops.⁵ The latter concession was all the more remarkable as the recently concluded trial of the men involved in the attempt of August 20th had clearly shown the utter baselessness of Créqui's accusations; not the slightest proof could be found of the attack having been either prepared or ordered.⁶ Moreover, those Corsicans who had gone too far in defending themselves, had been severely punished; two of them had even been executed. Heedless of these facts, Créqui insisted on compliance with all his demands, some of which, such as those concerning Castro and Comacchio, had nothing whatever to do with the personal satisfaction claimed by the Duke.⁷

¹ DESMARAIS, App. 69 seq.; GÉRIN, I., 359 seq.

² CAPELLI, 69.

³ See **Acta consist.*, Barb., loc. cit., Vat. Lib. Cf. DESMARAIS, App. 71 seq.

⁴ MACCHIA, 71 seq.

⁵ GÉRIN, I., 365 seq.

⁶ See MOÛY, I., 479, who justly emphasizes the great importance of this result.

⁷ In spite of his admiration for Louis XIV., Moüy, as an old diplomatist, severely condemns this conduct: instead of strictly limiting itself to the satisfaction to which it was entitled, "le

In particular he insisted on the deposition of Cardinal Imperiali. This the Pope could not concede though he yielded, to the extent of removing Imperiali from Rome by appointing him Legate of the Marches.¹ When even this measure failed to satisfy the French, Alexander VII. proposed that Imperiali should repair to his native city of Genoa and from there go to Paris for the purpose of justifying himself, should such a course be agreeable to Louis XIV. This plan also was rejected by Créqui: he demanded Imperiali's banishment.² In a consistory held on December 11th,³ twenty-four out of the thirty Cardinals present declared that it was impossible to comply with this demand.⁴ Thereupon Créqui broke off all negotiations and took boat for Toulon on December 24th.⁵

Meanwhile the French Government did everything in its power to isolate the Pope. It sought the help of the clergy of France, but only a few of its members, such as Cardinal Grimaldi, Archbishop of Aix, Ondedei, Bishop of Fréjus, declared themselves in favour of Créqui. These two Italians were joined by a Frenchman, Cardinal Retz, who now made his peace with Lionne.⁶

Louis XIV. was particularly anxious to win over to his side Philip IV. of Spain, for, since warlike measures against the Pope had been decided upon, it was necessary to obtain Spain's leave to march through Milan. The King of Spain cabinet du Louvre . . . entame une suite de négociations étrangères à l'object unique qu'il avait à poursuivre, mêle l'insignifiante question de Castro et Comacchio à ses demandes légitimes, augmente par des réclamations inopportunes les difficultés de l'affaire" (II., 423). A very complete collection of the *documents on the affair of Castro and Ronciglione in *Cod.*, II., 28-36, of the Chigi Library.

¹ See **Acta consist.* on the *congregatio generalis*, of November 3, 1662, Vat. Lib.

² GÉRIN, I, 387 seq.

³ In **Ottob.* 1061, p. 277 seq. (Vat. Lib.), we read November 11.

⁴ See **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*; GÉRIN, I., 387 seq.

⁵ He reached Fontainebleau on February 2, 1663, and was very graciously received by Louis XIV.; GÉRIN, I., 389 seqq.

⁶ GÉRIN, I., 371 seqq.

had offered his mediation to the Pope,¹ for he was by no means completely on France's side, but by means of a threat of war, Madrid was at last coerced into allowing the passage through the Duchy, nor was Venice able to withstand a similar threat in view of the pressure of the Turks. On the other hand, Louis could get nothing from the Swiss whose help Alexander VII. had invoked. The Swiss saw through Louis XIV.'s hypocrisy when he assured the Catholic Cantons that he was very far from wishing to attack the Holy See; that, on the contrary, he was prepared to shed his blood in its defence—as if there could be a distinction between the Holy See and its occupant!

From Genoa Louis XIV. extorted the banishment of Cardinal Imperiali and his family, and from Florence the promise of a passage for France's troops.² Thus nothing was left to the Pope except a faint hope of assistance by the Emperor. The latter's relations with France were strained and he openly expressed his condemnation of Louis XIV.'s arrogant attitude towards the Head of the Church. However, Leopold I. was threatened by the Turks so that the only thing the nuncio in Vienna was able to obtain was leave for the Pope to enlist troops in the Empire and, though secretly, even in the Hereditary States.³ The ecclesiastical Electors to whom the Holy See likewise appealed, saw that right was on the Pope's side, but they were afraid to go against their powerful patron in Paris, hence their advice was to yield to force as

¹ Alexander VII. accepted the offer and thanked Philip IV. in a *Brief of November 15, 1662, *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

² GÉRIN, I., 390, who published in *Rev. des quest. hist.*, X. (1871), 129 seq., the above-mentioned letter of Louis XIV. to the Swiss Catholics of February 27, 1663.

³ LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 573, 746, 748 seq., 750 seq., 754. The *Brief to the Emperor appealing for help, like those addressed to Philip IV. and the Swiss, is dated January 20, 1663 (*Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.). In August, 1663, a second appeal for help was made to Vienna, but in vain (LEVINSON, 758).

quickly as possible.¹ Many persons in the Pope's *entourage* expressed similar opinions.²

In point of fact, the means of defence which the weak States of the Church disposed of were so out of proportion with France's overwhelming military power that Alexander VII. made a last attempt to negotiate, but the effort failed owing to the French demand for the unconditional cession of Castro.³ Whilst the negotiations were still in progress, Louis XIV., basing his action on a resolution of the Parliament of Aix, decreed the incorporation of Avignon in the domains of the Kings of France as inalienable Provençal crown property. The papal Vice-Legate was escorted over the frontier by armed force, as had been done for the nuncio.⁴ The Pope's protest was universally regarded as fully justified, but with wise moderation the Pontiff refrained from pronouncing the penalty of excommunication, though such a step would have been abundantly justified.⁵

The annexation of Avignon was but a prelude to further acts of violence. A French army of over 20,000 seasoned

¹ MENTZ, II., 188, 191 *seq.*

² To this belongs the " *Consiglio politico dato al P. Alessandro VII. sopra la presa dello stato d'Avignone " in *Cod.* 1776, of the Bibl. Communale of Trent. On the other hand a " *Discorso della guerra che si teme possa haver N.S. col Re di Francia fatto dal Marchese Negrelli senatore di Roma " says that the Pope would be able to defend himself successfully against the French, that " *natione superba et hoggidì vittoriosa per tutto* " (Collection of writings on the quarrel between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV., III., 3, p. 65 *seq.* Papal Sec. Arch.).

³ See **Acta consist.* of July 30 and August 13, 1663, Vat. Lib. ; GÉRIN, I., 422. On Alexander's defensive measures see P. COLONNA, *Fr. Massimo e i suoi tempi*, Roma, 1911, 18 *seqq.*

⁴ P. CHARPENNE, *Hist. des réunions temporaires d'Avignon et du comtat Venaissin à la France*, I., Paris, 1886, 14 *seq.*, 110 *seq.* ; GÉRIN, I., 441 *seq.* ; MOÛY, II., 197 *seqq.*, 200 *seqq.* Cf. the *Collection of writings in *Cod. C.*, III., 49, 50, 53, of the Chigi Library.

⁵ **Acta consist.*, August 13, 1663, Vat. Libr. Cf. *Bull.*, XVII., 175 *seqq.* ; MOÛY, II., 204 *seq.*, 206.

soldiers was put on a war footing with a view to an advance against the States of the Church.¹ The Pope who, on the strength of false information, had disbanded his troops, on hearing that the French had invaded Italy, commanded that Rome should be put in a state of defence.² However, it would have been foolhardy to allow things to come to a real fight. The Sacred College, with which the Pope maintained close contact during the entire conflict, counselled him to yield. Thus was the defenceless Head of the Church compelled to submit unconditionally to the harsh demands of a potentate who styled himself the Most Christian King whilst for lack of legitimate claims, he brought pressure to bear on the Father of all Christians with his bayonets.

An inscription on the façade of the Casa Scorzi at Pisa recalls to this day that there, on February 12th, 1664, through the mediation of the Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany, "peace" was signed between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. by the plenipotentiaries of the Pope and the King, Cesare Rasponi and the Abbé Bourlemont. By the terms of the treaty the Pope's brother, Mario, was compelled to publish a declaration on the attempt of August 20th which injured his honour, and to keep away from Rome until such time as his son, Cardinal Flavio, should have presented his excuses, as papal Legate to the King of France. Only when this was done would Avignon be restored. The Chigi were forced to offer humble apologies to Créqui and Cardinal Imperiali was compelled to justify himself before Louis XIV. Castro was to revert to the Duke of Parma in return for the payment of the debts with which it was encumbered and the Duke of Modena was to be given compensation for Comacchio. The captain of the Roman police was to be banished, the Corsicans were never again to be taken into the service of the Holy See, whilst on the other hand the Avignon insurgents and the unworthy Cardinal Maidalchini were to be granted an amnesty. A pyramid was to be erected in front of the barracks

¹ GÉRIN, I., 460 *seq.*

² **Acta consist.*, November 26, 1663, *loc. cit.* Cf. MOÛY, II., 227 *seq.*

of the Corsicans, with an inscription stating that by reason of their "crime" against Créqui, the Corsicans would be for ever ineligible for the service of the Holy See.¹

We may well ask ourselves whether a Gregory VII. or an Alexander III. would have submitted to conditions so humiliating. To do Alexander VII. justice it is necessary to take into account the altered conditions. The religious unity of Europe had been destroyed, whilst a large proportion of Germany and Holland, England and the Scandinavian States were bitterly hostile to the Papacy. All the Catholic Powers, with the exception of France, were weakened, whilst the Turkish menace prevented both Venice and the Emperor from lending any help whatever. On the other hand, France's youthful ruler, who disposed of a standing army which, for that time, may be described as vast, as well as of immense pecuniary resources, showed not only to the Holy See, but to all the Powers, that he considered himself as the ruler of Europe. By threatening war he compelled his father-in-law, Philip IV. of Spain, to grant precedence to the French ambassador. In like manner Charles II. of England was forced to yield to the demand that when his ships met the French, they were to fire the first salute. As for Italy, not only the ruler of the States of the Church, but everyone who still called a piece of ground his own, was terrorized by the domineering attitude of Louis XIV. How everyone trembled at a frown of the potentate of Versailles is shown by the fact that no one dared to give hospitality to Cardinal Imperiali, and Venice and Mantua as well as the Spanish Governor of Milan would not even allow the Cardinal's brother to remain within their respective territories.²

On February 18th, 1664, in a secret Bull, the Pope put on record the fact that brute force alone and the necessity of avoiding war in Italy, because of the peril threatening from the Turks, had compelled him to agree to the humiliating

¹ *Traité de Pise*, Paris, 1664; DESMARAIS, App. 145. *Ibid.* Alexander VII.'s Brief of April 26, 1664, on Mario Chigi's declaration.

² CHANTELAUZE, *Card. de Retz*, 103; BROSCHE, II., 432.

conditions¹ which called forth the sneers of his enemies.² The brutality of Louis XIV.'s conduct can only be fully realized when it is borne in mind that the incident of August 20th was simply a skilfully chosen pretext to humiliate the Holy See, for documentary evidence in the Paris Archives shows that neither the King nor his advisers believed for one moment the truth of their allegations against Alexander VII. and his Government, that, on the contrary, they knew perfectly well that the Pope could not be held responsible for the attack on the palace of the ambassador.³

In order to attenuate the painful impression which France's action towards the Supreme Head of the Church could not fail to create in the Catholic world, Louis XIV. suddenly manifested an unexpected willingness to join in a crusade against the Turks. In the summer of 1663 the Ottomans, using Belgrade as their base, had launched an attack against Hungary. So great was the peril that Vienna was being fortified.⁴ Both Leopold I. and the Sultan were arming feverishly. The Pope, whose resources had been exhausted by the measures he had been obliged to take in defending himself against Louis XIV.,⁵ authorized the Viennese nuncio, Carafa,

¹ DAUNOU, *Sur la puissance temporelle des Papes*, II.², Paris, 1878, 172 *seqq.* MOÛY (II., 290 *seqq.*) could recently question the authenticity of the Bull of protest only because he did not know of Daunou's book who found the document in the Papal Secret Archives. GÉRIN (I., 496) also believes in the authenticity of the Bull and observes (473) that even Louis XIV. admitted "qu' Alexandre VII. n'y [the Treaty of Pisa] a consenti que ' le poignard à la gorge ' et la bulle du 18 février contient la vérité absolue en fait comme en droit".

² Cf. *Le risate sopra la pace di Pisa (Dialogue between Pasquino and Abbate Luigi) in *Barb.* 5684, p. 1 *seqq.* Vat. Lib. See also **Discorso fatto in Parnasso* (between Pasquino and Marforio) in *Ottob.* 2332, p. 1 *seqq.*, *ibid.* *More satires in *Cod.* 34 C., 20, of the Corsini Library.

³ See the proof in the papers of the Archives of Foreign Affairs, Paris, in GÉRIN, I., 471 *seqq.*

⁴ LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 755.

⁵ In the protest Bull (see above, n. 1), Alexander VII. puts

to alienate the gold and silver of the churches throughout the Emperor's hereditary States, a measure which yielded 100,000 scudi. He also dispatched war material and a body of armed men.¹ To everybody's amazement Louis XIV. detached 7,000 men from the troops with which he meant to fight the Pope to lend them to the Emperor, but for fear of provoking the Turks he did this solely as a member of the Federation of the Rhine ; moreover, he informed Constantinople with the utmost secrecy that he had been coerced into lending this assistance.² On August 1st, 1664, the French fought with their wonted bravery in the decisive battle on the Raab, near the Cistercian monastery of St. Gothard. However, this brilliant victory was quickly followed by the peace of Vasvár (August 10th), simply because the Emperor could not feel sure that the Empire would continue to help him, whilst he knew that he could rely even less on France's assistance.³ He cannot be blamed for his action since Louis XIV., so far from wishing to sever a long established connection with the Porte, meditated very different plans.

his expenditure at roughly two millions. Fuller *data in *Cod. H.*, II., 40, of the Chigi Library, Rome : " La spesa fatta dalli 20 agosto 1662 per la soldatesca di leva nel passato armamento e pagata per essa a tutto settembre 1664, non compresa quella che era solita tenersi, è importata scudi un millione e otto cento diciotto mila nove cento cinquanta cinque. Non si comprende nella suddetta spesa quello che le comunità di Bologna e Ferrara pretendono sborsato per fieni et utensili che dice Ferrara importare scudi 54,000." Bologna's expenditure was probably no less a sum.

¹ *Bull.*, XVII., 229 ; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 757, 759, 761, 766, 768, 771, 776. The magnificent chest presented by Alexander VII. to the Emperor shows many allusions to the Emperor Constantine which are likewise allusions to Leopold I.'s war against the Turks. The chest is now in the collection of the Imperial House of Austria ; see catalogue, p. 205 seq.

² IMMICH, *Staatenystem*, 51.

³ ZINKEISEN, IV., 929 seq. ; ERDMANNSDÖRFFER, I., 360 seq. ; *Mitteil. des Österr. Instituts*, X., 443 seq. ; MENTZ, I., III ; RIETZLER, VII., 60 seq.

Above all, by means of the Federation of the Rhine, he meant to meddle with the internal affairs of Germany even more than in the past. Already during the Turkish war, whilst the valour of his soldiers caused him to appear as a champion of Christendom, his officers were instructed to spy out Leopold I.'s resources and the tactics of the imperial troops.¹

Alexander saw through the French King's game though the Abbé Bourlemont, on his return to the Eternal City, assured him that the zeal of the King of France for the service and welfare of religion was without parallel.²

Firmly resolved to let bygones be bygones as much as possible,³ the Pope did his best to carry out promptly and loyally the treaty of Pisa. The attachment of Castro to the *Camera* was revoked at once,⁴ the declaration to be made by Mario Chigi drawn up, the amnesty for Cardinal Maidalchini and those who had taken part in the insurrection of Avignon issued,⁵ and Flavio Chigi appointed Legate in France.⁶ Chigi's credentials addressed to the French royal couple, were couched in the friendliest terms,⁷ for the Pope feared that an attempt might be made to humble his representative still further by receiving him badly. As a matter of fact, just then everything was done on the French side to confirm the aged and ailing Pontiff in this fear, and no occasion was missed of showing disregard for him.⁸ However, the one thing that must have grieved the Head of the Church more than anything else was the circumstance that a pyramid had to be

¹ ROUSSET, Louvois, I., 37 *seqq.* Cf. also the reports in GÉRIN, I., 476, 556.

² GÉRIN, I., 491, 557.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ **Acta consist.*, February 18, 1664, Vat. Lib.

⁵ *Bull.*, XVII., 253-4; *ibid.*, 262, for Cardinal Maidalchini's absolution which was also extorted at Pisa.

⁶ Nomination on March 24 and handing of the legatine cross on April 28, 1664 (**Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib.). GÉRIN (I., 499), must be corrected accordingly.

⁷ **Epist.*, IX.-X, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁸ GÉRIN, I., 468, 483 *seqq.*, 497.

erected in his own capital for the purpose of perpetuating his humiliation. A curious light is thrown on the mentality of the French by the fact that they saw to it that the inscription was in the biggest letters possible and that by bribing the papal architects, they persuaded them to make the monument as solid as possible.¹ Not content with this, Louis XIV. had medals struck in Paris to celebrate his "victory" over a defenceless priest and a monument was erected in the Place des Victoires.² However, it was soon seen that Louis's victory had been a Pyrrhic one. The King had to pay a heavy price for the satisfaction of receiving at the hands of a specially appointed Cardinal Legate, excuses which the Pope had been prepared to offer from the beginning, for the Legate insisted with grim determination on his being accorded all the honours due to his position, so that his stay in France singularly contributed to enhance the high idea people had of the power of the Holy See.³

The Cardinal Legate left the Eternal City on April 23rd, 1664. He embarked at Civitavecchia for Marseilles and arrived at Lyons on May 29th.⁴ The Pope had spared no expense⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 493. The pyramid was only removed on May 31, 1668. Reproductions of it were widely distributed from France (cf. JUNG, *La France et Rome*, Paris, 1874, 180). Reproduction of the 40 ft. high monument in DESMARAIS.

² MOÛY (II., 424), justly stresses this.

³ GÉRIN, I., 482, note.

⁴ The main sources for Chigi's legation are his **Registratio*, copy in *Cod. E.*, II., 35, of the Chigi Lib., and the **Diario* of his companion, Baldini, *ibid.*, E., II., 38, more fully in the Chigi's private Archives at Ariccia. Cf. GÉRIN, I., 499 *seqq.* (departure erroneously given as May 5); MOÛY, II., 307 *seqq.*, 310 *seqq.*, and in *La nouvelle Revue*, LXXVIII.-LXXIX. (1892-3); GUGLIELMOTTI, 291; RODOCANACHI in *Rev. d'hist. dipl.*, 1894; CL. COCHIN, *Une épisode de la légation*, etc., in *Bullet. de la Soc. d'hist. de Corbeille-Étampes*, 1911. A **poem* addressed to Chigi on the peace between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. in *Barb.* 3885, p. 119 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib.

⁵ According to *Cod. H.*, II., of the Chigi Library the "*spesa d. legatione di Francia*" amounted to "*scudi 200,000 in circa*".

to provide him with a numerous and brilliant suite. The Legate's dignified bearing created a profound impression. The enthusiasm with which the good Catholic people of France received him, was resented at court quite as much as the Legate's great reserve. Accordingly, the Government sought to ascertain his intentions by opening his correspondence !¹

When Chigi at last threw aside his reserve, he discovered that he would only be allowed to make a solemn entry into Paris in return for papal concessions in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere. He declined such bargaining. In view of the difficulties made on points of etiquette, he announced that he would forgo a solemn entry into Paris and, in keeping with the terms of the treaty of Pisa, confine himself to a visit to the King. This firm attitude produced its effect ; the French Government yielded all along the line.² On July 3rd Chigi had a most gracious private audience with the King at Fontainebleau, and on July 29th, in accordance with the treaty of Pisa, the solemn audience took place at which he made excuses for the incidents of August 20th in the exact terms agreed upon at Pisa.³ On August 9th the Legate made

Chigi's *Maestro di casa*, Giuseppe Sellori, according to his "**Ristretto delle spese d. legatione*" only disbursed 4,375 scudi (Private Archives of the Chigi at Ariccia).

¹ GÉRIN, I., 503 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 505 *seqq.*

³ "Sire, Sa Sainteté a ressenti avec une très grande douleur les malheureux accidents qui sont arrivés, et les sujets de mécontentement que Votre Majesté en a eus lui ont causé le plus sensible déplaisir qu'Elle fût capable de recevoir : je l'assure que ce n'a jamais été la pensée ni l'intention de Sa Sainteté que Votre Majesté fut offensée ni M. le duc de Créqui, son ambassadeur. . . . En mon particulier, j'atteste à Votre Majesté . . . la joie que j'ai de voir cette entrée ouverte pour faire connaître par les plus soumises et sincères actions de mon obéissance, quelle est la vénération que j'ai, et toute ma maison aussi, pour le nom glorieux de Votre Majesté . . . combien les accidents arrivés à Rome ont été éloignés de nos sentiments, et avec quelle amertume j'ai appris que moi et ma maison ayons été en cela chargés

his solemn entry into Paris, although the Parliament of Paris had raised some petty objections against his doing so.¹ Cardinal Imperiali, the injustice of whose condemnation was recognized too late, was also graciously received, but for the time being the Pope's new representative, nuncio Carlo Roberto de' Vettori, was only received as nuncio extraordinary.² The restoration of Avignon took place in July.³

During Chigi's return journey to Rome, where he arrived on October 9th,⁴ the French Government was not sparing of its attentions, but the Legate remained as silent and reserved as before: the papal concessions which Louis XIV. had expected were not granted.⁵ The Pope and his representative did not allow themselves to be deceived by outward appearances, all the more so as the conduct of the Duke of Créqui, who since May 31st, 1664, was once more in Rome as ambassador, made it only too evident that even now the French Government had no desire to be on good terms with the Holy See. Nevertheless, as soon as peace had been made with Louis XIV., Madrid began to fear that in future Alexander VII.

d'imputations sinistres. . . . Si nous avions eu la moindre part dans l'attentat du 20 août, nous nous estimerions indignes du pardon que nous en aurions voulu et dû demander à Votre Majesté, la suppliant de croire que ces paroles et sentiments sont exprimés par un cœur sincère, etc." MOÛY, II., 345.

¹ GÉRIN, I., 520 *seqq.*, 527 *seqq.*; CAPPELLI, 74 *seqq.*, 98 *seq.* Illustrated description in the loose sheet *L'entrée à Paris du card. Chigi, légat en France*, Paris, 1664. A medal in honour of the entry is in the collection of medals of the palace at Ariccia.

² GÉRIN, I., 530 *seqq.*, 545. The *Brief to Louis XIV. on the appointment of the nuncio, dated April 28, 1664, in *Epist.*, IX.-X., Papal Sec. Arch.

³ GÉRIN (I., 564 *seq.*) shows Louis's XIV. lack of loyalty in this matter also.

⁴ MOÛY, II., 361 *seqq.* A *poem on the "amabilità del suo genio e la soavità delle sue negotiationi" is in the Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

⁵ Cf. Pallavicino's letters to Alexander VII., in MACCHIA, 80, 82.

would side with France,¹ but events were to show that this anxiety was quite unjustified.

Créqui began at once to make impossible demands and to pick quarrels with everybody, in fact that impossible personage ended by quarrelling with his own suite.² His recall by the King in March, 1665, came none too soon. "He consorted almost exclusively with gamblers and Jews," a Frenchman wrote, "and thereby ruined both our friends and his own reputation."³

For a time the French embassy remained without an occupant, business being transacted by the Abbé Bourlemont. The Jansenist controversy, which now came once more into the foreground, betrayed Louis XIV.'s determination to impose his will on the Holy See even in ecclesiastical questions.⁴ But before all else he aimed at reducing the Pope to the rôle of a willing tool of his unscrupulous policy, the object of which was the acquisition of the whole of Spain's possessions in the event of the extinction of the Spanish Habsburgs. To this policy the neutral, or more accurately, the impartial attitude of Alexander VII. towards the great Catholic Powers constituted an obstacle which it was necessary to remove. This was to be the task of the new French ambassador in Rome, the Duke of Chaulnes. Although from the political standpoint the results of the treaty of Pisa proved, as time went on, to be of no value to France,⁵ Chaulnes was expected

¹ GÉRIN, I., 533 *seq.*, 547; MOÛY, II., 359 *seqq.*

² GÉRIN, I., 538 *seqq.*, 569, 575.

³ *Ibid.*, 576. MOÛY, who judges Créqui with the utmost leniency, concludes that he was quite unsuited for the post of Roman ambassador (II., 419 *seqq.*), and that his conduct was but a series of blunders (422).

⁴ See below, ch. V.

⁵ MOÛY (II., 424 *seq.*) writes: "Le succès final obtenu avec tant de peine, n'a servi en rien la France et sa politique: il a offensé personnellement le Souverain Pontife sans amener la moindre concession utile, sans modifier en quoi ce soit l'antagonisme gallican et ultramontain, sans même agrandir le duc de Parme, qui n'a pu, comme il était aisé de le prévoir, remplir ses engagements pour Castro et qui a perdu définitivement ce

to continue the system of intimidation which Créqui had adopted in his time. This was the burden of the Instruction of the new ambassador when he was appointed in May, 1666.¹ The Duke, who made his entry into Rome with unusual pomp, on July 10th, 1666, faithfully carried out these directions.

In the following month the Pope experienced several violent attacks of his two ailments, gravel and kidney trouble. It was only with the utmost difficulty that he was able to receive Chaulnes. His condition only improved after a stay at Castel Gandolfo in October.² His first care now was to provide assistance for the Venetians in their struggle for

duché huit ans plus tard. Les seuls résultats pratiques ont donc été : d'une part le voyage du légat qui a été pour lui l'occasion d'une marche triomphale à travers la France et d'une entrée magnifique à Paris, et d'autre part l'érection de cette pyramide que si peu d'années après le roi consentait à laisser détruire . . . En un mot, et pour de bien médiocres avantages, le St-Siège fut à la fois opprimé, ce qui justifiait ses rancunes passées et ses résistances futures, et inutilement attaqué dans son amour-propre. Il sortait de la lutte avec l'espoir fondé de reprendre bientôt Castro, et de plus avec le droit de se plaindre des procédés superbes du Fils aîné de l'Eglise. Notre politique avait été constamment désagréable et irrespectueuse dans la forme et débile dans le fond. C'était l'inverse de ce qu'elle aurait dû être et de ce qu'elle eût été si Louis XIV. et M. de Lionne s'en tenant avec fermeté aux réparations nécessaires, n'avaient pas surchargé de négociations vaines une affaire où leur bon droit, indéniable à l'origine, a fini par s'obscurcir et fatiguer à la longue la France et l'Europe." If Mouÿ suggests that by prompt action against the culprits, Alexander VII., " par quelques démarches gracieuses " would easily (aisément) have calmed Louis XIV.'s anger, that optimistic view is refuted by the documentary evidence in GÉRIN. If action against the Corsicans had been accelerated, Louis XIV. and his advisers would have complained of the absence of the usual judicial procedure.

¹ HANOTAUX, I., 158-225. Cf. P. LESOURD, *L'ambassade de France près le St. Siège*, Paris, 1924, 57, 73, 75, 90.

² GÉRIN, II., 58 *seqq.*, 134 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.* Cf. **Avviso* of November 27, 1666, Papal Sec. Arch.

Crete, for after the failure of the Signoria's negotiations with the Porte, both sides were arming for a decisive fight.¹ On December 21st, 1666, the Pope appealed to the Catholic Princes, including Louis XIV.,² and on February 3rd, 1667, he granted to the Venetians a subsidy of 100,000 scudi.³ He likewise gave orders for the papal galleys to be ready to put to sea in the spring.⁴

At this time Alexander VII. was already stricken with mortal disease. One can only wonder at the will power which enabled him, notwithstanding his delicate health, imperturbably to continue his work for the space of twelve years in a situation of the utmost difficulty, amid endless annoyances on the part of France, and conscientiously to discharge the duties of his office despite his physical sufferings. Alexander VII. had aged prematurely. During his nunciature at Münster he had lost all his teeth,⁵ but he stuck to his task by sheer tenacity and will-power. The French, who had hoped for his early demise soon after his elevation, were doomed to disappointment, though the Pope was constantly tortured by disease of the bladder and the kidneys.⁶ In his last

¹ ZINKEISEN, IV., 956.

² The *Briefs to the Emperor, Louis XIV., Poland, Savoy, Bavaria, and the ecclesiastical Electors, in *Epist.*, XI.-XIII., Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 105 *seqq.*

³ *Bull.*, XVII., 481 *seqq.* Giacomo Quirini passes over in silence this considerable subsidy in his prejudiced report, BERCHET, II., 322.

⁴ GUGLIELMOTTI, 292. The total expenditure of the Apostolic Camera for the papal galleys during the Turkish war, 1655-1667, amounted to 1,626,939 scudi. ADEMOLLO, in *Riv. Europ.*, V., 289.

⁵ NOVAES, X., 190.

⁶ GÉRIN, I., 132. According to Riccardi's *report of July 3, 1655, Alexander VII.'s death was expected in November (State Arch., Florence). By reason of his infirmities the Pope was unable to carry the Blessed Sacrament at the procession of Corpus Christi, as his predecessors had done. Bernini constructed a portable chair on which the Pope, seemingly on his knees before the Host, was carried (see PALLAVICINO, I., 269; NOVAES, X., 184 *seq.*;

years, when the attacks became increasingly frequent and more dangerous, he saw himself obliged to curtail the receptions of the ambassadors.¹ Thereupon his enemies, with utter disregard of the truth, represented the situation as if the Pope shrank from work, and desired to indulge his learned tastes and his love of quiet to the exclusion of all else.² The fact is, that even in the last years of his life he exerted himself to the utmost in dealing with questions of government; indeed he frequently went beyond what his condition allowed, for the last five months of his life were a long chain of grievous bodily trials. At the Farnese palace his death was awaited with impatience. It is with a feeling of indignation that one reads the feeble, and at times indecent witticisms which fill the letters written by the Duke of Chaulnes and his minions to Louis XIV. and to Lionne.³ More than any other source of information, they reveal the moral decadence of the representatives of the *roi soleil*.⁴

MORONI, IX., 47; CANCELLIERI, *Nercato*, 219). He speaks of his infirmities even in his poems (*Musae Juveniles*, n. 45 and 56). He consoles himself with the thought of St. Francis de Sales (*ibid.*, n. 45).

¹ GÉRIN, II., 52 *seq.* A curious piece of medical *advice for Alexander VII.'s complaint in *Cod. E.*, VI., 205, p. 157 of the Chigi Library. *Ibid.*, p. 547 *seqq.*, a " *Discorso sul mal di pietra di Alessandro VII.," by Paolo Zacchia. Cf. also **Vat.*, 10, 412, p. 85, *Vat. Lib.*

² See Giacomo Quirini, in BERCHET, II., 317 *seqq.*, whose account is adopted by RANKE (III., 37) and BROSCH (I., 433), regardless of the fact that it is from the pen of a prejudiced partisan who is silent on the good done and who (on p. 320) goes so far as to assert that Alexander VII. had squandered his treasure on buildings, " non a riedificazione ma distruttione della città capo del mondo," quoting in proof the erection of the colonnade of St. Peter's which rendered the Borgo for ever uninhabitable! The same spirit characterizes the anonymous *Vita di Alessandro VII.* (see above, p. 25, n. 3), where the same argument is used in an even more ludicrous fashion.

³ GÉRIN, II., 113 *seqq.*

⁴ How greatly the looseness of French manners at that time

Even the French reports, biased as they are by hatred, make it clear that up to the very end, in the measure in which it was at all possible, the Pope faithfully fulfilled the duties of his sacred office. On January 11th, 1667, though confined to his bed, he received the Duke of Chaulnes, to whom he complained of the bad treatment to which the Paris nuncio had been subjected, as well as of various injuries inflicted on the Church in France; after which he spoke of the Turkish war.¹ On March 7th he made his last creation of Cardinals; his emaciated body, and especially the dullness of his eyes, made it plain that the end could not be far off.² Three days later his condition had become so much worse that prayers before the Blessed Sacrament exposed were ordered in all the churches. The Pope asked for Holy Viaticum and made his last dispositions; even Chaulnes wondered at the calm and imperturbability with which he faced death. One report compares him to a candle which flares up for a last time before it goes out.³ Five or six times a day he sent for the learned and devout Cistercian Giovanni Bona, of whose services he was wont to avail himself besides his ordinary confessor, the Jesuit, Giambattista Cancellati. But these religious conversations did not make him forget his official duties; in fact, it was precisely during those days that two important documents on the Jansenist controversy were drawn up.⁴ When his illness compelled him to leave affairs on one side for a few days, Cardinal Chigi was empowered to sign documents the dispatch of which could not be deferred; but as soon as there was any improve-

shocked Italian observers may be gathered from the description of SEB. LOCATELLI, of Bologna: *Voyage de France*, 1664-1665, ed. A. Vautier, Paris, 1905.

¹ GÉRIN, II., 116 *seqq.* On February 1, 1667, Alexander VII. had addressed a warning *Brief to Louis XIV. on the injury done to the Church, *Epist.*, XI.-XIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

² GÉRIN, II., 122. On the promotions, see below, p. 130.

³ GÉRIN, II., 151. Cf. Cardinal Sforza's *letter to Leopold I., dated March 9, 1667, State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ See below.

ment, the Cardinal was made to give a detailed account of whatever had been done.¹

On March 16th, despite the opposition of his physician, Alexander VII. held yet another consistory.² During the ensuing weeks his condition grew steadily worse, but on Easter Sunday, April 10th, gathering all his strength for a supreme effort, he had himself carried to the balcony of the Quirinal in order to bestow a solemn blessing upon the people. This exertion brought about a grave relapse in the course of the following night which gave rise to the gravest anxiety.³ Though his body had shrunk to a mere skeleton,⁴ the Pope's mind remained remarkably fresh and vigorous, as is proved by the farewell discourse which he addressed to the thirty-six Cardinals gathered round his deathbed, after he had received Holy Communion on April 15th.⁵ Though the voice of the stricken Pontiff was very weak, his mind was as clear as ever. He began by expressing his unshaken trust in God's mercy, after which he made a survey of his pontificate. He had done his best, he said, and had always had the best of intentions. He thought with satisfaction of his solicitude for the divine service, the churches and other buildings, and the help he had been able to give to

¹ GÉRIN, II., 152. " *Chiuse i suoi giorni con rassegnatione vera christiana alla divina providenza " Carlo Barberoni wrote on June 1, 1667, to Leopold I. (State Arch., Vienna). According to the Florentine report in GROTANELLI, 84, a physician was summoned from Siena to attempt a last hour bladder operation.

² **Acta consist.*, loc. cit., Vat. Lib.

³ GÉRIN, II., 154 seq. Cf. also the report of M. Jost, dated April 9, 1667, in *Zeitschr. für Schweizerische Kischenges.*, VIII., 225, and Raggi's report in NERI, *Corrisp. di F. Raggi*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 670 seq.

⁴ See NERI, loc. cit., 675. Cf. also Card. Sforza's *letter of July 17, 1667, to Leopold I., State Arch., Vienna.

⁵ See the account of Servantius, master of ceremonies, in GÉRIN, II., 155, and that of LÄMMER (*Melet.*, 250 seq.), taken from a MS. of the Library of S. Pietro in Vincoli, which is simply the notes of the **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib. Cf. also NERI, loc. cit., 671 seq.

the Catholic Powers ; the conduct of his family likewise gave him great satisfaction. He begged the Cardinals to forgive the faults he had committed through human frailty and recommended to them the Holy See and a good choice at the forthcoming conclave ; let it be blameless as was that of 1655. With grave words he warned the Cardinals not to sell themselves to the Princes, and in self-blame he lamented the fact that at the last creation he had yielded more than was just to the latter's demands. He then gave them his blessing and had the profession of faith read which he once again confirmed with an oath. On April 18th the Pope repeated the substance of this address to Cardinals Orsini, Imperiali, Pallavicino, Paluzzi and Rondinini, who had not been present on the 18th.¹ Towards the end of April another improvement occurred, but it did not last. Despite his weakness and the pain he was in, Alexander VII. gave a few minutes' audience to the Spanish ambassador and after him to Cardinals Vendôme and Delfino. The next day he was worse, on the 19th he communicated once more and received Extreme Unction.² As the evening Angelus was ringing on May 22nd, he was released, though only 69 years old, from his prolonged sufferings which latterly had become acute.³

¹ GÉRIN, II., 158 *seq.* Cf. **Avviso* of May 21, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch. RANKE (III., 37 *seq.*) writes : " If his negotiations failed, he laid the blame on the Cardinals' private interests. He was still heard to speak of it in his delirium shortly before his death." Against this we must note that the text of Alexander VII.'s allocution is not compatible with the assumption of delirium. As regards the private interests of the Cardinals, that is the venality of a number of members of the Sacred College, GÉRIN has proved that Orsini, Azzolini and Maidalchini were accessible to French money. On Spanish pensions for the Cardinals, see the *note in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome, I., 46.

² Cf. the detailed accounts of Ferd. Raggi in NERI, *loc. cit.*, 675 *seq.*, 679 *seq.*, 681.

³ See **Avviso* of May 28, 1667, *loc. cit.* Cf. the *letter of Card. Frederick of Hesse to Leopold I., dated May 22, 1667, who speaks of the "heroiche virtù" of Alexander VII. (State Archives,

Alexander VII. was no longer among the living when news reached Rome of Louis XIV.'s invasion of the Spanish Netherlands, a step that finally disposed of the plan of an anti-Turkish league to which the Pope had clung to the last.

If the twelve years' pontificate of the Chigi Pope had failed to realize the high hopes set on the elevation of a man so distinguished for learning, ability, and virtue,¹ the fault was not his. He had every quality to make a great Pope but in his case also were to be verified the melancholy words engraved on the tomb of Adrian IV.: "Oh! how much depends upon what epoch the life of even an excellent man falls into!"² More than anything else it was the relentless enmity of Mazarin and Louis XIV. that made it impossible for Alexander VII. to realize his lofty aims, and in the end

Vienna). Two "**Relationi della morte d'Alessandro VII.*" in *Ottob.* 3154, p. 322 *seqq.*, 330 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib., *ibid.*, 338 *seqq.* "**Relatione per la pompa funerale d'Alessandro VII.*," by Giacomo Fappalli and 352 *seqq.* "**Relazione della morte e dei funerali di P. Alessandro VII. con alcune iscrizioni, scritta da Giuseppe Baldini.*" "*Deposito di Papa Alessandro VII. eretto nella basilica Vaticana, architettura del. cav. G. L. Bernini*" (engraving by Dorigny), Rome, ca. 1680. On the result of the autopsy Raggi writes on May 22, 1655: "Fu aperto il corpo di N. Signore. Non vi si è trovata pietra alcuna; ma bensì il reno manco pieno di marcia bianca, non puzzolente, che ha così contaminata la punta di un de' polmoni, e la milza ancora. Da ciò si accendeva la febre. Il dolore che tanto lo martirizzava nasceva dal calare dell'urina, dal reno infocato e guasto alla vescica. Dentro la vescica vi erano tre grandole; dentro pure si è trovato grasso impastato. Il suo male principiò da una cascata, che fece a Castello Gandolfo, che offese il fianco. Sempre diceva, che il suo male non era pietra, e li medici, stimando il contrario, l'hanno medicato alla rovescia" (*NERI, loc. cit.*, 682).

¹ Cf. Riccardi's **report* of August 21, 1655, according to which the disappointment was felt already at that time, State Archives, Florence.

² Soon after his election Alexander VII. lamented the fact that his pontificate fell into so unfavourable a period; see the report of the Venetian *obbedienza* embassy in BÉRCHET, II., 184.

broke his strength. To this must be added the Pope's ill-health, which accounts for his occasional slowness and lack of decision. His achievements in the ecclesiastical sphere and in the mission field are beyond dispute. It was not his fault if an end was not put to the intrigues of the Jansenists.

Alexander VII.'s piety, his liberality towards the poor, his ever active solicitude for the city of Rome in time of want and pestilence, could not be denied even by his bitterest foes, though his initial severity towards his relatives, which was excessive, and their subsequent promotion, throw an unfavourable light on his person and gave occasion for the most severe as well as the most unjust condemnation. But though on this point Alexander VII. also paid toll to human weakness, his nephews never won any excessive influence, on the contrary the Pope's chosen counsellors were such distinguished Cardinals as Rospigliosi, Corrado and Pallavicino, though he always reserved to himself the final decision.¹

Himself an accomplished man, a poet and a scholar, Alexander VII. gave his powerful patronage to learning, and more particularly to art. Accordingly this aspect of his government, which was also emphasized at his obsequies in St. Peter's on his magnificent catafalque,² must be described

¹ Cf. Sagredo in BERCHET, II., 234 *seq.* According to Basadonna (*ibid.*, 269), relations between Alexander VII. and Rospigliosi became strained in course of time and even Pallavicino saw less of the Pope than at first (*ibid.*, 217 *seq.*). How far this is true remains to be ascertained because Basadonna is not an unimpeachable witness.

² **Avviso* of June 4, 1667: "Il gran mausoleo eretto in mezzo di detta basilica con 4 alte guglie alli cantoni di esso piene di candelotti accesi, con molti medaglioni messi a oro rappresentanti le fabbriche di chiese, teatro e cattedra fatte dal defunto Pontefice, et in mezzo vi era l'urna con sopra il triregno sostenuta da un altissimo piedestallo, il quale alle 4 faccie rappresentava pure posto a oro l'Immacolata Concettione di N. Signora, le 2 canonizzazioni di S. Tommaso de Villanova e Franc. de Sales, e la beatificazione del b. Pietro d'Arbues Aragonese, attorniato da molti

quite as much as his action within the Church if we are to have a full-length portrait of the Pontiff.

armi, imprese, elogi e iscrizioni, in lode di S.S." (Papal Sec. Arch.). Cf. A. FAVORITI, *Oratio in funere Alexandri VII.*, Romae, 1667. The Pope was buried "nell'arca commessa alla prima cappella a mano sinistra" (Contarini, in BERCHET, *Roma*, II., 46). On Bernini's monument (sketch in *L'Arte*, IX. [1906], 204), cf. BENKARD, 31, 35, 41; *Riv. stor.*, 1907, 373; *Kunstgeschichtl. Anzeigen*, 1910, 27; FREY, *Beiträge*, 99; KEYSSLER, I., 770. *Satire against Alexander VII. by Ant. Magalotti in *Bibl. Nazionale*, Florence, II., IV., 234. On the erection of the monument between 1672 and 1678, see FRASCHETTI, 386. Of the unveiling and the criticisms that followed at once an **Avviso* of April 23, 1678, says: È stato alla fine scoperto il deposito di Alessandro VII., la di cui statua, come era l'originale, che da una parte appariva diferente dell'altra, e simile se si guardava in faccia, ma in tutto dissimile, se si rimira in scurcio. La Carità che è la 1^a statua riguardevole, lo sta riguardando, ma riguardandosi di essere stata posta in quel posto; la Penitenza, che è la 2^a, si nasconde, vergognandosi di servir per gloria a chi non l'ha mai conosciuta. Un bel ingegno otioso, de' quali a questa città non ne mancano, veduta detta statua orante e situata per appunto in contro al quadro, dove il cav. Vanni dipinse la caduta di Simone Mago, l'interrogò, ma in latino, acciochè pochi intendessero: An adoraret Petrum aut Simonem" (Papal Sec. Arch.). Card. Pio, on May 28, 1678 (State Archives, Vienna), wrote: " *Domenica S. S^{ta}. [Innocenzo XI.] fu a vedere il deposito d'Alessandro VII. e parendole tropp'ignuda la statua della Verità, fece dire al S. card. Chigi che la facesse più coprire, come seguirà." A severe criticism of the monument in BRIGGS, 38 seq.

CHAPTER IV.

ALEXANDER VII.'s ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—REFORMS —NOMINATIONS OF CARDINALS—RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN GERMANY, SWITZERLAND AND SCANDINAVIA—MISSIONS.

(1.)

ALEXANDER VII. began his reign with wholesome reforms within the Church, but in so doing he saw to it that no too dark a shadow fell on the memory of his predecessor, for during his stay in Germany he had noticed the bad impression which resulted from an over-emphasis of the contrast between the past and the present.¹

He made a beginning in July, 1655, with a purge of the personnel of the Vatican.² He revived the Congregation of the *Visita* and the functions in the papal chapel were carried out more worthily.³ Since Rome should set a good example to the rest of the world, a visitation of all the churches, and hospitals of the Eternal City was ordered in January,

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 318, 320. To the Florentine envoy Alexander VII. said that in view of the changes that had to be made, it was necessary "salvare più che sia possibile la reputazione al morto (Innocent X.), portando questa similitudine: Quando un pittore ha da rassettare in una facciata una pittura, vi pone davanti una tela, perchè non si veda, e accomodata la leva; così procureremo di far Noi", *report of April 17, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

² " *Questa mattina il papa ha fatto licenziare molti del personale, cioè bussolanti e camerieri extra muros, che per la mala loro fama non erano degni di aver alcun officio in Palazzo." Angelo Nardi to Giulio Fiorini, July 17, 1655. *The same to the same on July 21, 1655: "This policy is being continued," State Archives, Modena.

³ PALLAVICINO, I., 318, 410. Cf. NOVAES, X., 172 seq.

1656.¹ The Pope took part in person in the visitation of the four chief basilicas, the Lateran, St. Peter's, St. Mary Major and St. Paul's, when he gave excellent short addresses in Latin.² Great strictness was shown.³ In order to obtain God's blessing the Pope increased his alms to the poor and to charitable institutions for the duration of the visitation.⁴ One excellent result was the prohibition of services at night, with the exception of those of the sodalities of men, and the ancient and traditional solemnities of Christmas night, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. A reform of Church music was likewise undertaken.⁵ Later ordinances dealt with the reform of regulars, one of them being a prohibition of the use of carriages.⁶ Further results of the visitation were decrees for the good administration of Church property the order of the liturgical services in the principal basilicas,⁷ and the reform of convents of nuns. The ordinances of Urban VIII. and Innocent X. concerning the support of the destitute sick in Rome were renewed.⁸ "The Pope," Sagredo

¹ *Bull.*, XVI., 106, 109, 113 *seqq.*, 125, 127 *seq.*, 130, 138.

² Besides PALLAVICINO, I., 411, see the **Avvisi* of January 28, February 5 and March 4, 1656, Papal Sec. Arch. The **Acta visit. bas. S. Petri*, in *Barb.* 2624, the *allocutions of the Pope, *ibid.* 2009, Vat. Lib. A complete collection of all **Acta visit. apost. sub Alexandro VII.* in *Arm.*, VII., 42, 46-73, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ Cf. **Avviso* of May 15, 1656, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ Cf. **Avviso* of January 28, 1656, *ibid.*

⁵ See the prohibition of "musicæ indecentes" of April 23, 1657, *Bull.*, XVI., 275. Cf. the **Editto d. S. Visita apost. sopra le musiche* of July 30, 1665, *Editti*, V., 7, p. 101, Papal Sec. Arch., *ibid.*, 107 *seq.* " **Concorsi di musici per la cappella Pontificia*," beginning on November 23, 1668.

⁶ See **Avviso* of 1658 (no date), *ibid.* Alexander VII. himself composed the Collect for the feast of St. Francis; see Bäumer, *Brevier*, 511, who there speaks of the enrichment of the calendar by Alexander VII.

⁷ See the *report of Alata Tini of June 19, 1655, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

⁸ *Bull.*, XVI., 268, 270, 317, 341; cf. 581.

reports in 1661, "rigorously insists on a worthy celebration of the ecclesiastical functions, especially on the observance of silence in the chapel, of which he himself gives the best example. He has also been most careful in the choice of his entourage and only persons distinguished both by birth and virtue are employed in his service." The ceremonial was strictly adhered to ; thus everybody had to kneel during the audiences, with the exception of the Cardinals and the ambassadors.¹ The Pope saw with great displeasure some of the worldly-minded Cardinals taking part in the amusements of the Carnival, hence the Jesuit Zucchi was but the interpreter of the Pontiff's feelings when, in a Lenten sermon preached in the presence of the Pope, he sternly rebuked the wearers of the purple. The preacher described the traditional amusements of the carnival as relics of paganism. "Only Jerome of Narni," we read in a contemporary report, "were he still alive, would have dared to do this, but Zucchi resembles the Capuchin by the holiness of his life and by his frankness."²

The visitation of Rome was extended to the suburbican dioceses³ and all the Bishops of Italy and the adjacent isles were urged to hold synods.⁴ On April 8th, 1656, Alexander exhorted the German, French and Spanish Bishops to follow Rome's example by holding visitations and synods of their dioceses.⁵ In 1657 a similar exhortation was addressed to Poland.⁶ The reform of the Orders engaged the Pope's attention from the first year of his pontificate. Before all else he was anxious to remove abuses contrary to common life in monasteries. On April 19th, 1666, he ordered a visitation of

¹ BERCHET, II., 243. The Oratorian Mariano Soccino, in his *programme of reform drawn up in 1670 (Library of SS. Quaranti, Rome ; cf. below, in Innocent XI.), relates that when on the occasion of a papal *cappella*, silence was broken in proximity to the Pope, Alexander VII. said in a loud and solemn tone : "Domus mea domus orationis."

² NERI, *Corrisp. di Ferd. Raggi*, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 668.

³ See **Cod. N.*, III., 66 of Bibl. Casanat.

⁴ *Bull.*, XVI., 168.

⁵ **Epist.*, II., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁶ *Bull.*, XVI., 313.

the Cistercians.¹ The reform of the Orders was the particular concern of the canonist Prospero Fagnani, who enjoyed great influence with Alexander VII.² One wholesome measure was the limitation of marriage dispensations and the abolition of the cession of benefices by resignation, an abuse by which abbeys and even bishoprics had become hereditary in particular families.³ The entry on office of nuncios, their expenses and the ceremonial to be observed, were accurately determined.⁴

The Constitution of June 16th, 1659, fixing the conditions for admission into the prelature, was destined to become important for the working of ecclesiastical as well as secular administration. The conditions required in future were : legitimate birth from respectable parents, irreproachable moral conduct, twenty-five years of age, five years' study of the law at a University, the doctorate of both laws, two years' practice at an ecclesiastical tribunal, an annual income of 1,500 Roman scudi and, lastly, an examination by the *Segnatura della Giustizia*. These ordinances made entry into the prelature difficult ; only one who fulfilled these conditions could aspire to becoming a referendary of the *Segnatura* and was qualified for all the higher offices, including the cardinalate.⁵ Ecclesiastical and civil charges could be exercised alternately, thus the Governor of a town or province

¹ *Ibid.*, XVII., 441.

² Basadonna, in BERCHET, II., 273. RANKE (III., 37), even in his last edition, calls him Fugnano. Fagnani was a well-known scholar who died in 1678 at the age of 80 ; cf. MORONI, *Indice*, III., 99 ; HURTER, *Nomenclator*, IV., 253 seq.

³ Sagredo, in BERCHET, II., 248 ; GÉRIN, I., 278. For the " solenni funzioni di abiura " of the followers of the adventurer and alchemist Borri, 1661, in Rome and Milan, see MAGNOCAVALLO, in *Arch. stor. Lomb.*, 3 series, XXIX. (1902). Borri had fled to Innsbruck and fought the papacy. The Curia did its utmost to obtain his extradition ; see LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberrichte*, I., 656, 658 seq., 663, 665 seq., 685 seq., 748. Cf. also KRONES, 568.

⁴ BIAUDET, 59, 63, 312 seq., 314 ; *Röm. Quartalschr.*, V., 161 seq.

⁵ MORONI, LV., 144 seq. ; PHILLIPS, VI., 307 ; BANGEN, 52 ; HINSCHIUS, I., 388. According to the *dissertations in *Cod. N.* II.,

of the Papal States might become a Vice-Legate, or a nuncio and eventually a Cardinal, and the road to the purple was likewise open to the prelates of the Rota and the various Congregations.

An event of universal importance was the publication in 1664 of a new Index. In this edition the division into three classes hitherto followed was dropped and the alphabetical order strictly adhered to. An Appendix gives the decrees of the Index published after 1601.¹ In the sphere of the Liturgy mention must be made of a decree concerning the Cistercian Breviary.²

Twenty-nine years had gone by since the last canonization, for Urban VIII. had laid down much more exacting conditions for such an honour. Alexander VII. was able to carry out one beatification, that of the Grand Inquisitor Peter de Arbues [*ob.* 1485]³ and two canonizations. On November 7th, 1658, he canonized Thomas of Villanova, Bishop of Valencia [*ob.* 1555],⁴ celebrated for his apostolic charity, and on April 19th, 1665, amid great pomp, Francis de Sales [*ob.* 1622],⁵

50, of the Chigi Library (which is perhaps meant by RANKE, III., 70), Alexander VII. subsequently lowered the age to 21, and the annual income to 1,000 scudi.

¹ *Bull.*, XVII., 234; REUSCH., II., 29 *seq.*; HILGERS, 14. *Barb.* 3146-7 contains “*Acta s. congreg. Indicis libror. prohib., 1654-1691, Carolo card. Barberini collecta” (with original remarks by the latter), Vat. Library. On the Bull of June 23, 1665, condemning Gallican opinions, see REUSCH, II., 552 *seq.* On Alexander VII.’s attitude towards the Jews, see *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LIII. (1885), 66 *seq.*; on his relations with the Greeks: GORI, *Archivio*, V., 33 *seq.*

² *Zisterzienserchronik*, 1917.

³ *Bull.*, XVII., 154.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XVI., 396. Cf. the *notes for September 12 and November 1, 1658, in the *Epist.*, III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ *Bull.*, XVII., 431 (*ibid.*, XVI., 744, the beatification of December 18, 1661). Cf. the *notes on *consist. secr.* of September 14, 1662, *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.; also the **Avvisi* of March 14 and April 18 and 25, 1665, and *Epist.*, XI.-XIII.,

a man who by his own life and the Order founded by him, played so important a rôle in the period of the Catholic Restoration and who by his writings exercises a lasting influence upon the Catholic world.¹ The Pope cherished a particular veneration for this great man of whom the Queen of France had given him a relic in 1642.² In December, 1661, Alexander VII. renewed the decrees of his predecessors Sixtus IV., Pius V., Paul V. and Gregory XV., in favour of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of Our Lord.³ The Constitution called forth great joy, more especially in Spain where the genius of Murillo had exalted this mystery by his magnificent, world-famed pictures.⁴

Even the most exacting critic is bound to admit that Alexander VII. only summoned men of blameless character

ibid. Ibid., I., *Brief of November 15, 1665, to Count Buquoy, who had prayed for the canonization of Francis de Sales. On the interests of the French court, see GÉRIN, I., 572 *seq.* Cf. also MOÛY, II., 413 *seqq.*

¹ Cf. our data XXIII., 413.

² This relic is preserved to this day in the chapel of the palace at Ariccia.

³ On the Bull and its significance, see NOVAES, X., 147 *seq.*, and DUBOSC DE PESQUIDOUX, *L'Immaculée Conception, Hist. d'un dogme*, I., Paris, 1898, 447 *seqq.* By a *Brief of December 28, 1661, the Bull was also sent to Louis XIV. (*Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.). One of Suñer's paintings is connected with the Bull; cf. ROTHES, *Die Unbefleckte Empfängnis in der bildenden Kunst*, in Lit. Suppl. of *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1904, No. 49. On an ordinance of 1665 in favour of the dogma cf. JUNGNETZ, *Seb. v. Rostock, Erzbischof von Breslau*, Breslau, 1891, 183.

⁴ JUSTI, *Murillo*, Leipzig, 1904, 49 *seq.*; GRAUS, *Conceptio immaculata in alten Darstellungen*, Graz, 1905; ROTHES, *loc. cit.*; A. MAYER, *Gesch. der span. Malerei*, Leipzig, 1922, 339 *seq.* Philip IV. had requested Innocent X. to define the dogma of the Immaculate Conception; see his letter in App. to *Cartas de la ven. Sor. Maria de Agreda y del Rey Felipe IV.*, p.p. F. Silvela, I., Madrid, 1885.

into the Supreme Senate of the Church.¹ The only fault his contemporaries could find with him in this respect was his predilection for the Sienese, but it was precisely with these that the Pope was best acquainted.

At the first creation, on April 9th, 1657, besides the nephew, Flavio Chigi, nine Cardinals were named, though only five were published; they were Camillo Melzi, a friend of Chigi from the days of his nunciature in Vienna, Giulio Rospigliosi, who became Secretary of State, Count Niccolò Guido Bagno, Girolamo Buonvisi and Francesco Paolucci. Buonvisi had also been long known to the Pope who had made him his Maestro di Camera. Bagno had been nuncio in Paris during the pontificate of Innocent X. Both he and Paolucci, Secretary of the Congregation of the Council and Immunity during a period of thirty years, were already in the seventies.

On April 29th, 1657, two of the Cardinals reserved *in petto* were proclaimed: they were the Sienese Scipione d'Elce, successively nuncio in Venice and Vienna, a splendid man, as was the *Maggiordomo*, Girolamo Farnese, to whom Rome owed the *Scuole delle Maestre Pie*. Another two of those reserved *in petto*, viz. the papal nephew, Antonio Bichi of Siena and the Jesuit, Francesco Sforza Pallavicino, who had been on intimate terms with the Pope for years, were published on November 10th, 1657.

At the creation of April 29th, 1658, in view of the circumstance that up to that date no demand for the red hat had come in from any of the Catholic Princes, the Pope had assured the purple, by reservation *in petto*, to three most deserving prelates,² publication of whose names took place on April 5th,

¹ CIIACONII, IV., 727 *seqq.*, whose data agree with Contelorius' *notes in the Papal Sec. Arch., XI., 49. The data on the nomination in CARDELLA, VII., 122 *seqq.* and NOVAES, X., 128 *seqq.*, 136 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 152 *seqq.*, 186 *seqq.*, are confused. Cf. also GÉRIN, I., 484 *seq.*, II., 46 *seqq.* Sagredo's opinion on the excellent cardinalitial nominations of Alexander VII. deserve attention, as that writer is not, on the whole, an admirer of that Pope; see BERCHET, II., 254.

² PALLAVICINO, II., 207.

1660. They were the Sienese Volumnio Bandinelli, an old friend of the Pope's, his *Maggiordomo*, Odoardo Vecchiarelli and Jacopo Franzoni. Among the rest of those appointed on April 5th, 1660, the elevation of the Archbishop of Ratisbon, Franz Wilhelm von Wartenberg, a trusty collaborator of the Pope at the peace congress of Münster, was due to the recommendation of the Emperor¹ and that of the Polish nuncio, Pietro Vidoni, to the prayer of the King of Poland.² Pasquale d'Aragona's nomination had been desired by the King of Spain and that of Francesco Maria Mancini by the King of France.³ In addition to these the purple was bestowed on the Venetian Gregorio Barbarigo, who was also well known to the Pope from the time spent by both at Münster, whither the former had accompanied the Venetian envoy, Contarini. In 1657 the Pope had named Barbarigo to the see of Bergamo, where the latter, as subsequently at Padua, worked in the spirit of Charles Borromeo and also extended his patronage to men of learning. At a later period Barbarigo was twice on the verge of being elected Pope but his humility caused him to decline that dignity. He was beatified by Clement XIII. in 1761.⁴

¹ See *Brief to Leopold I., dated April 5, 1660, *Epist.*, III.-V. Papal Sec. Arch.

² Cf. *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCV., 10.

³ GÉRIN, I., 192.

⁴ Barbarigo, whom Alexander VII. described as an angel of goodness (BERCHET, II., 256), has not yet been the object of a monograph in keeping with modern requirements. On him, cf. RICHINIUS, *De vita beati Greg. B.*, Romae, 1761; UGHELLI, IV., 510 ss.; AUDISIO, *Il B. Greg. B.*, Venezia, 1859; *Scritti inediti del B. Greg. B.*, p. p. Uccelli, Parma, 1877; M. MAMACHI, *Capi trascelti della vita inedita del b. Greg. B.*, Padova, 1883; *Lettera del b. Greg. B. ad A. Contarini nel 1649*, Venezia, 1887; G. ALESSI, *Vita del b. Greg. B.*, Padova, 1897; POLETTI, in *Bessarione*, 1901; A. COI, *Visite pastorali del b. Greg. B. card. vescovo di Padova alla sua diocesi*, Padova, 1908. See also [L. TODESCA e S. SERENA], *Il Seminario di Padova*, Padova, 1911. A **Vita del b. Greg. B. scripta pro causa eius canonizationis* in *Cod.* I., 19, of the Bibl.

When Alexander VII. realized that his strength was waning, he deemed it his duty to make sure of the election of a worthy successor by creating a large number of Cardinals. This he did on January 14th, 1664. Six out of the twelve men chosen were reserved *in petto*. Of the new Cardinals, four were Romans, namely Carlo Bonelli, nuncio in Madrid, Angelo Celsi, a noted jurist, Paolo Savelli and Gianniccolò Conti; two were Sienese, viz. Celio Piccolomini, nuncio in Paris, and Jacope Nini, the Pope's *maggiordomo*. To these were added the Archbishops of Bologna and Milan, Girolamo Boncompagni and Alfonso Litta. Carlo Carafa had held the post of nuncio in Switzerland, at Venice and at Vienna. Paluzzo Paluzzi had rendered loyal service to the Holy See over a period of forty years, but his frankness of speech had made him many enemies. Cesare Rasponi had at one time been auditor to the Pope and Neri Corsini had administered the *Camera Apostolica*. It was only on February 15th, 1666, after the lapse of more than two years, that those out of the above-named twelve who had been reserved *in petto*, were proclaimed, four others being created at the same time, though they too were reserved *in petto* until March 7th, 1667; they were Giulio Spinola, who had been very successful as nuncio at Naples and Vienna, Roberto de' Vettori, nuncio in Savoy, Vitaliano Visconti, nuncio in Madrid, and Innico Carracciolo, Archbishop of Naples. To these must be added the following created on March 7th, 1667, when Alexander VII. made his last nomination: Giovanni Delfino, Patriarch of Aquileia, together with three candidates named by three

Magliab., Florence. Another **Biografia* in *Cod. XXIV.*, 74, of the Bibl. Comun. of Lodi. A **Ristretto delle gloriose azioni del b. Greg. B.* in *Cod. F.*, 39, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. A *survey of the Cardinals written after 1686 says of Gregorio Barbarigo: "E tutto zelo, tutto pietà, tutto amore, totalmente impegnato nell'orazione, nell'elemosine et in ogni altro pio esercitio della sua cura pastorale. Fa grandi astinenze . . . Mangia in refettorio con la propria servitù, predica di continuo e non lascia mai d'insegnare la dottrina christiana, di fare missioni e d'assistenza a moribondi," Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna.

Catholic Powers, viz. the Emperor, France and Spain; they were Guidobald Count Thun, Archbishop of Salzburg, Louis Vendôme and Luigi Guglielmo Moncada d'Aragona, at one time Viceroy of Sicily.¹

If Alexander VII. had such frequent recourse to reservation *in petto*, the fact was due both to the lack of adequate provision for those designated and to the pretensions of the Catholic Powers to the elevation of so-called Crown Cardinals.² Thus Poland considered that she had been overlooked at the last nomination in March, 1667, and accordingly lodged a vehement protest in Rome.³ The intensity of the resentment appears from the proposal made at the time that all the Catholic Powers should combine with a view to compelling the Pope, with a threat of schism, to take their wishes into account in the nomination of Cardinals.⁴ Meanwhile, the claims of the Powers had been considered, hence the proposal had no further sequel.

Conduct such as this gave particular pain to Alexander VII. When in 1655 King Charles Gustavus attacked the tottering Polish kingdom, already so hard pressed by the Russians and the Cossacks, the Pope, clearly realizing the peril,⁵ at

¹ Cf. CIIACONII, IV., 764 seq.; BOGLINO, 63 seq. G. Spinola distinguished himself during the epidemic of 1656; see N. CAPECE GALEOTA, *Cenni storici dei Nunzii apost. di Napoli*, Napoli, 1877. The tomb of Neri Cossini (ob. 1678) is in S. Maria del Carmine, Florence, with a relief from the School of Algardi.

² PALLAVICINO, II., 207.

³ See *Doglianze del Re di Polonia sopra l'ultima promotione d'Alessandro VII., in *Barb.* 5570, Vat. Lib. " *Letter of the King of Poland to Alexander VII., the College of Cardinals and Card. Chigi," dated Warsaw, April 5, 1667, in Campello Archives. Spoleto. *Ibid.* " *Considerationi sopra la nomina della corona di Polonia nella promozione del 7 Marzo 1667 mandate al referendario Monsin li 8 Aprile, 1667."

⁴ " *Sopra la nomina de' cardinali delle corone," *Cod.* VIII., G. 29, p. 150^b seqq., Liechtenstein Arch., Vienna.

⁵ Cf. Riccardi's *reports of August 28 and September 25, 1655, State Archives, Florence.

once did everything in his power to prevent the destruction of that ancient bulwark of Catholicism in Eastern Europe. He himself contributed a sum of 30,000 scudi and authorized the alienation of Church treasure up to the sum of 100,000 thalers.¹ It was the Pope and his nuncios Vidoni and Carafa who induced the Emperor to lend military aid to Poland, thereby saving that kingdom.² All during these troubles the diocese of Ermland, which was immediately subject to the Holy See, was in danger of falling into the hands of the Calvinist Elector of Brandenburg: the latter's troops only withdrew in 1663.³

The question of filling the vacant Portuguese sees, which had already greatly preoccupied his predecessor, was likewise a source of anxiety for Alexander VII.⁴ Though he exerted all his diplomatic skill and mental acumen, he failed to undo this Gordian knot.⁵

¹ THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 508 seq.; PALLAVICINO, I., 325 seq., 388 seq.; *Bull. XVI.*, 103, 347; LEVINSON, in the dissertation (p. 57) quoted in the following note.

² LEVINSON, *Die Nuntiaturberichte des P. Vidoni über den ersten nordischen Krieg aus den Jahren, 1655-1658* (*Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, XCV., 7 seqq., 32 seqq., 119), who justly extols the statesmanship of the nuncio. On Vidoni, see also *Zeitschr. der Hist. Gesellsch. f. Posen*, 1915. The instructions of the Secretary of State of April 1, 1656, on the negotiations with the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg in LEVINSON, *loc. cit.* On the Austro-Polish Alliance of December 1, 1658, cf. PRIBRAM, *Lisola*, 31 seq.

³ Cf. HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XIV., 365 seq.

⁴ See XXX., 74 seqq.

⁵ PALLAVICINO, I., 329, II., 240 seq. *Documents on this question in *Cod. R. I.*, 4, and *C. II.*, 27, of the Chigi Library. Cf. FEA, *Nullita delle amministrazioni capitolari abusive*, Roma, 1815, 54 seqq., 56 seqq. A *Brief of February 17, 1663, to the "Inquisitores regni Lusitaniae", says: "Audivimus Odoardum quemdam Hebraeum Lusit., qui nunc Londini commoratur et olim in isto s. Inquisit. tribunali punitus publice fuit, magnam pecuniam et ingentes maritimarum et terrestrium copiarum apparatus Haebr. sumptibus comparaturum esse, turpibus conditionibus:

During his thirteen years as nuncio in the Rhineland, Alexander VII. had become thoroughly acquainted with the situation in Germany; now that he was Pope, he took a lively interest in everything that happened in that country. Thus he gave pecuniary assistance to the city of Aix-la-Chapelle after the great fire of 1656¹; but his chief anxiety was to preserve the Catholic religion from further injury within the boundaries of the Empire.

When the Emperor Ferdinand II. died unexpectedly on April 2nd, 1657, leaving the question of the succession unsettled, the Pope, on June 30th, and again on October 6th, begged all the Catholic Electors to safeguard the interests of religion at the election of a new ruler.² The exhortation was all the more opportune as the Elector Palatine demanded the election of a Protestant Emperor.³ The condition of Germany, bleeding as she still was from a thousand wounds, and torn by domestic dissensions,⁴ may be gauged from the attempts of foreign countries to meddle in this purely internal question. Sweden, Mazarin and Cromwell were at one in their determination that no member of the House of Habsburg

1. ut Hebraeis locus tutus et commodus assignetur erigendae publicae Synagogae, ad quam ex universo orbe liceat convenire;
2. Iudaizantibus sive delatis sive reis generalis venia concedatur;
3. in processibus defensivis publicentur nomina testium." These will, no doubt, not be accepted since these offences against God would do the realm far more damage than a war, as is the case in those places where the sects have penetrated. If an ear is lent to such suggestions, you must offer determined resistance. *Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

¹ Cf. *Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins* (1885), 42. From a *Brief of May 12, 1657, to the council of "Rappsvilla" we learn that the Pope had given a sum of money for the restoration of the church there. *Epist.*, III., Papal Sec. Arch.

² See the Briefs to the Electors quoted by LEVINSON in *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, LXXIII., 168.

³ GÜNTER, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XXXVII., 379.

⁴ See the *Discorso* published by A. O. MEYER in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, IX., 155 seq.

should ascend the imperial throne.¹ A tense diplomatic struggle began. France, during the short time when the candidature of Louis XIV. was contemplated,² was prepared to spend three millions and dispatched her best diplomatists, Grammont and Lionne, to the electoral Diet which met at Frankfort.

At first Alexander VII. felt disinclined to take part in the electoral campaign. Without pronouncing in favour of any particular candidate, he contented himself with recommending the choice of a man who would be powerful enough to uphold the Catholic religion. In the interest both of the Church and of Germany, he sought to hasten the election.³ After the elevation of the youthful Bavarian Elector Ferdinand Mary, advocated by France, and even more insistently by Sweden ⁴ had failed,⁵ the Pope worked with the utmost energy for the election of Leopold of Habsburg who gave the necessary guarantee that, as King of Hungary, he would defend the Empire against the Turks, whilst his personal qualities made it equally certain that he would uphold the Catholic religion.⁶ Neither protests nor cajolings on the part of France could induce the Pope to relax his efforts on behalf of the Habsburg candidate. Besides the Palatine, Leopold's election was particularly opposed by the Electors of Cologne and Mayence. The latter had shown open hostility to the Pope's representative, the Cologne nuncio, Sanfelice, from the moment of his arrival at Frankfort.⁷

During the electoral Diet, which lasted nearly a year,

¹ MENTZ, I., 72; MICHAEL, in *Hist. Zeitschr.*, CXVIII., 501 seq.

² PREUSS, in *Hist. Vierteljahrsschr.*, VII. (1904), 488 seq.

³ See *Venez. Depeschen*, I., 22; PALLAVICINO, II., 189.

⁴ SÄVE, *Keysarvalet i Francfort*, Stockholm, 1869.

⁵ RIEZLER, VII., 25 seq.

⁶ Cf. WALEWSKI, *Leopold I. und die heilige Ligue*, II., 222; PRIBRAM, in *Archiv. österr. Gesch.*, LXXIII., 167 seq.; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 558 seq.

⁷ *Mém. de Grammont*, II., 132.

Sanfelice was taken seriously ill in consequence of the extraordinary exertions and emotions he underwent,¹ but he had the satisfaction of seeing the unanimous election of Leopold as Emperor on July 18th, 1658. In a letter to the Pope the new ruler gratefully acknowledged the Holy See's large share in bringing about this event.²

Four weeks after the election of the Emperor, on August 14th, 1658, as a result of the action of the Elector of Mayence and John Philip von Schönborn, Archchancellor of the Empire, the Federation of the Rhine was formed, an alliance which France promptly sought to exploit, at the expense of Germany, on behalf of her policy of expansion. The three ecclesiastical Electors, the Bishop of Münster and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, together with the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel and the Swedes, bound themselves to uphold the Peace of Westphalia, and to this end to support one another, "irrespective of the difference of religion." The Federation was in direct opposition to the House of Habsburg, uniting as it did, Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist princes. The Cologne nuncio, Sanfelice, was fully justified when he saw in this alliance an injury to the interests of the Church, since by its terms the Catholic princes undertook to lend armed assistance to the Swedes in their defence of two dioceses which had been secularized for their benefit. Trèves and Münster were impressed by Sanfelice's representations, but the Elector of Mayence was as little touched as when, in opposition to Innocent X. and nuncio

¹ The " *Diario dell'elezione dell' Imp. Leopoldo I. da G. M. Sanfelice," in *Cod. Strozzi*, 1079 (State Arch., Florence), was published by F. SANFELICE, Napoli, 1717. On Sanfelice's activities, cf. PALLAVICINO, II., 191, and PRIBRAM, *loc. cit.*, 168 seq. See also the *notes in *Barb.* 6112, p. 320 seqq., 335 seqq., 353 seq., Vat. Library.

² PALLAVICINO, II., 191. Cf. LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 639. The *congratulatory Brief of August 3, 1658, to Leopold I. in *Epist.*, III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch. The *Declaratio* on the imperial election of August 2, in *Bull.* XVI., 359.

Chigi, he had given his approval to the Peace of Westphalia.¹ The independent position with regard to Rome, which the high German prelates arrogated to themselves as princes of Empire, showed itself in other ways also. At the very beginning of the pontificate of Alexander VII., the Cologne nuncio was obliged to rebuke a German Bishop for assisting at a Calvinist sermon ; the weak man had hoped thereby to win over the enemies of the Church.²

Although quinquennial faculties similar to those held by the nuncios had been granted by Urban VIII. in 1640 to the Archbishop of Cologne, and by Innocent X. in 1653 to the Archbishop of Mayence, disputes with the Pope's representatives were not thereby avoided.³ More than anything else it was the nuncio's claim to a wide jurisdiction that annoyed the German clergy ; hence, at the instigation of the ecclesiastical Electors, Ferdinand IV. had been obliged to swear in his electoral capitulations that he would insist on the removal of the abuses arising out of that circumstance. A similar clause was permanently inserted in the electoral capitulations.⁴

A number of other causes also frequently gave occasion for friction ; nor is this to be wondered at, for in matters of Church policy the Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne were often very badly advised. The Archbishop of Mayence, Johann Philipp von Schönborn, who at the beginning of 1658, took some steps with a view to better relations with the Holy See,⁵ was under the influence of Johann Christian von Boineburg, a man remarkable both as a statesman and as a scholar. Now, though Boineburg had embraced Catholicism

¹ WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi*, I., 47 ; MENTZ, II., 174. Cf. *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CLXIV., 531, which justly observe that there were encroachments on both sides.

² PALLAVICINO, II., 390.

³ MENTZ, II., 171 *seq.* ; MERGENTHEIM, I., 36 *seq.*, 39, II., 116.

⁴ SARTORI, I., 215 *seq.* ; MENTZ, II., 173.

⁵ MENTZ, II., 176.

with fullest conviction,¹ he nevertheless retained some very peculiar notions. This is shown by his correspondence with the Protestant jurist Conring: "Let the Romans hate us, so long as they fear us," he wrote to the latter on January 23rd, 1659. A year later, on December 13th, 1660, he wrote that a German Bible, according to Ulenberg's translation, had been printed at Mayence by order of the Elector, without Rome's permission, but "of what use could such a permission be in matters of this kind?"²

Much worse were the sentiments entertained by the intimate adviser of the Elector of Cologne, Henry of Bavaria, the artful Dean of Cologne cathedral, Francis Egon von Fürstenberg.³ Fürstenberg was the chief promoter of the Rhine Federation; he sought his own advantage by maintaining a close association with the French Government to which he owed his elevation to the See of Metz in 1658, and to the See of Strassburg in 1663. Just as the boundless ambition of this man led him to betray his country, so did he betray the interests of the Church. Wherever he could do so, he agitated against the Church in secret. His intrigues did not escape the Cologne nuncio who reported as early as February, 1660, that the aim of Fürstenberg was to put an end to the Holy See's influence on religious conditions in Germany, and above all to render it impossible for Rome to make its authority felt when there was question in that country of filling episcopal sees.⁴ In view of the fact that it was not the Elector, a pious but weak man, but Fürstenberg, who collated to benefices and often bestowed them on unworthy candidates, Rome decreed that in future the nuncio was to be consulted on all such occasions. This measure irritated the Elector who now agreed to Fürstenberg's plan to convene a German national council

¹ Vol. XXX., p. 138, also SCHROHE, *J. Ch. Boyneburg, Kurmainzer Oberhofmarschall* (1927).

² MENZEL, VIII., 332.

³ Cf. *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VII., 297 *seqq.*

⁴ MENTZ, II., 176; cf. LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 709, 716 *seq.*

for the purpose of fighting "Rome's encroachments". This assembly would then make common cause with the French Gallicans. However, he could get no support from the Emperor, for the latter saw through the intrigue; on the other hand, the Archbishop of Mayence appears to have been not unfavourable, though he, as well as Louis XIV., realized how difficult it would be to bring together so many diverse characters and interests. In March, 1661, documents of a compromising nature about this scheme came into the hands of the Cologne nuncio, Marco Gallio, who at once forwarded them to Rome.¹ Not long after the nuncio in Vienna, Carlo Carafa,² and a little later, the nuncio at Cologne became acquainted with yet another document according to which the Archbishop of Mayence, acting in agreement with the Archbishops of Cologne and Trèves, and the Kings of France and Spain, had laid before the Pope a proposal for a union with the Protestants. The union was to be brought about at a synod consisting of twenty-four persons chosen from both communions, and by means of the following concessions: Mass in German, Communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests and abolition of auricular confession.

It is highly probable that these revelations were purposely allowed to come to the knowledge of the nuncios with a view to exercising pressure on the Holy See in the ecclesiastico-political sphere. But not only was this object not attained, on the contrary, Rome met these threats with imperturbable calm.³ How little Rome thought of granting concessions of this kind was experienced by the Archbishop of Mayence

¹ MENTZ, II., 178 seq., 183 seq., cf. also GUHRAUER, *Schriften von Leibnitz*, II., 341.

² Notice of his mission in a *Brief to the Archbp. of Salzburg, dated August 24, 1658, in which Carafa is described as "praesul summa pietate, prudentia et generis claritudine praestans". Konsistorialarchiv, Salzburg.

³ GRUBER, *Commercium epistolare Leibnitii*, 411 seq. GUHRAUER, *loc. cit.*, I., 3 seq.; MENTZ, II., 217; HILTEBRANDT, *Reunionsverhandlungen*, 32 seq.; VEIT, in *Katholik*, 1917, II., 170 seq.

in the course of some negotiations with the city of Frankfort, on the subject of the return of its Protestant citizens to the Catholic Church. To the opportunist Archbishop's request that the chalice should be conceded to the laity, the Secretary of State, Chigi, replied firmly that the Pope had not been surprised at John Philip entertaining such notions, seeing that he had always looked for, and suggested, ways and means to satisfy both parties. However, this had always been held to be an impractical notion and one impossible of realization. As for the request for Communion under both kinds, similar demands had been made to several Popes at different times, but after mature examination of the reasons advanced in its support, it had always been deemed inopportune to yield on this point since those who sincerely embrace Catholic truth and return to the bosom of Holy Church from a desire to save their souls, have no need of such a privilege; if, on the other hand, they lack these dispositions, such a means of grace would be superfluous, in fact, it would be wrong to grant it. The nuncio was instructed, in the event of the subject being broached again, to do his best so as to avoid giving a definite answer. If people were bent on appealing to the Pope, he may let them do so, but on no account must he encourage them.¹

The Roman authorities were fully informed concerning Fürstenberg's intrigues, hence it was with increasing anxiety that they awaited the Diet of Ratisbon which was opened on January 20th, 1663, by the Archbishop of Salzburg, Guidobald von Thun acting as imperial commissary.² Through this prince of the Church it had become known that in the preceding year the Elector of Cologne had advocated not only a German national council, but likewise the appointment of a German patriarch and some kind of a replica of French Gallicanism.³ Accordingly the Curia sought to guide the Electors of Cologne and Mayence into the path of moderation

¹ MENTZ, II., 210, 213 *seq.*; HILTEBRANDT, 33.

² MENTZ, II., 186; LEVINSON, I., 734, 745 *seq.*, 752.

³ LEVINSON, I., 763.

by conferring favours on them, and even to win them over altogether. The attempt succeeded. In the dispute between Alexander VII. and Louis XIV. the ecclesiastical Electors supported the Pope who, as a matter of fact, obviously had right on his side, but they did not dare to offer serious opposition to their powerful French ally.¹ In view of recent rumours of an alarming nature concerning hostile action of the German clergy against Rome, the Curia formally declared that the Concordats were to remain in full vigour, hence discussion at the Diet would be superfluous; in fact, that assembly terminated without anything having been attempted against the Pope.

William von Fürstenberg was an even worse character than his brother, Francis Egon. It was chiefly due to the latter's intrigues that almost every year produced a fresh conflict, though things never went so far as a complete rupture.² It is not likely that the two Electors on the Rhine ever intended to push things to extremes, for in the domestic administration of their dioceses both displayed a most successful reforming activity wholly in the spirit of Alexander VII. The diocesan synod held by Maximilian Henry in 1662, yielded lasting results.³ John Philip von Schönborn too was not without merit. He established the office of a Vicar-General and thereby reorganized ecclesiastical administration; he endeavoured to raise the pastoral clergy which during the Thirty Years' War had sunk to a low level, by ordering visitations and supporting the efforts of Bartholomew Holzhauser; lastly he issued salutary ordinances concerning ecclesiastical functions and purity of morals, and promoted religious instruction.⁴

¹ MENTZ, II., 188; cf. LEVINSON, I., 764, 767, 769.

² MENTZ, II., 189, 193 seq.; on William of Fürstenberg, cf. LEVINSON, I., 767, 769, 771.

³ *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XXI., 54.

⁴ Besides MENTZ, II., 218 seq., 228 seq., cf. the excellent work of VEIT: *Kirchl. Reformbestrebungen im ehemal. Erzstift Mainz unter Erzbischof Joh. Phil. v. Schönborn, 1647 bis 1673*, Freiburg, 1910.

Whilst the two Fürstenbergs of the Swabian family of that name caused the Pope so much annoyance on the Rhine, the activities in Westphalia of another Fürstenberg sprung from a noble Westphalian family, gave him all the more satisfaction. Ferdinand von Fürstenberg, who had been Alexander VII.'s particular protégé ever since the latter's nunciature in Cologne, became Bishop of Paderborn in 1661. As a priest he had led a blameless life and as a Bishop he made provision, in exemplary fashion, for the education and discipline of clergy and people, erected numerous churches and monasteries and successfully applied himself to the pursuit of learning, especially the study of the history of Paderborn.¹

In the neighbouring diocese of Münster, Christoph Bernard von Galen had displayed similar activities since 1650. With the same energy with which this distinguished man wielded the sword in defence of his princely rights, he successfully strove to reform the clergy and people of his diocese, so sadly ravaged by the Thirty Years' War, to restore the churches and to preserve the unity of the faith. He paid special attention to the instruction of youth, a task for which he chiefly made use of the services of the Jesuits. In this way he became the reformer of his diocese to which he assured for good its strong Catholic character.²

¹ Cf. BESSEN, *Gesch. des Bistums Paderborn* II. (1820), 231 seq.; EHRHARD, *Gesch. Münsters* (1837), 548 seq.; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VI., 702 seq.; RICHTER, *F. v. Fürstenberg*, in *Zeitschr. für vaterl. Gesch* [of Westphalia], LVI., 33 seq. The “*Relatio episcopalis Ferdinandi a Fürstenberg episc. Paderbornensis ad Alexandrum VII.”, dated 1666, Id. Febr., in *Cod.* 130, of the Theodorianische Bibl., Paderborn.

² KARL TÜKING, *Gesch. des Stiftes Münster unter Chr. B. v. Galen*, Münster, 1865; HÜSING, *Chr. Bernard, ein kath. Reformator des 17. Jahrh.*, Paderborn, 1887; *Zeitschr. für vaterl. Gesch.* [Westphalia], XLV., 110 seq.; J. MINN, *Die Lebensbeschreibung des Fürstbischofs Chr. B. v. Galen* (Diss.), Hildesheine, 1907; KERCKERINCK, *Alt-Westfalen*, Münster, 1913, XIX. seq.; SCHMIDLIN, in *Röm. Quartalschr.*, 1927, 379, 395 seq., and in the periodical, *Westfalen*, 1928.

The movement of conversion of outstanding personalities to the ancient Church, which had begun under Innocent X., after the Thirty Years' War, continued under Alexander VII., though the change of religion often entailed the greatest hardships. For the support of the converts the Cologne nuncio, the Archbishop of Cosenza, reopened in that city an establishment founded under Paul V., but which had been destroyed during the war.¹ Even in princely circles destitution was often the lot of those who returned to the ancient Church in obedience to their convictions; thus Duke Alexander Henry of Schleswig-Holstein found himself repeatedly compelled to beg the Pope for financial help as his conversion had cost him his inheritance.² At the Pope's request the Emperor gave assistance to Duke Christian of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who had returned to the Church in 1663, as well as to Duke John Frederick of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who was hard pressed by his Protestant relations because of his conversion³; it was only in 1665 when, on the death of Duke Christian Louis of Celle, he became ruler of Kalenberg-Göttingen and the principality of Grubenhagen, that the establishment of Catholic services in Hanover had to be granted to him after the Peace of Westphalia, on account of his sovereign rights.⁴ John Frederick chose for his almoner his chaplain Valerio Maccioni, a native of San Marino who, in April, 1667, was

¹ See the *letter of the Archbishop of Cosenza, dated Innsbruck, October 13, 1659, in *Nunziat. di Colonia*, 31, p. 180 seq., Papal Sec. Arch.

² LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 645, 649, 673. Cf. the *Brief to Alexander Henry, dated February 16, 1658, *Epist.*, III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

³ LEVINSON, *loc. cit.*, 781, 782. The "Facultas absolvendi ducem Christianum Mekleburgensem" in *Bull.* XVII., 187. On the Pope's intercession with the Emperor on behalf of the two convert Dukes, see " *Lettere del segretario di stato di P. Alessandro VII. all' abbate Franc. Ant. Galli internuntio appresso la M. dell' Imperatore Leopoldo I. ", in *Bibl. della Società di storia patria*, Naples.

⁴ SPITTLER, *Gesch. Hannovers*, II., 280 seq.

appointed by Propaganda and by the Pope Vicar Apostolic of the ducal territories of Kalenberg, Göttingen and Grubenhagen. The Vicariate Apostolic of the North was created at a later date ; Maccioni was placed at its head, laboured unsparingly for the preservation and spread of the Catholic faith.¹

Among the princely converts of that period, mention must be made of the Count and Countess Palatine of Sulzbach,² the Countess Palatine Louise Hollandine, second daughter of the " Winter King ", Count Ernest William of Bentheim Steinfurth and his nephew, Arnold Maurice William, the Margrave Gustav Adolf of Baden and John Henry von Schwarzenbach of Lusatia.³

No less numerous were the converts from the ranks of the scholars, among them such outstanding men as the learned Hamburg historian, Peter Lambeck, the poet von Grimmelshausen, the Orientalist, John Michael Wansleben, the Provost of Berlin, Andrew Fromm, the Calvinist preacher Volusius, the anatomist Nicholas Steno, and the brothers Adrian and Peter Walemburch, the former of whom became Vicar-General of Cologne, and the latter auxiliary Bishop of Mayence.⁴ Both became successful controversialists and assisted the Elector of Mayence, Schönborn, in his efforts to bring the Protestants back to the old faith. With him they were instrumental in the conversion of Count Hohenlohe. In 1670 Schönborn won over to the ancient Church the Count

¹ KÖCHER, II., 33 seq., 375 seq., and especially METZLER 35 seqq.

² See above, p. 60.

³ RÄSS, VII., 137 seq., 327 seq., XI., 456 seq. ; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, X., 186, LII., 102 ; MENTZ, II., 209 ; *Freib. Kirchenlexikon*, III.², 1045, 1058 ; *Katholik*, 1917, II., 170.

⁴ RÄSS, VII., 156 seq., 271 seq., 290 seq., VIII., 139, 796, IX., 696 seq. ; *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, XVII., 533, XXXVI., 57 seq., XL., 728 seq., XLI., 159 seq. For G. A. Volusius, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXVI., 543 ; FALK, in *Korrespondenzbl. des deutschen Geschichtsvereins*, XXVII., 54 ; for Steno, see METZLER, in *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLVIII. (1911), fasc. 2.

of Hanau, but on this occasion he realized that the conversion of a Prince by no means opened possibilities of spreading the old faith among his subjects, for Brandenburg and Hessen prevented the erection of Catholic churches in Hanau.¹ Besides Schönborn, the learned Landgrave, Ernest of Hessen-Rheinfels, also displayed the greatest zeal for the conversion of Protestants.²

During Alexander VII.'s pontificate Roman diplomacy made prolonged efforts to bring about the conversion of John George II., Elector of Saxony. At one time the plan, which would have meant a great triumph for the Catholic cause, seemed likely to succeed. Its eventual failure was largely due to the indecision of the Emperor Leopold and the intervention of the "Protector of the Protestants in Germany", Charles Gustavus of Sweden, who threatened to rally all the followers of Luther for a holy war.³

The Emperor, though his conduct was that of a sincere Catholic, occasioned great annoyance to the Pope by the obstinacy with which he insisted on the nomination of Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol to the see of Trent. Alexander VII. refused to confirm the nomination because a further increase of the power of the House of Habsburg in the ecclesiastico-political sphere would give reason to fear even more violent conflicts between Church and State than those that had previously occurred in that country.⁴ The growth of State

¹ MENTZ, II., 203 seq., 210 seq., 215 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 205 seq. *Briefs of October 13, 1655, recommended Ernest of Hesse (see XXX., p. 137) to the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne and Trèves (*Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.). Alexander VII. sent the Landgrave a contribution for a church; see *Brief of July 7, 1657, *Epist.*, III., *ibid.*

³ AUERBACH, *La dipl. franç. et la cour de Saxe*, Paris, 1888, 74 seqq.; HASSEL, in *N. Archiv für sächs. Gesch.*, XI.; VENEZ *Depeschen*, I., 39, 48, 232; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 559 seq., 582 seq., 615 seq., 625, 627, 681, 778, 784 seq., 789, 795 seq., 802 seq., 804.

⁴ LEVINSON, I., 562, 666 seq., 671, 690, 695 seq., 699 seq., 703 seq., 707 seq., 726, 744, 752, 756, 767.

absolutism in ecclesiastical matters may likewise be seen in the application of the *placet* in the States of the Emperor, notwithstanding the Pope's protests. The negotiations concerning the newly created diocese of Leitmeritz [in 1655] also revealed alarming symptoms of the development of Caesaro-papalism in Austria. In Bavaria, too, the Church was kept under a rigid tutelage. As time went on it became increasingly evident in all the Catholic States of Germany that the assistance of the secular power in the work of the Catholic restoration was not without its drawbacks. In course of time the State interfered more and more in purely Catholic affairs.¹

Rome paid close attention to Switzerland where the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics. For all that, in 1656 the Villmerger war ended in favour of the Catholics,² but the latter did not remain united; accordingly, Baldeschi the Swiss nuncio, was directed in 1665 to see to the preservation of concord among the Catholic Cantons. He was warned not to underestimate the intelligence of the Swiss, as had been done by a nuncio of the period of Urban VIII., whose three years of office had been quite barren. "It is a mistake," the Instruction goes on to say, "to look on the Swiss as a rude and unskilled people, for though they specialized in the arts of war, they were also clever diplomatists who knew quite well how to exploit to their own advantage their relations with those two mutual rivals, France and Spain." What is said concerning relations with Protestants likewise deserves attention: "Those Popes," we read, "who with excessive zeal forbade, under pain of excommunication, all relations with heretics, never intended to include those who work for their conversion." Accordingly, the nuncio was instructed to abstain from political negotiations with the Protestant Cantons but, on the other hand, not to scruple prudently to enter into friendly relations with individual Protestants; by this means the way could be prepared for their conversion,

¹ HERGENRÖTHER, III.⁵, 744 *seq.* For Leitmeritz, see J. E. SCHLENZ, *Gesch. der Gründung des Bistums Leitmeritz*, Warnsdorf, 1912.

² HÜRBIN, II., 394 *seq.*

for thus it would be possible to remove their prejudices and to show them the true face of the Catholic Church. As for the Catholic Cantons, the nuncio should bring home to them that the Holy See only aimed at what was best for them, hence he should also promote the Catholic reform in Switzerland.¹

Whereas in Sweden the most stringent laws against the exercise of Catholic worship remained in full force, King Christian III. of Denmark showed himself more tolerant and allowed the imperial ambassador to have Catholic services in his house.² In some provinces of Holland Catholics had to undergo severe persecution. This was particularly the case in Friesland where the adherents of the ancient faith were not even permitted to bury their dead with head uncovered, on the plea that this would give offence,³ but in other Provinces the position of Catholics was fairly tolerable.⁴

(2.)

As a youth Alexander VII. had longed for a missionary's life ; hence, as head of the Church, he took a lively interest in the Church's world apostolate.⁵ His pontificate constitutes

¹ See in App. 5 the *Instruction for F. Baldeschi, 1665, Papal Sec. Arch.

² LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 694, 727.

³ HUBERT, 263 ; cf. 268.

⁴ *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XVIII., 173 seq., 205 ; cf. HUBERT, 352. A *Brief of July 3, 1661, expresses thanks to Louis XIV. for having secured permission for a public church for the Catholics of Amsterdam (*Epist.*, VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.). The papal confirmation of the decree of Propaganda on the dispute between the secular and regular clergy in Holland, dated September 20, 1656, in *Bull.* XVI., 231. Cf. **Relatio seu descriptio status religionis catholicae in Hollandia etc. quam Romae collegit et exhibuit Alexandro VII. et cardinalibus congregationis de Prop. Fide J. de la Torre Kal. Septembris anno 1656*, Utrecht, 1883.

⁵ In what follows Professor Schmidlin has assisted me from his rich store of information, for which I wish to thank him here also.

a turning-point in the Church's missionary activity, especially as regards the centralistic tendency in favour of Propaganda, whose powers and financial consolidation received considerable increase during his reign.¹ By the advice of the Cardinals of Propaganda, Alexander VII. decreed in 1660, with a view to removing abuses in the Papal Colleges,² that the pupils of these establishments, even when they were dismissed or, with Propaganda's leave, entered an Order, remained bound for life by their oath to serve the Holy See in the mission field and, if in Europe, were to report annually to Propaganda, and every other year if outside Europe.³ In 1665 he empowered the Congregation to acquire several houses for the Urban College of Propaganda, and in 1666 he granted a number of Indulgences to the College Sodality of Our Lady.⁴ In 1660 he assigned to Propaganda the house of the Ruthenians near SS. Sergius and Bacchus as well as the property of the Maronite College at Ravenna when this was sold.⁵ In the same year

¹ Cf. KILGER, in *Zeitschr. für Missionswissenschaft*, 1922, 15 seq., 129 seq.; SCHMIDLIN, *ibid.*, 1923, 58 seq.; also the decrees of Propaganda of 1656 forbidding missionaries under pain of excommunication to publish books without leave of the Congregation (*Ius pontif.*, P. II., 110) of 1659, on subsidies for the missionaries (*ibid.*, 117) and of 1665, that missionaries must not be released by Prefects before they receive information from the Congregation and their successors' arrival (*ibid.*, 132 and 135 for the Prefect). In 1658 the Pope let it be known that in future doubts were to be discussed not by Propaganda but by the Holy Office (*ibid.*, 114).

² Cf. the interesting **Memoriale presentato alla S. Congregazione de Prop. Fide alli 8 Settembre, 1658, circa i disordini delli collegii pontificii*, Propaganda Arch., Rome, 362, p. 31 seqq.

³ *Ius pontif.*, I., 318 seq. On April 8, 1661, Propaganda issued some explanations and answers on this papal decision (*ibid.*, P. II., 121 seqq.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, I., 358 seqq., 367 seqq. Cf. Propaganda's decree on two weekly Masses to be said by the students for deceased missionaries, 1658 (*ibid.*, 114), and forbidding the letting of adjoining houses to women of evil life, 1665 (*ibid.*, P. II., 132).

⁵ *Ibid.*, I., 318, 360 seqq.

he gave orders that the Cardinals Protectors of the German College in Rome should hold their meetings in the hall of Propaganda, in presence of the Secretary of that Congregation.¹ With regard to the Missionary College of St. Paul of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome, he decreed in 1655 that though it remained subject in all things to the Roman Provincial, it should be dependent on Propaganda with regard to the administration, and that the pupils were to bind themselves by oath to work in the mission field. A decree of 1662 transferred the College of S. Maria della Vittoria to S. Pancrazio outside the Walls.²

Another undertaking, the foundation and approval of which also date from the pontificate of Alexander VII., viz. the Seminary of the Missions in Paris, was to acquire even greater importance for Catholic missionary action. Already under Innocent X. the idea had been mooted of giving to the missions in the Far East Bishops of their own. After that Pope's death the General Assembly of the French Clergy of 1655, promoted the plan by means of a petition to Pope Alexander.³ Two years later some French clerics headed by Pallu and at the instigation of the Duchess of Aiguillon, begged the Pope at least to appoint Vicars Apostolic with episcopal powers for China and Tongking where the prospects of Christianity seemed particularly bright. They declared themselves prepared to defray all expenses and that Portugal would surely grant a free passage; if she did not, the missionaries could travel *viâ Persia* and the kingdom of the Great Mogul.⁴ The Pope, to whom the keenness of these priests recalled his own youthful

¹ *Ibid.*, 325 seqq. Cf. STEINHUBER, II., 6 seq., II.

² *Ius pontif.*, I., 287 seqq., 328 seqq. Cf. KILGER, *Zeitschr. für Missionswissenschaft*, 1915, 214 seq., where further sources are quoted.

³ On April 13, 1665, Bishop Godeau of Vence was entrusted with the drafting of the memorial which was read and approved on May 9; cf. LAUNAY, I., 21, according to the protocols of the *Assemblées Générales*, IV., 375. See XXX., p. 192.

⁴ LAUNAY, I., 25 seqq., according to the seminary Archives and the "*Expositio eorum quae Romae gesta sunt.*", by Pallu.

missionary enthusiasm, promised them his support and charged Cardinals Rospigliosi, Spada, Albizzi and Azzolini with the examination of the matter.¹ However, notwithstanding Pallu's pressure and the Cardinals' promises, no decision was taken until Pierre de la Motte Lambert, after repeated and determined efforts, secured an interview with Alberici, the Secretary of Propaganda, at which he obtained what he wanted.² The four Cardinals having sent in a favourable report, Propaganda, on May 13th, 1658, proposed Pallu and de la Motte Lambert as Vicars Apostolic, whereupon the Pope nominated them on August 17th. Whilst presenting the rochet to Pallu, he strongly exhorted him to endure patiently the trials that awaited him in the mission field.³ By Briefs of September 9th, 1659, Alexander confirmed their nomination, as well as the delimitation of their respective spheres of work; at the same time he empowered either of the two Vicars to assume the administration of the other's territory at his death and to raise to the priesthood candidates who were ignorant of Latin.⁴ At Pallu's request Cotelendi was soon after appointed Bishop of Nanking.⁵ From Propaganda the new Bishops received instructions full of profound wisdom; these counselled the closest possible adaptation to Eastern conditions, to take the overland route through Asia, so as to avoid Portugal, to appoint a Procurator in Rome and to

¹ *Ibid.*, 29 seq.

² *Ibid.*, 33.

³ *Ibid.*, 34, according to *Acta S. Congreg.*, 1657, p. 202, Pallu was consecrated by Card. Antonio Barberini at St. Peter's, Lambert in Paris, by the Archbishop of Tours (LAUNAY, I., 40 seq.).

⁴ *Ius pontif.*, I., 313 seq., and LAUNAY, I., 41 seqq. It was enough if the candidates were able to read and to explain the Canon of the Mass and the ritual of the Sacraments and they were free to say other prayers instead of the Breviary. This faculty was confirmed anew in Alexander VII.'s Brief of 1665 (*Ius pontif.*, I., 355 seq., and *Bull. patron. Portug.*, II., 109). Cf. GAMS, *Series*, 122 seqq., and JANN, 217 seqq.

⁵ LAUNAY, I., 45 seq.

erect a Seminary in Paris in order to assure a constant supply of secular missionary priests.¹ The foundation of such an institution for the training of missionaries had already been approved by Propaganda in 1658, at the request of Pallu, Lambert and Laval²; thus before their departure in 1660 the new Vicars Apostolic were able, with the help of generous benefactors, to authorize its foundation: it was opened in 1663. The Carmelite Bishop Bernard of Babylon had bought a suitable house³; the undertaking was officially approved by royal letters patent in 1663, and on August 3rd, 1664, the Pope's nephew, Flavio Chigi, in his capacity as Legate in France, granted it ecclesiastical and papal recognition.⁴ In this same year, as well as in the following, a papal Brief to both Vicars regulated the succession in the event of the death of either. It was necessary to make such dispositions in view of the fact that Cotelendi was no longer living.⁵

Thus arose a new creation which was destined not only to lay the foundation to the preponderant rôle played by France in the modern apostolate to the heathens, and to give a powerful impulse to the missions in the Far East, but to be of paramount importance in other respects also, in as much as, for the first time, a missionary hierarchy was created, Portugal's missionary monopoly was broken, secular priests were admitted into the missionary general staff and the training of a native clergy inaugurated.⁶ Germany's more active participation in the work of the missions, especially through

¹ *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 115 seqq., and *Collect. Propag.*, I., 42 seq., also LAUNAY, I., 46 seqq., and PIEPER in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswissenschaft*, 1922, 34 seq.

² LAUNAY, I., 39 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 51 seqq., 75 seqq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 81 seqq. Cf. LETOURNEAU, *La mission de J. J. Olier et les fondations des grandes séminaires en France*, Paris, 1906, 228, 363 seq.

⁵ *Ius pontif.*, I., 340 seq., 353 seqq.; *Bull. patron. Portug.*, II., 103 seqq. Cf. JANN, 221 seq.

⁶ LAUNAY, I., 36 seqq.; KILGER, *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1922, 27 seq.

the Jesuits, owing to the abolition or at least the limitation of the claims of Portugal, also dates from the pontificate of Alexander VII.¹

A number of important decisions concerning individual mission fields fall into the reign of Alexander. An ordinance for Holland of the year 1655 decreed that the offerings of the faithful to the missionaries must be applied to the best advantage of the missions. Propaganda's decisions in the disputes between the Dutch secular clergy and the missionaries were confirmed in 1656.² Other decisions concerned the faithful of South-Eastern Europe. In 1655 the boundaries between the archdiocese of Ochrida and the diocese of Prisrend, in Serbia, were more clearly defined³; in 1659 the pupils of the Greek College in Rome received permission to adopt the Latin manner of observing the fast; in 1660 a decree of Propaganda was confirmed whereby priests belonging to religious Orders were placed under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Sofia and the Bishop of Bosnia: in 1665 certain juridical acts by the Ruthenian Metropolitan Gabriel of Kiew were ratified by a *sanatio in radice*; in 1666 the Carmelite Bishop Joseph Mary of Hierapolis was charged to make a visitation of the Ægean Isles together with Zakynt and Corfù.⁴

With regard to the Near East, Alexander VII. approved in 1655, the privileges of the Franciscans of the Holy Land and in 1659 the consecration of the Archbishop of Aleppo

¹ HUONDER, *Deutsche Jesuitenmissionäre des 17 u. 18 Jahrh.* (1899), 77 seqq. *Ibid.*, 21, the circular of the General, Oliva, of November 29, 1664.

² *Ius pontif.*, I., 285 seqq., 297 seqq. The Vicar Apostolic of the Netherlands, De la Torre, was in exile at this time (*Freib. Kirchenlex.* X², 373). Cf. the decree of Propaganda of 1663 on alms for the missions, *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 128 seqq.

³ *Ius pontif.*, I., 284.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 284 seq., 309 seq., 323 seqq., 357 seq., 369 seqq. In 1667 he assigned the convent of the Conventuals at Targovist to the custody of the Observants of Walachia (*ibid.*, 273). In 1666 Propaganda confirmed the decree forbidding the ordinaries of Bulgaria to employ the Franciscans (*ibid.*, P. II., 136 seq.).

by the Patriarch of the Maronites. In 1660 he suppressed the Maronite College of Ravenna and assigned its property to Propaganda for the benefit of Maronite pupils.¹ In 1662 the Armenian *Catholicos* James, accompanied by twenty-five Bishops, set out for Rome. Whilst still on the way, he made a profession of the Catholic faith at Constantinople, in presence of the Latin Archbishop ; this document, as well as a protestation of obedience to the Holy See by the Armenian nation, was taken to the Eternal City by the Dominican Bishop who had been on a mission to Persia.² The Patriarch of Lesser Armenia, who had made a profession of the Catholic faith at Rome in 1660, subsequently relapsed into schism.³ In 1656 the Jesuits opened missions in Antura and the Capuchins at Tiflis and in Georgia in 1666.⁴

A Maronite having reported on the favourable dispositions of the King of Abyssinia, Propaganda in 1666 dispatched Andrade to that country as Vicar Apostolic, but he and his missionaries met with so much opposition that he achieved nothing.⁵

The Dominican Mission in East Africa was also meeting

¹ *Ibid.*, I., 286 seq., 308 seq., 360 seqq., decisions and answers of Propaganda in 1650 on the liturgy at Aleppo, *ibid.*, P. II., 112 seq. and in 1654 on the formula of profession and the questions of the Syrian Franciscans, *ibid.*, 130 seq. Three letters of "Giov. Pietro Patriarcha d'Antiochia de' Maroniti" (Papal Sec. Arch.) in P. WENZEL, *Lettre di prelati delle chiese orientali*, Roma, 1889, 3 seq.

² CERRI, *Estat présent de l'église Romaine*, 170 ; HERGENRÖTHER-KIRSCH, III., 574.

³ Though he was entertained at the College and given money for his journey ; see CERRI, 168.

⁴ SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 221 seq. ; ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 334 seqq., solutions of doubts by Propaganda in 1656 about the Georgians in *Ius pontif.*, P. II., 135 ; on the invalidity of the marriage of Nestorian priests after ordination, *ibid.*, 118.

⁵ CERRI, 218 seqq. According to the Maronite's report the king allowed the exercise of the Catholic religion and there were 30,000 Catholics in one province of Egypt (*ibid.*). Cf. LEMMENS, 181.

with but small success just then.¹ In 1648 and 1654 Vincent de Paul sent his Lazarists to Madagascar but the mission had to be given up in 1676, after it had cost the Society twenty-seven of its members in the space of twenty-five years. A band of Recollects who were dispatched to the island in 1660, fell into the hands of corsairs.² On the other hand, Italian Capuchins worked successfully in Congo; they were reinforced by sixteen new recruits in 1654 and again in 1666; they also laboured most fruitfully in Angola and Matamba, with Loanda as their base.³ By order of Propaganda, Spanish Capuchins laboured zealously on the coast of Guinea. In 1657 and 1664 some Fathers were sent to Sierra Leone where they built churches and baptized the King, three princes and a vast number of people. They likewise laboured in Overo and Benin whither they had gone in 1655 at the request of the King, but they were unable to maintain themselves in Ardea-Nigritia and in Whida, where they had gone in 1659 and 1666 respectively, though they had been well received and prospects had been good at first.⁴

In India the Jesuits continued to labour zealously and with some success in the various territories of Madura,⁵

¹ According to the Jesuit Barreto's visitation reports of 1667; see *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, by THIEL, III., 436 seqq.; KILGER in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1917, 104.

² COSTE, XIV., 359 seqq.; MAYNARD, III., 104 seqq.; SCHMIDLIN, *Missionsgesch.*, 232, n. 2. The Prefect Etienne is said to have threatened a chieftain with France's hostility and deprivation of his wives if he refused to become a Christian; cf. PIOLET, *Les miss. cath. franç.*, IV., 422 seqq.

³ CERRI, 238 seqq.; SCHMIDLIN, 373. Decision of 1660 by Propaganda on slavery in Congo, in *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 120.

⁴ SCHMIDLIN, 372 seqq.; CERRI, 223 seqq.; ROCCO DACESINALE, III., 514 seqq. In 1655 P. Serafin baptized the emperor of the Sapis (Rocco, 507).

⁵ Conversions and Baptisms obtained by them in Tiruchirappalli in 1656-9 amounted to 2,347, in 1659-1662 ca. 18,000, in Madura, 1659-1662, 870, in Candelm, 1656-9, 1,192, and in 1662-5, 584, in Palur, 1656-9, 1,400, 1660-2, 950, in Sattiamangalam 1656-9, 1,639, in Tanjaur, 1656-9 2,268, in 1666, 401, where on

but the missions on the south-west and south-east coast succumbed under the conquests of the Dutch¹ and those in the Kingdom of the Mogul under the persecutions of Orensis.² At the end of 1659 Alexander VII. sent to the Christians of St. Thomas of Malabar, as Apostolic Commissary and Administrator of Angamale, the Carmelite Bishop Joseph of St. Mary, with extensive faculties.³ A papal Brief of January 18th, 1658, shows that abuses had crept into the Church of India and the Mission in Goa. As a result of complaints by the faithful against their pastors, the Brief confirms the decrees of Propaganda and instructs the parish priests not to subject anyone to forced labour, to deal with due moderation with those who fail to attend church or instructions, to instruct the people with meekness, to receive the nobles also in the Seminary, to admit all to the schools, irrespective of their origin, not to exclude the neophytes from the Orders or the secular priests from the cure of souls, not to meddle with worldly affairs, to preach several times a year in the language of the country, to appoint native priests as confessors, to abolish confession through an interpreter or by reading a list of sins, to admit the natives to Holy Communion and to take Holy Viaticum to the sick, to baptize no one who had not the other hand 10,000 Christians perished in 1662 from war and want; see MÜLLBAUER, 213 *seqq.*

¹ They conquered Negapatam in 1658, Cranganor in 1662. Cochin in 1663, which led to the destruction of the Jesuit establishments there. In like manner the capture of Meliapur by the King of Golkonda caused the suppression of the houses of the Jesuits, Franciscans and Dominicans.

² Since 1658 (*ibid.*, 285 *seq.*). The Theatines' missionary attempts also came to an end with the death of P. Toma and P. Lubello, 1662-3 (*ibid.*, 355).

³ Among others that of erecting a Chapter, to settle the succession in the archdiaconate, to commit the administration of Angamale to one or two priests in the capacity of Vicar's Apostolic; see *Ius. pontif.*, I., 314 *seqq.* P. Joseph had been raised to the episcopate in Cochin in 1657, in 1661 he returned thither from Rome and held visitations up to 1663; in 1665 he was back in Rome; MÜLLBAUER, 305 *seqq.*

first renounced idolatry, to bring about the conversion of the pagans not by violence or torture, but by instruction and good example, not to ask for anything from their parishioners, to bury the poor gratuitously, not to sanction pagan sacrifices and to see to it that the Regulars preserved the religious spirit.¹ However, there exists a memorandum of the year 1666, that is, from the last period of Alexander VII., in which Manfroni, Secretary of Propaganda, expatiates on the means of reforming the missions in East India. This document reveals the sad state to which they were reduced, the ignorance and immorality of the people, the incapacity of both secular and regular clergy, as well as their slackness and corruption. The cause of the decay, so we read, was the lack of Bishops ; hence it was imperative to dispatch thither, without touching Portuguese harbours, Vicars Apostolic and fresh missionaries full of zeal, the latter being chosen especially from the Paris Seminary but also from the various Orders, whilst those who indulged in quarrels and gave scandal by their lives must be recalled.²

Whilst the conquests of the Dutch put an abrupt end to Catholic missionary undertakings both in Malacca and Ceylon [after 1658],³ they were all the more full of promise

¹ *Ius. pontif.*, I., 304 seqq. ; *Bull. patron. Portug.*, II., 92 seq. ; as a decree of Propaganda in *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 111 seq., supplemented on July 22, *ibid.*, 113. Also JANN, 301 seqq., and MÜLLBAUER, 255, n. 1. In 1659 the Pope also approved the decrees of the Definitorium and those of the General Chapter for the East Indian Franciscan Province of St. Thomas, and decided that the Commissaries General could not defer the Provincial Chapters ; *Ius. pontif.*, I., 306 seqq., 310 seqq.

² “ *Considerationes et media pro reparatione missionum in Indiis orientalibus.” Propaganda Archives, *Scritture antiche*, 230 seq., 80 seqq. Cf. KILGER in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1922, 29 seq.

³ In 1665 Propaganda sanctioned the ordination of all refugees without dimissorial letters (*Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 131 seq.). In Ceylon the Dutch ostracized catholicism, expelled the missionaries and killed a number of Christians (SCHMIDLIN, 386 seq. ; LEMMENS, 107).

in the Annamite kingdoms, and this in spite of violent persecutions. According to Jesuit reports there were in Tonkin, about 1659, some 300,000 Christians remarkable for every virtue, and each year saw the conversion of from 8,000 to 10,000 persons.¹ However, in 1658, six missionaries were banished by the King, and in 1663 two of their number who had remained behind followed them into exile.² In 1663 a persecution also broke out at the court of Cochin China; from there it spread to the whole country and led to the banishment of the missionaries.³ In view of the numerous conversions, with which the small band of apostolic labourers was unable to cope, Alexander VII., in 1659, appointed as Vicars Apostolic, with very extensive faculties, two members of the Paris Seminary, viz. Bishop François Pallu of Heliopolis for Tonking and Pierre de la Motte Lambert, Bishop of Bertus, for Cochin China.⁴ Both Bishops, accompanied by four missionary priests, journeyed between 1662–1664, by way of Aleppo and South India, to Siam, settling in the royal city of Juthia where they made a number of conversions, whilst Chevreuil was sent to Cochin China and Deydier to Tonking.⁵

¹ Cf. PACTLER, *Das Christentum in Tonkin und Cochinchina* (1861), 116 *seqq.* (based on P. Tissanier's account; for the latter's journey, *ibid.*, 69 *seqq.*). The above numbers are confirmed by P. Machault in his Relation of 1658 (*ibid.*, 189) and by Portuguese sources (*ibid.*, 151), whereas LAUNAY (I., 91) only gives 100,000 and SCHWAGER endeavours to account for the divergence by apostasies (*Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1913, 147). There were 8 Jesuits, 30 Catechists and 300 churches (*ibid.*).

² PACTLER, *loc. cit.*, 119 *seqq.* (according to TISSANIER), 151 *seqq.*; there also on the increase of conversions (even of Mandarins) during the persecution as well as on the martyrdom and the constancy of many, but also on many apostasies.

³ *Ibid.*, 166 *seqq.* for the martyrs, as in the Province of Tschem and among the Japanese Christians of Faifo. In 1658 there were 20,000 Christians in Cochin China; see JANN, 208.

⁴ *Ius. pontif.*, I., 313 *seqq.*, 430 *seqq.*, 353 *seqq.* (cf. Vol. XXX., p. 193); also JANN, 217 *seqq.*, and LAUNAY, I., 128 *seqq.*

⁵ LAUNAY, I., 62 *seqq.*, 86 *seqq.*, 115 *seqq.* Deydier gave the Exercises to the Catechists, founded a seminary, brought back

An even richer harvest seemed to await Christianity in China. A somewhat too optimistic French memorandum of 1658 explained to the Pope that the Empire of the Middle had opened its doors wide to the Gospel, and that all obstacles had been cleared from its path ; that the Emperor of the new Tartar dynasty, like a new Constantine, granted the utmost freedom to the preachers of the faith, allowed people to be baptized, churches to be built, and tolerated the open profession of Christianity ; that, in fact, in token of his good will, he had erected a magnificent church in Peking, his capital, and that the Mandarins who opposed Christianity had been removed, and a people hitherto so hostile to foreigners, now tolerated the Europeans.¹ As a matter of fact, according to the Jesuits' reckoning, the Christians numbered 257,000 in 1664, and 264,000 in 1669.² The church of Nantang in Peking had been rebuilt and the young Tartar Emperor Shungti was on intimate terms with the Jesuit Schall of Cologne, in fact, in 1657 he even put him at the head of the mathematical and astronomical department, at the same time bestowing on him high titles of honour. However, in 1665, Schall fell a victim to a fresh persecution.³ It was amid these circumstances

many Christians and baptized 3,000 (up to 1667). According to the Catechists the Christians only numbered 30,000—35,000—many of whom did not practise—and there were 70 churches and 300 oratories (*ibid.*, 131 *seq.*). A decree of Propaganda on the practice of saying Mass with the head covered, see *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 128, and one of 1665 for Siam in reply to questions, *ibid.*, 133 *seq.*

¹ LAUNAY, I., 27.

² According to INTORCETTA ; but according to the catalogue of GAMA only 110,000 (*cf.* THOMAS, *Hist. de la Mission de Pékin*, I., 398 *seq.*). On the quality, constancy and piety of the Christians and the state of the mission at court, *cf.* MARTIN, *Brevis relatio de numero et qualitate christianorum apud Sinas*, Roma, 1654 ; also SCHMIDLIN, 273.

³ *Ibid.*, especially on the basis of Schall's *Relatio de initio et progressu Soc. Iesu in regno Sinarum*, Vienna, 1665. *Cf.* BIERBAUM's detailed account, p. 115 *seqq.*

that Alexander VII., in 1659, issued certain ordinances by which the south-western provinces of Jünnan, Kweitchau, Hukuang, Sutchuen, Kuangsi and Laos were assigned to Pallu, Vicar Apostolic of Tonking, the south-eastern provinces of Tchekiang, Fokien, Kuangtong, Kiangsi and Hainan were allotted to the Vicar Apostolic of Cochin China, and in the following year, the northern provinces of Kiangnan Tcheli, Shansi, Shensi, Honan, Shantung, Corea and Tartary to Cotelendi, Vicar Apostolic of Nanking. However, none of these Vicars, nor any of their priests, succeeded in setting foot on Chinese territory during the lifetime of the Pope.¹

From the remaining Far-Eastern mission fields only desultory reports reached Rome. In 1661 the Jesuits Gruber and Dorville entered and traversed Tibet on their journey from China to Europe. The King of Katmandu gave them a friendly reception and invited them to return; he even held out to them the prospect of their being allowed to preach freely.²

In Japan, by an ordinance of 1666, anyone suspected of being a Christian was made to trample the crucifix and the image of Mary under foot, and entrance into the empire was forbidden to the messengers of the faith under pain of death.³

In the Molluccas, with the exception of Solor and Timor, where the Portuguese and the Catholics were able to maintain

¹ Cf. the papal Briefs in *Ius. pontif.*, I., 313 seqq., 340 seqq., 354 seqq., besides LAUNAY, I., 73 seq., and JANN, 217 seqq. At first Pallu and Lambert had to divide between themselves the widowed vicariate of Nanking; later on Alexander VII., authorized them to consecrate a successor from among their European missionaries although they had requested Rome to appoint a special vicar to replace Cotelendi, for which post they had in view the native Dominican Lopez because he would be able to penetrate into China (*ibid.*, 221 seq.). On the controversy over the rites see below p. 163 seqq. Further decisions of Propaganda in 1665 on ordinations, Mass, marriage, etc., in *Ius. pontif.*, P. II., 131, 133 seq.

² SCHMIDLIN, 390; JANN, 383 seq.; HUONDER, 187; C. WESSELS, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, 1603-1721, La Haye, 1924, 164 seqq.

³ SCHMIDLIN, 295; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.², 1256.

themselves and to beat off the Dutch attacks,¹ the missions had been destroyed in the struggle with the Calvinist Dutch. As against this, in the Philippine Islands, Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans and Augustinians continued to keep the Christian natives true to the faith and to uproot almost completely the last remnants of paganism.² For the benefit of the Augustinian missionaries Alexander VII. confirmed the decree of Propaganda, forbidding them to stop on their journey from Europe to the Philippines, either in Mexico or elsewhere, beyond the time required either by the journey itself or the necessity of obtaining provisions.³

In Spanish-Portuguese America the religious continued to apply themselves with ardour to their missionary labours, though these were greatly hindered and frustrated by laxity and discord both in their own ranks and in those of the clergy and the people.⁴ In Brazil the Jesuit Vieira, the defender of the freedom of the Indians, distinguished himself,⁵ as did the French Capuchins who, in 1659, founded some Reductions near Rio de Janeiro.⁶

Other religious besides the Jesuits laboured in Paraguay,

¹ There were battles in 1660 in Solor and in 1656 and 1665 in Timor; in 1660 three Dominicans were captured by the Dutch whilst journeying from Goa to Solor; see BIERMANN, in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswiss.*, 1923, 36 seq., 41. After the conquest of Ternate by the Dutch the Franciscans were forced to abandon their mission there (LEMMEN, 119).

² SCHMIDLIN, 395, together with the chronicle of the province; LEMMENS, 121.

³ *Ius. pontif.*, I., 321 seq., at the request of the Procurator of the Order.

⁴ SCHMIDLIN, 399 seq.

⁵ In 1665 he obtained from Lisbon an alleviation of the lot of the Indians, a limitation of slavery and the transfer to the Jesuits of the native villages of Maranhão, but in 1661 he was attacked by the Portuguese, together with some other Fathers, ill-treated and taken to Portugal. Cf. SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*; CAREL, *Vieira*, Paris, 1878.

⁶ SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, ROCCO DA CESINALE. III., 703 seqq.

Peru, Chile and New Granada. In 1659, the Jesuits restored the mission of the Llanos and in 1666 they founded seven new Indian Reductions.¹ In 1656, under the leadership of Juan de Mendoza, the Franciscans advanced from the Orinoco as far as the Palanques, whom they baptized together with their caciques.² Capuchins from Aragon laboured among the Caribs of Piritu,³ and their Andalusian brothers in religion among the Llanos of Caracas.⁴

Towards the end of the pontificate of Alexander VII. the first French Jesuits appeared in Guienne⁵; Franciscans and Jesuits continued to labour in Mexico, but the rising of the Apalaches in 1657 ruined eight flourishing Franciscan stations in Florida.⁶ At the request of Spain, Alexander VII. commissioned the Archbishop of San Domingo in 1663 to detach the island of Trinidad from the far too distant diocese of Portorico and to attach it to the archdiocese of Santa Fé.⁷ Otherwise, in so far as South America and Mexico were concerned, the Pope only intervened in some domestic

¹ ASTRÁIN, VI., 646 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 405; in 1666 P. Suarez de Figueroa was martyred in the mission of Mauna of Quito.

² Six at first and 14 in 1660; *cf.* CIVEZZA, V., 233 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 405.

³ ROCCO DA CESINALE, III., 715 *seqq.*; SCHMIDLIN, 405 *seq.*; FROYLAR DE RIONEGRO, *Relaciones*, ed. 1918, and SILVESTRE's *Vita* for Carabantes. There were 5 missionaries in 1657, 12 in 1663. In a letter of homage to the Pope, 5 convert caciques informed him, in 1666, that the Capuchins had baptized more than 10,000 persons and that they had penetrated as far as Cumana, Caracas, Guarapiche, Guarachara, Aragua and Amama; *cf.* CERRI, 274 *seqq.*

⁴ Over 30,000 Christians under Rodrigo of Granada in 1666; *cf.* RUCCO DA CESINALE, III., 730 *seqq.*

⁵ According to P. Grillet's letter in 1668; *cf.* STREIT, *Bibl. Missionum*, II., n. 2015.

⁶ *Cf.* SHEA, 73 *seqq.*; *Cath. Encyclop.*, X., 385; SCHMIDLIN, 412. In New Galicia the Franciscans founded Labradones in 1659.

⁷ *Ius. pontif.*, I., 338 *seqq.*

questions of the religious Orders, either to give a ruling or a decision.¹

On the continent of North America, Alexander VII., in 1658, erected Canada into an Apostolic Vicariate, the Paris missionary, François Laval, being appointed first Vicar Apostolic.² In 1660 he reported to Rome that for the work of the conversion of the Indians he had the assistance especially of the Jesuits who deemed no people so barbarous as not to seek to convert it.³

(3.)

Under Innocent X. a decree had been published on the so-called Chinese rites, particularly the lawfulness of the worship of ancestors, which on the whole, it condemned. By its very tenor, the decree was only to remain in force until further instructions⁴ and the Cathedral Chapter of

¹ In 1663 he ordained that once elected the Dominican Provincials could exercise their functions but that within two years they must forward the acts of the election to the General for approval or annulment by him (*Ius. pontif.*, I., 335 seq.); in 1666, that the Dominican Priors were to be elected not by the parish priests but by the Provincials (*ibid.*, 352 seq.). He approved the conditions required for the degree of Master in the Province of Lima of the Mercedarians, the decree of the Congregation of Regulars that the visiting commissaries of the Franciscans of Guatemala were to be taken from the neighbouring Provinces and the constitution of their General Chapters, by the terms of which offices were to be alternately held by Creoles and Cachapines. He also confirmed their Definitorium on the alternation between natives and Spaniards in the seven Provinces of Peru and in that of Yucatan, and the decree of the Dominican General attaching the College of Angelopolis to the convent of Mexico (*ibid.*, 342 seq.).

² CERRI, 278; ROCHEMONTEIX, II., 189 seq.; SCHMIDLIN, 412.

³ "Relatio missionis Canadiensis"; cf. ROCHEMONTEIX, II., 343 seq.; GOSSELIN, *Biographie*, I., 247 seq.; SCHMIDLIN, 413, n. I.

⁴ "donec Sanctitas sua vel Sedes Apostolica aliud ordinaverit."

Manila was commissioned by the Holy See to observe¹ the manner in which the Jesuits preached the Gospel in China and how far they were in conformity with other Orders in this respect.

Before deciding on counter measures the Jesuits were anxious to know the real situation in their own camp. In 1650 the Visitor, Francis Furtado ordered an inquiry in every Jesuit mission in China; the investigation showed that an identical policy was pursued everywhere.² In 1651 Martin Martini of Trent and the Pole, Michael Boym, were sent as delegates to Rome. After a delay of many months in the Philippines, Martini was taken by the Dutch to Java, which he was only able to leave, with the Dutch fleet, on February 1st, 1653. On August 31st he landed at Bergen, in Norway. On reaching Amsterdam he superintended the printing of his Chinese atlas which, together with a book on Chinese chronology, he had completed on the voyage.³ By then it was high time for him to put in an appearance in Rome where, according to what Christoph Schorrer, who acted as Vicar-General of the Society for Goswin Nickel, wrote to him on June 27th, 1655,⁴ steps had been taken to have the decree of Propaganda of the year 1645 confirmed anew, before the arrival of the representatives of the Jesuits, a measure which would render his mission useless. Propaganda granted the delay demanded by Schorrer, and Martini also arrived in Rome in September, 1655, when he was authorized to furnish proof of his assertion that the decision of 1645 was based on manifestly erroneous data.⁵ At the end of five months of discussion by the Inquisition, a new decree was issued by Propaganda on March 23rd, 1656,⁶ and ratified by

¹ Of June 1, 1649 (BIERMANN, 85 seq.).

² *Castner, c. 2.

³ Account of the journey in M. MARTINIUS, *De bello Tartarico historia*², Antverpiæ, 1654, 9 seq., 159, 165 seq. On Martini's Atlas, cf. *Etudes*, CXXXI., 216 seqq.

⁴ Translation of the letter [PRAY], I., 113.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 113 seq.

⁶ *Collectanea*, I., 36-9, n. 126.

Alexander VII. Martini had limited his demands to four points of the decree of 1645. The first of these concerned the observance of the commandments of the Church by the Chinese Christians. Already Paul III.¹ had limited the law of fasting for the natives of both Indies to the eve of Christmas and Easter and the Fridays of Lent, but he insisted on their refraining from servile work on all Sundays and on twelve holidays. Morales proposed to extend Paul III.'s ordinance to China and the Congregation pronounced in that sense. However, the Jesuits were of opinion that, at least for the time being, the observance of all the commandments of the Church was not possible in China. Annual Confession and Communion and Sunday Mass could not be demanded owing to the lack of priests, whilst the Sunday rest could not be observed by the common people on account of their pagan employers, nor by the officials because their duty required their attendance at the courts and tribunals. The daily food of the abstemious Chinese was so scanty and unsatisfying that the ordinary labourer could not fast on that account and the officials were equally unable to do so by reason of the sittings of the courts which lasted six hours at a time.² Martini accordingly asked whether it was necessary to propound these commandments to the converts immediately after their baptism as binding under grave sin. The Congregation answered that they should be proclaimed as grave obligations, whilst at the same time the converts should be told why they were excused from observing them. If it was the Pope's good pleasure he might grant to the missionaries power to dispense³; and in effect, such faculties were at once granted to the Jesuits for a period of twelve years.⁴

A second difficulty was in connection with the administration of the Sacraments to women. Extreme Unction implies an anointing, as does the Sacrament of Baptism. Now in

¹ Brief of June 1, 1537, text, *ibid.*, 30 seq. note.

² Furtado on December 10, 1636, to Vitelleschi, General of the Order [PRAY], I., 37.

³ *Collectanea*, I., 38.

⁴ September 5, 1656, *Ius. pontif.*, I., 290.

China it was impossible to touch a woman, were it ever so lightly, without creating a tremendous scandal. On the advice of Morales the Congregation had decreed that the danger of scandal should be eliminated by exercising caution and by instruction, but that the unctions could not be omitted. However, the Jesuits thought that it was hardly possible to comply with this decision; hence Martini asked whether certain ceremonies could not be omitted in the Baptism of adult women, whether they might not be content with giving Extreme Unction to such women as asked for it themselves, and whether it would not be better to forgo altogether the administration of this Sacrament if, by so doing, they would create a danger for the whole Christian community. The Congregation pronounced in Martini's sense.¹

Thus on the representations of the Jesuits, Morales' first two questions received an answer that differed substantially from that given eleven years earlier. On the other hand for the next five questions the decision of 1645 remained in force; they concerned the imposition of a 30 per cent interest² and contributions to public collections which were also applied to religious purposes.³ The seventh point concerned the cult of Chim-Hoam (Cheng-Hwangshen), the patron of walled cities, to whom the Mandarins were obliged to do homage on entering office and after that twice in each month.⁴ On this point also the former decision was upheld; consequently this cult could not be justified by the practice of hiding a cross amid flowers and inwardly directing one's homage to the Crucified. On these five points Martini had not even made a fresh demand, at least not in his last memorial.

However, all these points were of secondary importance. The main question is touched in Martini's third and fourth demands, which refer to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors. In his eighth objection Morales had spoken of a solemn and another less solemn act of homage which were

¹ *Collectanea, loc. cit.*

² n. 3-5, *ibid.*, 32.

³ n. 6, *ibid.*, 32.

⁴ BIERMANN, 195.

performed by the higher officials twice a year in Confucius' temple, and after that on not a few occasions during the year. Martini does not allude to this cult, for the Jesuits did not allow it to Christian officials.¹ Hence the prohibition of 1645 was not affected by the decision of 1656. On the other hand, Martini asked whether they might tolerate the act of homage to Confucius which scholars performed on receiving their degree. No pagan priest was present at that ceremony; only the scholars met for the purpose of acknowledging Confucius as their Master by the performance of purely civil ceremonies, which from the very nature of their institution were intended as a purely civil homage. "All those who are about to receive a degree enter together into the room of Confucius where the chancellor, the doctors and the examiners await them. There is no sacrifice of any kind but, in accordance with Chinese custom, all perform before Confucius' monogram those ceremonies and inclinations which all pupils make before their ordinary, living teachers. When they have thus acknowledged the philosopher Confucius as their Master, they receive their degree from the chancellors, after which they withdraw. Moreover, this room of Confucius is not a temple properly so called, for it is only open to the students." In the light of these 'explanations' the Congregation allowed the ceremonies.²

Martini's fourth question relates to the cult of ancestors, but even in the formulation of the demand a distinction is drawn between the cult of ancestors as practised by the educated and by the common people, and it is conceded that superstition enters into the latter. Martini asked whether

¹ Furtado, answer of February 8, 1640, to Morales' 12 questions [PRAY], I, 68. "As regards the more solemn ceremonies in the hall of Confucius, with a view to avoiding all danger or even the appearance of superstition, we have always observed what our Fathers had likewise observed from the beginning, that is, we have absolutely forbidden them to the Christians and even to be present at them." A. de Govea to Navarete, October 3, 1669, *ibid.*, 216 *seq.*

² *Collectanea*, I., 38.

the ceremonies, as interpreted by the learned, could be permitted to the Christians, on condition that every superstitious element was eliminated ; furthermore, whether the Christians could carry out these ceremonies, if approved, jointly with their pagan relatives, that is whether they might be present whilst their pagan relatives practised superstitious rites, provided there was no scandal and they themselves gave no sign of approval.

There follows a description of the customs observed in the worship of ancestors. The Chinese do not ascribe divine attributes to the spirits of the dead and do not request their help. They pay a threefold homage to them. First of all, whenever a death occurs, they invariably erect in the house where the deceased lies, and in front of the bier, an altar on which they place the image, or the monogram of the dead man, amid fragrant herbs, flowers and candles. The mourners fall on their knees, three or four times, before the picture or the monogram of the deceased, touching the ground with their forehead. They also present candles and perfumes which are burnt on the altar before the image or the monogram.

Another form of homage takes place twice a year. Though all persons of the wealthy classes do not possess a temple of their own, they have at least a special room with the pictures or monograms of their ancestors. In this room all the relatives assemble twice a year and the wealthier ones offer meat, wine, candles and perfumes. Those less well off and unable to set apart such rooms for their ancestors, have at least tablets bearing the monograms of their ancestors which they keep in a special place, or even on the altar where they also place pictures of " saints ". They do not venerate these pictures or tablets, nor do they sacrifice to them ; they are put on the altar because there is no other place for them. The above-mentioned ceremonies are only carried out if there is an ancestors' hall, otherwise they are omitted.

The third kind of cult refers to the graves of the dead on the hill-tops, outside the towns. At least once a year, about the beginning of May, the relatives visit the grave, clean it of weeds, lament, make their genuflections and

place cooked food and wine on it : a meal concludes the ceremony.¹

The Congregation approved all this ; as a matter of fact it had permitted already in 1645 the customs observed in the mortuary chamber whenever a death occurred,² so that in the description of the rites in question it was possible to reproduce textually, at least in substance, the earlier decree.

It was not to be expected that the decision of 1656 would put an end to the disputes. The Jesuits had reason to be satisfied with the decree and since Martini's demands had met with a favourable answer, the ritual questions not expressly decided by the Congregation could not give rise to any serious difficulties. But it was too much to hope that the new decree would dispose of the objections of the opponents, for they could retort that they had not been heard before the decision, just as the Jesuits had not been heard before that of 1645³ ; consequently the Jesuits did not insist on the ordinance being communicated to them in due legal form for this would only have served to irritate the advocates of another opinion.⁴ Moreover, though the Jesuits were allowed to act on the decision of 1656, it was by no means forbidden to go by that of 1645 ; both decrees presupposed that the reports sent to the Congregation were based on facts, but the Congregation had not decided what was the truth in the practice of these rites, hence according as either the one or the other report to the Congregation was judged to conform to facts, the one or the other decree could be followed. The Dominicans ended by deciding that Martini's account of the rites was erroneous, so that it was not lawful to take advantage of the concessions of the Congregation.⁵ But though opinion on the interpretation of the rites continued to differ, after the decision of 1656 the Jesuit view increasingly gained ground. Fifty years

¹ *Ibid.*, 38 seq.

² Cf. decrees of 1645, n. 12, n. 34.

³ Cf. the opinions of Jesuits in BIERMANN, 95, n. 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

later, when the controversy was once more submitted for final judgment by Rome, the Jesuits were able to affirm that in practice the members of other Orders adopted the Society's view, including even those of their number who fought the Jesuits by means of pamphlets and disputations.¹

¹ " Ultimo loco animadvertere oportet, istos Ill. Dominos Adversarios nihil habuisse, quod opponerent iis, quae deducta fuerant in primo Memoriali n. 59 etc. ad probandum omnes ferme missionarios Chinae cuiuslibet Ordinis in facto sequi praxim Societatis, etiam illos, qui eandem praxim scribendo aut disputando improbant; et quod plus est, nihil omnino respondisse ad facta quaedam particularia, quae referebantur de iisdem Ill^{mis} DD. Cononensi (Maigrot) et Rosaliensi (Lyonne), ut in primo Summario sub n. 2 lit. T pag. 33, et n. 5 lit. HH et JJ, ac praesertim quod D. Cononensis sacramentum Confirmationis impertitus fuisset neophytis Societatis, quos coram S. Sede tanquam indubitatos idolorum cultores accusat, quodque ritum funebrem Tiao, idolatria pariter imbutum, secundum plurium ex adversariis sententiam per se ipsum praestiterit ante feretrum ac tabellam mandarini gentilis defuncti." Another letter of Maigrot shows "dictum Ill^{mum} Dominum non vere credere defunctorum animas frui oblati secundum doctrinam Sinicam, cum in eo scripto ex libris Sinicis probet oppositum, aliaque ibi habeat, ex quibus mitius interpretanda sunt, quae in suo libello tantopere exaggerat. Noel-Castner, Memoriale ac Summarium novissimorum testimoniorum Sinensium . . . Clementi Papæ XI oblatum (Romae) 27 Aug. 1704, 23 n. 79."

CHAPTER V.

JANSENIST TROUBLES IN FRANCE AND THE LOW COUNTRIES.

(1.)

IN order to put an end to doubts and distortions, Innocent X., in a Brief of September 29th, 1654, had explained his condemnation of the famous five Jansenist propositions in the sense that his decision was meant to hit opinions expressed in the *Augustinus* of Jansenius. But when shortly after the Pope's death, Mazarin, on January 15th, 1655, placed this Brief before fifteen Bishops assembled in Paris, they were not wholly satisfied with it, on the ground that in that document the Pope issued a simple statement, not a decision in virtue of his supreme authority.¹ The assembly nevertheless gave it as its opinion that the effect would be a favourable one, provided the papal decree was signed throughout France. It is true that Parliament raised objections on the ground that the new Brief enjoined the acceptance of a decree of the Inquisition of April 23rd, 1654, against Jansenist writings, whereas the Inquisition was not acknowledged in France. However, the King countered this objection by himself prohibiting all Jansenist publications in virtue of his own sovereign authority. The fifteen prelates addressed a circular to all the Bishops of France urging them to put their signatures to the Constitution condemning the five propositions, the Brief of September 29th, 1654, as well as to a formula which expressly ascribed the five propositions to Jansenius and declared that St. Augustine had nothing to do with them. This is the first appearance of the first draft of the formula round which the whole Jansenist conflict was to develop thereafter.

The fifteen Bishops lacked sufficient prestige to induce all their colleagues to take a unanimous step. Thus for the

¹ GERBERON, II., 248 *seqq.*

moment a general calm prevailed in France, but it was a calm such as that which, in the winter time, precedes the fall of an avalanche in the snow-covered mountains: in the midst of a great silence a small quantity of snow is suddenly set in motion when, with irresistible force, mass is piled upon mass with appalling effect. It was a trifling matter that caused the tension, so long repressed on the Jansenist side, to snap at last.

One of the most valuable recruits to the new teaching was the Marquis de Liancourt who, notwithstanding his leaning towards "the disciples of St. Augustine", nevertheless remained in touch with the Sulpicians, to whose founder and superior he had given a written promise that he would submit to the forthcoming papal judgment.¹ At first it looked as if he would be as good as his word.² However, his relations with Port-Royal became increasingly intimate. His niece was being educated there from her second year, and he himself gave hospitality to the Jansenist Bourseys by whom he had been won over to the new teaching.³ Now it so happened that when Liancourt went to confession to the Sulpician Picoté, the latter requested his penitent to give him time to consider whether he could give him absolution. In his embarrassment the Marquis appealed to Vincent de Paul. Vincent discussed the affair with Picoté's superior, Bretonvilliers, as well as with Olier himself, and as both defended Picoté, he submitted the case to some Doctors of the Sorbonne who pronounced in favour of a refusal of absolution, though when consulted a second time, they declared that the Marquis could not be publicly refused Communion.⁴

Liancourt did not keep this affair quiet, so that it created no small stir, especially among the Jansenists. The Marquis was a highly respected man, of irreproachable conduct.

¹ RAPIN, I., 92 *seq.*, 526 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, II., 126 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 236; FAILLON, II., 403, 483 *seq.*

⁴ Tronson's report (3rd Superior of St. Sulpice) and Liancourt himself on the matter in App. to RAPIN, II., 512-18. On Picoté, *ibid.*, 509-512.

If he was refused absolution, although he accepted the condemnation of the five propositions, many others would be threatened with a like fate. Thus what was at first Liancourt's purely personal concern developed into a question of principle and Antoine Arnauld took up his pen in defence of the Marquis.

However, his opusculé is a very feeble production.¹ He writes as if there were question of a formal excommunication and attacks his opponents on this assumption. Two statements in Arnauld's outburst deserve attention. The one contains an unqualified assurance² that everybody was agreed that the five propositions were heretical, though Port-Royal was anything but unanimous on this point.³ The other asserts that all Catholics had a right to the Sacraments of the Church and that so long as they remained children of God they could not be denied the bread of God's children.⁴ There would be nothing remarkable in the statement were it not that it came from the same pen which wrote the book against frequent Communion.

Arnauld's book bears the date of February 24th, 1655. Refutations appeared promptly.⁵ Arnauld replied on July 10th in another somewhat lengthy publication.⁶ Only out of regard for a great personage,⁷ he says at the beginning, did he take up his pen anew, and he did so with the utmost reluctance. He then discusses, with many a violent outburst and accusation, the affair of the Marquis of Liancourt; in the second part he seeks to prove his own submission to the papal decision. His proof is chiefly based on the customary distinction with which the Jansenists endeavoured to render

¹ *Première lettre à une personne de condition* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 311 seqq.).

² *Ibid.*, X., 315.

³ RAPIN, II., 248 seq.

⁴ *Œuvres*, XIX., 312.

⁵ Titles, *ibid.* 337; RAPIN, II., 247.

⁶ *Seconde lettre à un Duc et Pair de France* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 338 seqq.); RAPIN, II., 297-307.

⁷ The Duke de Luynes?

papal judgments ineffective : he condemned the five propositions, he declared, but defended the teaching of Augustine, for there was question not of Jansenius, but of Augustine.¹ Notwithstanding this definite assurance, Arnauld not only refuses to drop the Bishop of Ypres, but by means of a clever distinction, contrives to give the impression that he accepts the papal decision without forswearing Jansenius. When the Church gives a decision on points of faith, he writes, she can, of course, demand internal assent, but the fact whether Jansenius taught this or that is not a part of the deposit of the faith, which can only contain what is taught by Scripture or Tradition² : hence in the case of a decision by the Church on a question of fact, it is enough to observe a respectful silence.³ Thus, according to Arnauld, the *magisterium* of the Church may declare infallibly whether or no a proposition is in conformity with her dogmas, but when it describes the teaching of this or that man as heretical, its judgment on such a point of fact is not infallible, hence it can never infallibly put the faithful on their guard against the teaching of any particular man, and condemn it without the possibility of error. It goes without saying that such a distinction makes it impossible for the *magisterium* of the Church to fulfil its purpose, yet for all its singularity, the distinction was destined to acquire enormous importance. Lastly Arnauld discusses in detail the teaching of St. Augustine who, according to him, asserts in a hundred places that the grace required to keep the commandments was not given to all.⁴ Thus in the person of the Prince of the Apostles the Gospel shows us a just man who lacked the grace without which we are helpless, on an

¹ *Œuvres*, XIX, 443 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 445 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 456. BOULENGER (*Le grand siècle*, Paris, 1911, 285) writes : " Sans doute ces subtilités auraient fort irrité l'auteur des Provinciales, si elles eussent été du fait des Jésuites : n'était-il pas absurde de reconnaître au pape la faculté de déterminer une doctrine et de lui refuser celle de décider si cette doctrine était ou non d'accord avec celle d'un livre quelconque ? "

⁴ *Œuvres*, XIX., 472 *seqq.*

occasion of which it is impossible to say that he did not sin.¹

This distorted sentence about St. Peter's denial was to prove particularly fatal to Arnauld, though for the moment the new publication of the pope of Jansenism considerably raised the morale of his followers.² Under the cloak of a "respectful silence" they might stick to Jansenius and his book, and if the fall of the Prince of the Apostles could be ascribed to the lack of grace, that statement amounted to a denial of sufficient grace. In point of fact this fundamental tenet of Jansenius had, by that time, become so ingrained in the conscience of many that they no longer accused themselves in confession of having sinned so many times, but that grace had failed them on so many occasions.³ In view of the Jansenists' lack of straightforwardness, of which Arnauld's publication furnished a fresh proof, it is not surprising that just then, that is after 1654, Filleau's book on the alleged conspiracy of Bourgfontaine should have created a sensation, for there it was asserted that, as a matter of fact, the new sect did not take its teaching seriously, but that under cover of fine speeches it aimed at nothing less than the destruction of Christianity itself.⁴

The joy of Arnauld's friends over his new book was paralleled by the excitement in the opposite camp. The dispute had suddenly entered a new phase. There was no longer question of the doctrine of grace but of the Church's infallibility, of what she could decide unerringly, and whether the Pope was justified in claiming the right to pronounce in certain

¹ *Ibid.*, 572 seq. The text of St. Augustine (*Sermo* 124 *de temp.*) to which Arnauld appeals is from an apocryphal homily which was already described as spurious in the Louvain edition (*Migne. Patr. Lat.*, XXXIX., 1899; cf. ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXV., 33).

² "Rien enfin ne rétablit mieux les affaires du party que cette lettre, on peut dire même que tout ce qui se fit d'avantageux et de favorable dans la suite à la cabale ne fut qu'un effet du fracas qu'elle fit dans le monde." RAPIN, II., 307.

³ FAILLON, II., 453; ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XVI., xxxi.

⁴ See our data, XXIX., 73 seq.

matters. For a time Rome did nothing ; it was even said that Alexander VII. had at first blamed the priests of St. Sulpice.¹ However, a commission was appointed to examine Arnauld's book. The latter deemed it expedient to protest his obedience to the Holy See in a most submissive letter.² The influence of Rancati, who had been pushed aside by Innocent X., but whom Alexander VII. had reinstated, is said to have prevented decisive measures.³

But if, for the time being, everything was quiet in Rome, excitement was all the greater in France, both at court and among the Bishops and the scholars. A few small works against the new book by the Jesuits Annat, Crasset and Deschamps had already appeared, but Arnauld's answer to them was not printed.⁴ Meanwhile a much more dangerous adversary appeared on the scene, viz. the Sorbonne.

On November 4th, 1655, the Syndic Guyart announced that some persons in high position had protested against Arnauld's new book, whereupon six members of the Faculty were instructed to examine the work. Saint-Amour and some others tried to offer resistance and when Guyart obtained a decision of the royal council against them, they and sixty-two Doctors appealed to Parliament against an alleged abuse of ecclesiastical authority. On the basis of some ancient parliamentary decisions, according to which only two Doctors of each of the Mendicant Orders were entitled to vote,⁵ the Advocate General, Talon, favoured the appellants, but out of consideration for the court the appeal was eventually rejected.⁶

Meanwhile in an anonymous publication,⁷ Arnauld had appealed to another tribunal, namely to the general public and to the great mass of the unlearned. His only crime, he angrily declared, was that he did not extend the regard

¹ RAPIN, II., 308.

² August 27, 1655, *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Only published in 1702 by Quesnel (*Œuvres*, XIX., 565 *seqq.*).

⁵ See XXX., p. 240.

⁶ *Œuvres*, XIX., xliv.

⁷ *Considérations* (*ibid.*, XIX., 602 *seqq.*).

he felt for the papal decision to the explanation with which the Jesuit Annat had enriched it.¹ After a few sallies against the Jesuits he proceeds in the same tone against his own colleagues, that is the six Sorbonnists who had been charged with the examination of the affair. Very different is the tone of two other contemporary writings which also bear his name² and in which he humbly prays the Sorbonne to be good enough to point out to him what was offensive in his letters, so that he might plead guilty to possible errors, or offer an explanation in self-defence. A letter of the same period, to his sister Angélique,³ proves that he did not want to be shown where he was wrong, in fact, he did not desire even as much as an inquiry. He roundly describes the affair as the cause of God ; he was being persecuted because in his teaching on grace he did not make God subservient to man. On December 1st, Arnauld's letters to the Sorbonne were publicly read at a meeting of that body and the six commissaries reported on the result of their inquiry. Arnauld, they stated, had erred on a point of fact as well as on a point of doctrine. With regard to the question of fact he denied that the five propositions were Jansenius', and as to the other, namely that in presence of a papal decision on a question of fact it was enough to observe an attitude of respectful silence the commission qualifies it as "rash, scandalous, offensive towards the Pope as well as the French clergy and calculated to revive the condemned teaching of Jansenius". Their judgment was even severer on the so-called question of right, that is on Arnauld's doctrinal error. His thesis that St. Peter's fall was due to a lack of grace, the six commissaries roundly describe as heretical.⁴ Towards Arnauld's person, at the request of Bishop Lescot of Chartres, the Sorbonne proceeded with mildness. He was asked to give an undertaking that he

¹ *Ibid.*, 607.

² November 24-30, 1655, *ibid.*, 626 *seqq.*

³ Of November 5, 1655 (*ibid.*, I., 82).

⁴ RAPIN, II., 316, Rapin's account is chronologically inaccurate here.

would submit to the Sorbonne and requested to appear before that body, not to dispute, but to present his views.¹

The Jansenists had no thought of submitting. Arnould forwarded two more letters to the Sorbonne, in which he deals not very clearly with the question whether the five propositions were to be found in Jansenius. As for his view on St. Peter's fall, he declares that it was derived from the purest theological sources and quite free from error. Explanations such as these could lead nowhere; hence Arnould's friends had recourse to other means. After the letters had been read at the Sorbonne on December 7th and 10th, at the moment when the six commissioners were about to proceed with their report, the Jansenists raised such a din that it was impossible to go on with the reading. Thereupon the Bishops present secured a royal ordinance forbidding members, under severe penalties, to speak out of their turn or to interrupt a speaker. However, if no one might be interrupted, that circumstance provided the Jansenists with a splendid means to delay a decision indefinitely. As a matter of fact, the Jansenist Brousse, in order to demonstrate the uncertainty of human knowledge, gave a veritable lecture on astronomy, so that he took up two whole sessions with his discourse and even then he was not yet at the end.² This was too much even for the most long-suffering. At the next meeting an incident occurred for which there was no precedent in the history of the Sorbonne. The chancellor, Seguier, came to the meeting in solemn procession, escorted by halberdiers, and explained that he had been commissioned by the King to see to the preservation of the traditional order. However, nothing daunted, Brousse began again, expatiating this time on the difference between a lie and a delusion. The chancellor summoned him to keep to the subject under discussion, whereupon Brousse started an argument to show that the five propositions could not be found in Jansenius. Again and again the chancellor recalled him to the point in question.

¹ Arnould to De Barcos (*Œuvres*, I., 83).

² RAPIN, II., 338.

Brousse then complained that there was no freedom of speech. At last he ended with the statement that it was an offence against the Pope to hold that he was infallible in his judgments on points of fact.¹

The presence of the chancellor prevented the remaining speakers in support of Arnauld² from drawing out their speeches indefinitely. They pointed out that no one had been able to find the five propositions in Jansenius ; that in point of fact not one of them was his ; that the Pope had issued no definition on the point, nor could he define anything infallibly on the subject. Manessier added that the Roman consultors had not been commissioned to inquire what Jansenius had to do with the propositions.³ On the other hand, the majority of the assembly considered that these questions had been decided by the pronouncements of the Pope and the Bishops : hence they declined to enter into a fresh discussion of the subject. Bishop de la Barde of Saint-Brieuc, Bishop Godeau of Vence, Bourgeois and Rousse, curé of St. Roch in Paris, made vain attempts to bring about a compromise between utterly irreconcilable opinions. However, Bishops Vialart of Châlons and Choiseul of Comminges, who arrived in Paris at the beginning of January 1656, seem to have succeeded in inducing Arnauld to write a letter to the Faculty,⁴ in which he expressed regret for having given utterance to a doubt on the presence of the five points in the writings of Jansenius ; but for the rest, he withdrew nothing. Vialart's proposal⁵ that they should be satisfied with this explanation met with as little favour as a similar one by Choiseul.

On January 14th, 1656, after more than twenty sessions, the Faculty proceeded to vote : 124 Doctors of the Sorbonne declared Arnauld's doubts about questions of fact rash,

¹ Protocol of the sitting in RAPIN, II., 528 *seqq.*

² Bourgeois' *votum* in ARNAULD *Œuvres* XX., 428 *seqq.* ; Balan's, *ibid.*, 447 *seqq.* ; Manessier's, *ibid.*, 476 *seqq.* ; Perrault's, *ibid.*, 480 *seqq.* Cf., *ibid.*, XIX., lvii *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 476.

⁴ January 10, 1656 (*Œuvres*, XIX., 664).

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX., 494.

scandalous, etc. ; seventy-one Doctors exculpated him, whilst fifteen remained neutral.¹ If from the 124 opponents of Arnauld we deduct the seven Bishops and forty members of the Mendicant Orders, the two parties almost balanced each other.

The first part of the discussions, viz. those on the question of fact, was thus disposed of ; it was now necessary to proceed to deal with the second, viz. the question of right. Arnauld sought to protect himself by means of a pamphlet addressed to the Sorbonne,² in which he tried to cloak his views with the teaching of the Dominicans, and in a small work destined for a larger circle,³ he gave further explanations of his ideas on the fall of St. Peter. He sent the former work to the Sorbonne together with a covering letter,⁴ but despite the efforts of his friend Bourgeois, the Faculty refused to have it read. On January 17th, 1656, the discussion opened at once on the basis of Arnauld's former work and in order to put a stop to all attempts at obstruction, it was decided at the outset that when it came to stating opinions, no one should be allowed to speak for more than half an hour. However, this decision was not at first strictly enforced until, on January 22nd, 1656, Bourgeois took two whole hours to expound his views and he had not finished when the sitting terminated. Thereupon, on the 24th, the chancellor presented himself once more in the assembly. Bourgeois, who on this occasion also was unwilling to stop, had the humiliation of being several times angrily interrupted by the chancellor, with the result that he was only able to read one-half of the 112 closely written quarto sheets of his memorandum. After a certain Héron, hitherto a supporter of Arnauld, had dropped him in the

¹ *Œuvres*, XIX., xlvi. Cf. two letters of St. Amour of January 14, 1656, in RAPIN, II., 532 *seqq.* That Jansenius held the opinions expressed in the five propositions, has often been proved ; cf. YVES DE LA BRIÈRE in *Recherches*, VI. (1916), 270-301.

² *Apologeticus alter* (*Œuvres*, XIX., 668 *seqq.*).

³ *Propositiones theologicae duae* (*ibid.*, 705 *seqq.*).

⁴ January 16, 1665 (*ibid.*, 666).

matter under discussion, sixty of Arnauld's partisans, on the latter's advice, left the assembly on the plea that there was no freedom of speech; at the same time they protested in advance against the decision which could be expected from the Sorbonne.¹ Matters now moved rapidly towards a decision. After six further sittings, on January 31st, 1656, the text of the censure was drawn up and the assertion that the fall of the Prince of the Apostles was due to a lack of grace was qualified as heretical. A period of grace was granted to the author of the statement until February 15th; if by then he had not subscribed to the censure, he would be excluded from the Sorbonne and his name struck off the list of its Doctors. Thereafter no one was to be admitted to any office, or public function, at the Sorbonne unless he had first signed the censure.² The decision had been arrived at by 127 votes against those of 9 Jansenists present, whilst 31 who were absent protested that it was null and void.³ Arnauld acted in like manner,⁴ on the plea that he could not acknowledge an assembly at which theologians were not free to expound their views, or their motives for holding them. Although he had been struck off the list of Doctors, he now styled himself "Doctor" with special emphasis and insisted on being described thus by his friends.

Thus judgment was given in Paris and Rome threatened to confirm it. Arnauld did his utmost to forestall the blow. In a new work on St. Thomas' genuine teaching on sufficient and efficient grace,⁵ he endeavoured to show that it was impossible to condemn him without condemning St. Thomas, thereby destroying the whole of the Saint's theological edifice. The desire to win over Roman circles appears plainly

¹ RAPIN, II., 348 *seqq.*, with Aubineau's notes. Text of the protest in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XX., 394 *seqq.*

² Text of the decree, *ibid.*, XX., 345 *seqq.*

³ February 1, 1656, *ibid.*, 397; further objection "of very many doctors" on February 15, *ibid.*, 398. Cf. ARNAULD's letter of January 30, 1656, *ibid.*, I., 100.

⁴ February 26, 1656, *ibid.*, XIX., 719 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, XX., 39 *seqq.*

in the new work. All of a sudden Arnauld condescended to make admissions which put his teaching in a quite new light.¹ He sent his opusculum to Cardinal Francesco Barberini and to Rancati who just then were being influenced in a Jansenist sense by Cosimo Brunetti of Siena.² In a covering letter³ Arnauld describes himself once more as a follower of St. Thomas from whom he only differed in some trifling details. Rancati's reply was courteous but cold,⁴ nor did the Dominican Cardinal Maculano allow himself to be won over by Arnauld's extravagant praise of the Dominicans and their teaching.⁵ A further work also addressed to Rancati⁶ yielded no better result.

Arnauld had acted as he had done with all the more assurance as under Alexander VII. the French nuncio had scarcely taken any steps to have the Constitution of Innocent X. carried into effect, and Rome had made no comment on Arnauld's second work on the affair Liancourt which the Doctor had forwarded to the authorities there. Accordingly the French Jansenists boasted that they enjoyed the favour of the new Pope. In this they were mistaken. Alexander expressed his satisfaction on hearing of the Sorbonne's attitude towards Arnauld and of the conduct of the chancellor. The nuncio had not been able to do anything because of the great

¹ Thus he now expressly admits that the fall of the just who lacks efficacious grace cannot be ascribed to God ; that the cause of that want was for the most part due to the neglect of prayer (*ibid.*, 66) ; one may not simply assert that a commandment is impossible for a just man or a sinner (73). If he said that Peter, in denying our Lord, had lacked the grace without which we are helpless, he did not mean habitual grace which, according to St. Thomas, represents " grace sufficient to enable a man to avoid sin " (76).

² *Ibid.*, XIX., lxv. *seqq.*

³ March 31, 1656, *ibid.*, I., 107 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 117 *seq.*

⁶ *Dissertatio theologica quadripartita*, *ibid.*, XX., 159 *seqq.*
Letter to Rancati, June 1, 1656, *ibid.*, I., 129 *seqq.*

difficulty he experienced in obtaining an audience even with Mazarin who showed the utmost favour to the worst Jansenist of all, the Archbishop of Sens.¹ The silence of the Index was due solely to the fact that it was not its practice to issue a special decree for a single book ; but it would not be long before something was done.² In point of fact on August 3rd, 1656, the Congregation of the Index published a declaration prohibiting Arnauld's two letters to Liancourt, his five memorials to the Sorbonne and his letter to a certain Doctor Holden on St. Thomas's teaching on grace.³

With what sentiments Arnauld received this condemnation appears from a letter to his brother, the Bishop of Angers. In France, he wrote, they did not attach much importance to these censures of the Index ; besides, for those who know how these things are done, there is nothing more pitiable than these decrees⁴ ; for the moment he did not know what to do except to lament before God the enormities that were being committed against His sacred truth.⁵

¹ "pessimus Jansenistarum." Later, on August 22, 1664, Annat *wrote to Fabri that Gondrin was not himself a Jansenist, but that he favoured them in every way ; he welcomed them all into his diocese. *Excerpta ex codice S. Officii, Acta in Galliis in causa Janseniana*, 1663-5, f. 514, these extracts from the otherwise inaccessible Archives of the Roman Inquisition were left by Schill and were most kindly put at my disposal by the Chapter of Freiburg, for which I wish to express my thanks in this place also.

* DUNEAU to Mazarin, July 27, 1656, in GÉRIN, I., 151, n. 3.

³ The Jansenists sought to cover themselves with the authority of St. Thomas and the Thomists, so that the difference between the latter's teaching and that of the Jansenists was a burning question at that time. The Dominican Nicolai of Paris and the Jesuit Annat in particular showed this difference which Holden had contested (RAPIN, II., 321 *seq.*). Cf. [PATOUILLET], I., 291-308.

⁴ Letter of September 30, 1656, *Œuvres*, I., 148.

⁵ Letter to Desmares, *ibid.*, 125.

(2.)

With Arnauld's condemnation the Jansenist party seemed to have been finally crushed. The Church and scholars, the Pope, the Bishops and the world's first University had united in condemning it. The charter of foundation of the new teaching, Jansenius' *Augustinus*, was torn up, the apologies of its mouthpiece and oracle, together with a dozen other writings, stood in the catalogue of forbidden books. A cartoon in a comic almanac which enjoyed an enormous sale, brought home to the common people what it was all about. This picture was commented upon in every workshop and in every home, amid general laughter.¹ In his latest writings Arnauld had vainly turned and twisted in order to avoid the impending blow; vainly had Port-Royal groaned and raised its hands to heaven. The blow had fallen and it looked as if only two alternatives remained to the Jansenists, viz. either to submit loyally or to leave the Church openly.

They took neither course, yet a few weeks after Arnauld's condemnation their prestige was greater than ever and they were able to deal their best hated enemy blows of which the effects were to be felt for centuries. If they had nothing more to hope for from the halls of the Vatican and the Sorbonne, they still had the influential *salons* of aristocratic ladies and gentlemen, in fact the cultivated world in general. If they achieved nothing with the heavy artillery of scholarly arguments, they knew that an opponent could be got rid of with the sharp stiletto of pointed irony and ridicule. This was no task for the somewhat crude Arnauld; but the work was done with incomparable skill by another man who appeared on the scene at the right moment to rescue Arnauld—that man was Blaise Pascal.²

¹ RAPIN, II., 191-6.

² A. MAIRE, *Bibliographie générale des œuvres de Blaise Pascal* 5 vols., Paris, 1925-7; V. GIRAUD, *Pascal. l'homme, l'œuvre, l'influence* ³, Paris, 1905; F. STROWSKI, *Pascal et son temps*, Paris, 1907; *Id.*, *B. Pascal. Œuvres complètes avec une biographie*, I. (*Biographie*), Paris, 1923; H. PETITOT, *Pascal, sa vie religieuse*

Pascal was a man of genius in more than one sphere. Born at Clermont Ferrand in 1623 he died at the early age of 39. From his eighteenth year his life was one long struggle with illness, but whatever he took up during the brief span of his life, he advanced and improved, with the sole exception of theology. As a youth he invented a calculating machine. In one sleepless night and whilst tortured by toothache, during the latter years of his life, he solved a mathematical problem which until then had baffled human ingenuity, viz. that of the cycloid, and he also threw further light on the theory of probabilities. In physics he demonstrated the weight of the air and formulated the laws of the equilibrium of liquids. In addition to all this he has his place among writers on the philosophy of religion and he is one of the creators of modern French.

Pascal first took up a more serious attitude to life in a Jansenist sense in 1646 and after an interval of worldliness definitely so in 1645. Henceforth we see him as a keen Jansenist.¹ As such he cherished a strong aversion for the Jesuits, a feeling which, as a matter of fact, had been called

et son Apologie du christianisme, Paris, 1911; W. CLARK, *Pascal and the Port-Royalists*, Edinburgh, 1902; W. KREITEN, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLII-XLV; K. BORNHAUSEN, *Pascal*, Bâle, 1920; *Id.*, *Die Ethik Pascals*, Giessen, 1907; A. KÖSTER, *Die Ethik Pascals*, Tübingen, 1907; *Les pensées de Pascal, disposées suivant l'ordre du cahier autographe* par G. MICHAUT, Fribourg (Suisse), 1896.

¹ According to E. JOVY (*Pascal inédit* II.: *Les véritables derniers sentiments de Pascal*, Vitry-le-François, 1910), Pascal renounced, before his death, the Jansenist teaching on grace, though not his dislike for the casuists (*cf.* J. CHEVALIER, *Pascal* [1922], 37 *seqq.*). The following agree with Jovy: H. F. STEWART (*Les lettres provinciales*, Manchester, 1920), MONBRUN (*Bullet. de litt. eccl.*, Toulouse, 1911, 153 *seqq.*, 201 *seqq.*; 1920, 147 *seqq.*), LAHORGUE (*ibid.*, 1920, 59 *seqq.*), YVES DE LA BRIÈRE (*Études*, CXXIX [1911], 641 *seq.*), A. VALENSINN (*ibid.*, 5 juin, 1923, 517). Against Jovy: AUG. GAZIER (*Les derniers jours de Blaise Pascal*, Paris, 1911), H. PETITOT (*Rev. des sciences phil. et théol.*, IV [1910], 723 *seqq.*).

forth before this by an encounter with them in the scientific sphere. One very surprising trait in Pascal's character, one that brings out even more markedly the opposition between him and Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuit ascetics, was his susceptibility to extraordinary emotional impressions which he took without question for the voice of God. As a scientist, Pascal was hampered by his Jansenist piety which led him gradually to despise secular knowledge and involved him in a controversy which, whilst it brought his name to the knowledge of the whole world, was from the point of view of scholarship, the feeblest part of his achievement.¹

In December, 1655, as Arnauld's condemnation by the Sorbonne drew ever nearer, Port-Royal hit on the expedient of representing the whole affair as a discussion about a mere nothing and a question of mere words. If this were done in a striking, witty fashion, they would have most of the laughter on their side and the condemnation with which they were threatened, might be staved off; in any case it would be rendered harmless. Arnauld wrote a pamphlet in this sense but it failed to please his friends; accordingly he appealed to Pascal and pressed him to try his hand at it. Pascal's essay met with hearty approval. It appeared in print on January 23rd, 1656. It consisted of only eight quarto pages bearing the title: *A letter to a person in the provinces from a friend*.² It was the first of the *Lettres Provinciales* which immediately created an enormous sensation.

¹ Cf. W. KREITEN, *Die Provinzialbriefe Pascals*, in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLIV. (1893), 24 seqq., 161 seqq., 295 seqq., 456 seqq., 537 seqq.; XLV., 25 seqq.; MAYNARD, *Les Provinciales et leur réfutation*, Paris, 1851; A. BROU, *Les Jésuites de la légende*, I., Paris, 1907, 305-9, 343-430; KARL WEISS, *P. Antonio de Escobar y Mendoza als Moralthologe in Pascals Beleuchtung und im Lichte der Wahrheit*, Klagenfurt, 1908. Rectification of twelve assertions in letters 1-3, 17-18; [DUMAS], I., 169-184; examination of all the letters in RAPIN, *Mém.*, II., 353 seqq., 394 seqq., 431 seqq., 454 seqq.

² "Lettre écrite à un Provincial par un de ses amis sur le sujet des disputes présentes de la Sorbonne." Later, under the

In accordance with their agreement, Pascal had thrown ridicule upon the whole affair. "At this moment," he writes, "the most learned body in the kingdom is engaged in a lengthy discussion as to whether or not the five propositions are to be found in Jansenius' book. How ridiculous! Do I need the Doctors of Sorbonne to ascertain such a thing? Have I not Jansenius' book and can I not read it for myself? And is it so weighty a question whether or no Arnauld is 'rash'? Does it affect my conscience?" These thoughts are thrown off at the very beginning of the letter, in a language unheard until then; the whole thing is so bright and arresting, is developed in short, simple sentences, so cleverly turned and so pungently humorous, that the laughter-loving Parisians were bound to be highly diverted, with the result that they would overlook the fact that Pascal was completely beside the point. The question was not whether the five propositions stood textually in Jansenius' book. Arnauld had been unwilling to discover them in order to shield both Jansenius and his book from a papal condemnation. But when the Pope declared that he had condemned *propositions put up by Jansenius*, was it not "rashness", and even worse than rashness, to tell the Head of the Church that Rome was unable to read or to discern the true meaning of a book?

Thus Arnauld's denials touched on a question of principle. The same is true of the second part of his letter in which he states that Peter denied our Lord because he lacked the necessary grace. Here he touches on the question of man's free will, that is on a basic question of morality, so that the affair is by no means laughable. All the same Pascal succeeds in making a discovery on the strength of which he pours ridicule on the Sorbonne. If the will is to perform an act freely, nothing must come between it and its act that might hinder its action, that is, as the expression was, the will must have not only a remote but a proximate capacity or

pseudonym of "Louis de Montalte". In the seventh letter Pascal uses a circumlocution for "provincial" and at the end he writes, "Un de mes amis de la campagne."

ability to act. As to what constitutes this "proximate capacity",¹ was a matter on which the various schools disagreed. Pascal now imagines himself as going from a Jansenist to a Dominican, from a Dominican to a Jesuit, in order to obtain from each of them an explanation of what was meant by "proximate capacity". He then plays off the various answers against each other, thereby creating the impression that the theologians did not know their own minds and that they condemned Arnauld for a meaningless expression. It goes without saying that Pascal makes his theologians give answers such as no real theologian would ever give. But his consultation of them is so entertainingly described that it reads like a farce, with the result that perhaps not one reader in a thousand who laughed at the theologians and their "proximate capacity", was really aware that he was laughing at an attempt to explain one of the profoundest and weightiest questions of philosophy, human life and Christianity, the question, that is, of the freedom of the human will and the relations between nature and the supernatural. In his second letter Pascal indulges in the same sort of banter when treating of the sufficient grace of the Dominicans which, according to him, is called sufficient though it suffices for nothing.² His real aim was to persuade the Dominicans of Paris that if they wished to be logical they should side with the Jansenists.

In the meantime Arnauld had been condemned by the Sorbonne; accordingly the third letter pours some fairly clever ridicule on this condemnation. "What grave objections have not been raised against the opinions of the Jansenists! Yet now that an attempt is made to substantiate these objections, and a Jansenist publication is examined for the purpose, three whole lines, neither more nor less, are found to be deserving of blame! Yet what is said in these three lines was taken textually, and according to Arnauld, also in

¹ "pouvoir prochain."

² H. PETITOT, *Pascal et la grâce suffisante*, in *Revue Thomiste*. XVIII., 577-589.

their sense, from Chrysostom and Augustine ! It would seem that an opinion becomes a heresy as soon as Arnauld enunciates it ! ”

The first and second letter had singled out the Dominicans for ridicule ; the third had meted out similar treatment to the Doctors of the Sorbonne ; the turn of the Jesuits and their teaching on “ efficacious ” grace came in the fourth. “ There is no sin without a previous illumination by grace as to its sinfulness ” Pascal pretends to have been told at an imaginary Jesuit College, and from this equivocal sentence,¹ he draws the conclusion that the less a man thinks of God, the less he sins ; after that he proceeds to make fun of the wonderful things that followed from such a conclusion. In that way he also breaks a lance on behalf of the monstrous Jansenist doctrine that even the most complete involuntary ignorance did not exculpate from sin because such ignorance was a consequence of the sin of Adam and to that extent culpable.

By this initial bout with the Jesuits, Pascal prepared the way for the witty irony to which the *Provinciales* owe their celebrity, and the attacks on the Jesuits and their moral teaching which he represents as the acme of hypocrisy and corruption.²

The Jesuits had had but a very small share in the Roman condemnation of the five propositions and, as far as we know, none whatever in the Paris proceedings against Arnauld. However, the Jansenists had made up their minds to consider the Society of Jesus as their chief enemy, who must be destroyed at all costs. Whether in good or in bad faith, they saw the hand of their principal opponents in every measure taken against Port-Royal. Moreover, with regard to the dogmatic question which was the real subject of discussion, the Jansenists could furnish no new convincing proofs, and after the first provincial letters, very little could be achieved with the weapon of wit and ridicule. Hence it was a most effective stroke on their part when they carried the affair

¹ Rectification by KREITEN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLIV, 181.

² *Lettres prov.*, lettres 5-16.

into the sphere of moral theology, where the very multiplicity of particular solutions, often on very delicate points, offered unlimited scope both for justifiable criticism and for distortion.

Pascal's attitude towards the Jesuits was a foregone conclusion; of an impartial appreciation there can be no question. Of their voluminous works on moral theology all he knew was a short summary, compiled to serve as a manual by the Spaniard Escobar, then still living (he died in 1669), and even to the study of this manual Pascal only devoted a few days.¹ He has practically taken no notice of an extensive work in seven volumes in which Escobar treats in detail of all questions of moral theology, although two volumes were already in print.² Consequently Pascal was restricted to the material supplied by his henchmen, and out of this he selected anything that might help to render the Jesuits ridiculous or contemptible,³ or as a student who has recently made a careful study of Escobar puts it: "they (Pascal and his assistants) searched their works (the Jesuits') and when they came across an opinion which seemed piquant and paradoxical and for that reason calculated to create a stir, whether it was true or false, they dragged it before the public at large and, what was still worse, described it not as the opinion of this or that Jesuit, but as the teaching of 'the Jesuits', that is as the teaching of the whole Order. Also, since they strung together a series of opinions extending over the whole range of morals, the ignorant and credulous mob were led to imagine

¹ KREITEN, *loc. cit.*, XLIV, 178; WEISS, *Escobar*, 53. Character sketch of Escobar by REICHMANN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXXVI (1909), 527 *seqq.*

² He only quotes him once (*Lettre* 13, p. 206) [WEISS, 54, 107]. He had heard of the book at the end of May, 1656 (*Lettre* 8, p. 121).

³ As is shown by G. LANSON (*Revue d'hist. littér. de la France*, VII. [1900], 168-195) the kernel of the *Provinciales* is taken from the *Théologie morale des Jésuites* ² (1664); cf. especially the table on p. 190. This material was subsequently supplemented from the works on moral theology of DIANA (Lyons, 1646), CARAMUEL (Louvain, 1643, Frankfurt, 1652), LESSIUS (Lyons, 1653), LANSON, 191.

that the Jesuits really had a morality of their own which was the acme of irresponsibility and wickedness."¹ The conclusion that the Jesuits were just hypocrites was inevitable. Pascal encourages it; he represents the Society of Jesus as a band of criminals. True, he grants that the Society includes stern ascetics as well as lax moralists, but this was only for the purpose of masking the laxity of one man by the strictness of another, and playing them off against one another according as circumstances demanded.² Pascal fails to explain how it was that the good elements of the Order did not see the misgovernment of the Society and that they did not turn their back upon it. Nor does he examine whether certain exaggerated opinions were held by individual Jesuits, or

¹ WEISS, *loc. cit.*, 46. The notable jurist Joseph Kohler (*ob.*, 1919), professor at the University of Berlin, is of the same opinion: "Pascal's *Lettres à un provincial*," he writes, "are the very condensation of all the objections then raised against the great moralists and exponents of the natural law. The expert sees at a glance how miserable and petty these attacks were. It is natural enough that in so elaborate an examination of thousands and thousands of decisions, there should occur some errors and deviations and that a few scholastic aberrations should have crept into so huge a crop of *casus conscientiae*. But these are a mere trifle by comparison with the immense mass of moral and juridical considerations which are here piled up and which are seen to extraordinary advantage when set by the side of the miserable moral catechism of Kant and the degrading hedonism of the moderns. A comparison between them gives the impression as if one stood before the mighty emporium of a great merchant instead of the shop of a good provincial tradesman" (*Archiv. für Rechts- und Wirtschaftsphilosophie*, X. [1916 seq.], 238. After quoting a few particulars (on mental reservation, etc.) Kohler concludes (240): "This may suffice. These moralists tower above their uncomprehending adversaries." LINSEMAN, the future Bishop of Rottenburg, writes: "As against his (Pascal's) morbidly ascetical flight from the world, the teaching of the Jesuits was the active, current, intelligible morality, the free and progressive conception of the world." (*Tüb. Quartalschr.*, LIV. [1872], 535).

² *Lettre 5*, p. 52 seqq.

whether they were presented in such wise that the whole Order can be held responsible for them. Pascal observes indeed that every book by a Jesuit is examined by members of the Order previous to its publication¹; but the fact that an opinion is tolerated does not make it the teaching of the Order, and in many cases it merely shows that the censor was careless. It was soon shown that at times Pascal misquotes or misunderstands texts,² and often enough an opinion at which he scoffs is quite blameless.³ But with the generality of readers these circumstances could not attenuate the effect of the caricature drawn by Pascal by means of mutilated quotations and unjustifiable generalizations. Escobar's name became synonymous with that of a sanctimonious hypocrite.⁴ It was Pascal who popularized horror for what is called "probabilism", and who laid the foundation of the accusation that according to the Jesuits the end justifies the means.⁵ Just as a century earlier Luther had produced so tremendous an effect by unceremoniously dragging in the mud Popes and Cardinals and, generally, everything that until then had been held in the highest regard, so something like it, though

¹ *Lettre* 9, p. 125.

² See p. 193. When in 1660, on the occasion of the "formulary" for Port-Royal, Pascal wrote against his Jansenist friends, the latter raised against his punctiliousness in quoting the same objections as the Jesuits on the occasion of the *Provinciales*. P. BLIARD in *Études*, CXXXVII (1913), 394 *seqq.*

³ Thus in the very first instance by which he tries to show up the Jesuits' laxity in regard to the law of fasting, sound reason is on Escobar's side against Pascal (REICHMANN, 524), nor can any fault be found with the text of his first quotation from a Jesuit writer (*Lettre* 4, p. 38), the not altogether irreproachable BAUNY (*cf.* WEISS, 73). HASE (*Kirchengesch.*¹⁰ [1877], 537) speaks indeed of the Jesuits' "comfortable piety" and their "immoral morality of the confessional", but grants all the same that they stand "for the interests of the world" and even "those of sound reason".

⁴ LITTRÉ, at the word "Escobarder".

⁵ M. REICHMANN, *Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel*, Freiburg, 1903, 83 *seqq.*

on a smaller scale, was now being repeated. An inquisitive mob's appetite for scandalous stories was regaled with alleged revelations ; religious who until then had been looked up to as the protagonists of Catholic restoration, were suddenly pilloried as hypocrites and destroyers of morality. This impression was further heightened by the skilfully devised comical figure of the cunning, stupid, gawky Jesuit who, when questioned by Pascal during his imaginary interviews, unfolds the secrets of his moral teaching whilst his naïve complacency blinds him to the fact that Pascal is merely making a fool of him.

With the tenth letter the bantering tone comes to an end. The reason is that the Jesuits had not stood Pascal's attacks in silence.¹ Though Nouet, the chief author of the replies, lags far behind his adversary as regards smartness and elegance of style, he nevertheless convicted him of a whole series of distortions and misrepresentations. This demonstration created an impression and after the King's confessor, Annat, had likewise thrown himself into the fray,² the phrase became current in Paris : " he lies like a Jansenist ".³ The insolent aggressor was now reduced to the defensive and his letters were no longer addressed to a friend in the provinces but to the Jesuits, the two last to Annat. Without even mentioning the errors of which the Jesuits had convicted him, the clever talker begins all of a sudden to defend, with a wearisome display of learning, both his previous assertions as well as the moderation with which he had stated them, and in order to prove that no credence could be given to the Jesuits, he goes so far as to assert that they taught that calumny was

¹ *Responses aux lettres provinciales publiées par le secretaire du Port-Royal contre les PP. de la Compagnie de Jésus sur le sujet de la Morale des dits Pères*, Liège, 1657 (collected writings). Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, V., 1814 seq.

² *La bonne foy des Jansénistes en la citation des auteurs reconnue dans les lettres que le secretaire de Port-Royal a fait courir depuis Pasques*, Paris, 1656, 1657. Cf. SOMMERVOGEL, I., 404 ; E. RIVIÈRE, *Corrections et additions*, II., Toulouse, 1912, 13.

³ RAPIN, II., 410.

lawful.¹ Port-Royal felt particularly hit by some appendices to Nouet's letters in which the latter, passing to the offensive against the Jansenists, put together various things that could not but be distasteful to them. As a result in the sixteenth letter, the man who had hitherto attacked with so much boldness, feels compelled to leave alone the moral theology of his opponents for the sake of his own defence. Thus he meets the accusation, that his friends did not believe in the Eucharist, with a long-winded and detailed defence, characterized by some curious arguments.

But he was compelled to climb down even lower. Annat had drily told him that, because of his views on grace, he was nothing but a heretic, just as Port-Royal was in heresy. The accusation was a dangerous one, hence the ardent front line warrior against the alleged duplicity of the Jesuits now denies all connexion with Port-Royal: he professes to hold the Dominican view on grace though in his first letters he had poured ridicule on that teaching; he adheres to the condemnation of the five propositions and, when faced with the papal pronouncements, has recourse to Arnauld's wretched distinction between fact and right,² and whereas previously he had described the Jesuits as little short of a band of miscreants, he all of a sudden speaks of them as "sons of the same Church".³

This sounds like a longing for peace; as a matter of fact Pascal gave further expression to this sentiment. In sixteen

¹ *Lettre 15.*

² SICARD (*L'ancien clergé de France*, I., Paris, 1905, 472), writes: "On souffre de voir Pascal nier qu'il soit de Port-Royal, les Jansénistes les plus éminents s'enfermer dans les misérables subterfuges du fait et du droit, du silence respectueux, répondre par des restrictions secrètes aux restrictions mentales qu'ils reprochaient aux Jésuites. Au fond il manque aux plus recommandables de ces hommes l'esprit de soumission à l'Eglise qui s'était prononcée, et une vertu bien chrétienne, l'humilité."

³ Notwithstanding the difference in the appreciation of Jansenius *nous n'en serons pas moins enfants de la même Eglise* (*Lettre 18*, p. 321).

letters he had been the aggressor, yet at the beginning of the seventeenth he complains of the combativeness of his opponents, and whereas in reality it was Port-Royal that flooded the world with literature, the eighteenth and last letter concludes on a note of admiration for the fact that out of love for peace, the Jansenists had borne every accusation in silence.¹ He accordingly calls upon the opponents to leave the Church in peace ; all would be well then ; only in the event of the Jesuits attempting once more to disturb the peace would the " children of peace " defend themselves. It can hardly be said that the Provincial letters end with a triumphant fanfare. But it was a good thing, even for Pascal's reputation as a writer, that he stopped. The last letters are very far from possessing the charm of the first and for the modern reader they are distinctly wearisome. He who at the beginning had shown himself a past master in the use of the finely sharpened weapon of ridicule, displays but little powers of persuasion when, in the concluding letters, he endeavours to give expression to burning indignation. Viewed objectively, the result of the *Provinciales* was anything but a triumph for Pascal, for what could be the impression on serious minds if the letters were indeed universally extolled as a masterpiece of style but were likewise shown up as " a masterpiece of calumny " ? ² On February 9th, 1657, the Parliament of Provence decreed that the sixteen letters published up to that date, should be burnt by the executioner as a defamatory and pernicious work. After examination by a commission headed by four Bishops, the Council of State, under the presidency of the King, condemned the Latin translation to a like fate on September 25th, 1660. In Spain the Inquisition had condemned the Provincial Letters as heretical and defamatory of the Society of Jesus.³ Worse

¹ According to the Jansenist GAZIER (I., 206) Pascal put an end to the controversy from a motive of Christian charity.

² " Chef-d'œuvre de la calomnie bien écrite," GÉRIN, I., 146).

³ [PATOUILLET], II., 498 *seqq.* ; [DUMAS], III., *Recueil*, 116 *seq.* According to GAZIER (I., 104) the effect of the condemnation

still, by a decree of September 6th, 1657, the Roman Inquisition condemned the *Provinciales* not only as a whole, but each of them singly,¹ thereby declaring every single letter to be worthy of reprobation. When information of this step reached him, Pascal sought to ward off the blow by making his own a saying of St. Bernard: "I appeal to Thy tribunal, Lord Jesus!"² Now it is quite true that Bernard of Clairveaux had uttered these words, but only when some people opposed to him a surreptitious Roman dispensation: hence the saying cannot cover Pascal. After the defeat of Jansenism, in addition to these condemnations, Pascal was to know an experience far more bitter than anything he could have foreseen. He himself may have imagined that he had taken up his pen in defence of the Church, but heresy and infidelity made use of the Provincial Letters as weapons with which to attack the Church and her moral teaching, and this even when, long after the papal condemnations, no one thought of defending the objectionable propositions. On the other hand, despite certain individual aberrations, and in the teeth of every opposition, the Jesuit views ended by gaining a preponderant place in the moral theology of the Church.³ To this result Pascal had himself contributed when, with his Provincial Letters, he secured a temporary triumph for a morality tainted with Jansenism,

of 1660 was that Pascal's name does not appear in the necrology of Port-Royal and that the *Provinciales* could not be printed in France previous to the Revolution. GRASSE's *Trésor* (V., 145), however, shows Paris editions of 1741, 1754, 1766.

¹ REUSCH, II., 484.

² "Tuum, Domine Iesu, tribunal appello" (S. BERN. *Epist.*, I., n. 7, in *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXXII., 74). DREXEL in *Bull. de litt. ecclés.*, 1915, 474. Arnauld also, *Bernardi exemplo*, appeals to the tribunal of Christ (*Œuvres*, I., 196).

³ "With the high honour bestowed by the Church on Alphonsus Liguori, the pupil and spiritual heir of the Jesuits, the Order which, if it did not invent probabilism and the doctrine of attrition, at least developed it, secured the most brilliant and most effective of its triumphs" (DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., v.).

for by that very means he demonstrated the fact that such teaching could not possibly be carried into effect in practical life and in the cure of souls.

(3.)

For a time the enormous success of the "little letters" did much to revive the spirits of the Jansenists, whilst an alleged miraculous cure at Port-Royal followed, it was said, by eighty further miracles, also contributed to that result. The subject of the first of these cures was Pascal's niece; accordingly her uncle felt more fully convinced than ever that heaven itself approved his attacks against the Jesuits.¹

However, neither miracles nor Provincial Letters were able to ward off from the Jansenists new and seemingly destructive blows. The Assembly of the clergy had met in Paris in October, 1655. The presence of forty Bishops and twenty-seven other deputies invested it with such solemnity that it could almost be considered as a national council. At the sessions of September 1st and 2nd, 1656, the Assembly made a profession of submission to Innocent X.'s decree of September 29th, 1654, which expressly stated that the condemnation of the five propositions was meant to hit Jansenius. The Assembly likewise renewed the decisions of the three previous Assemblies, and those Bishops who were unwilling to carry out the ordinances contained in the letter of the last Assembly of the clergy were threatened with exclusion from all meetings, both general and particular, of the French clergy.² The Assembly took another important step when it drew up a new formula, the signing of which implied the condemnation

¹ KREITEN, *loc. cit.*, XLIV., 546 *seqq.*; Hallicr to Rondinini, Paris, May 11, 1656, in *Annales de St. Louis*, X. (1905), 261. It is an error to maintain that Pascal's seal referred to the occurrence (GAZIER, I., 109).

² [DUMAS], I., 185 *seqq.*, 197 *seqq.*; GERBERON, II., 309; BOURLON, 55 *seqq.*

of the five propositions in the sense specified by the French Bishops on March 28th, 1654, and by the Pope on September 29th following. The Pope was informed by letter of these decisions.¹

Alexander VII. was in no hurry to yield to the many people who pressed him to publish a new Bull against Jansenism. So long as the party laboriously endeavoured to prove that the five propositions had not been taught by their master, he was unwilling, by a definition in the opposite sense, to drive them to fresh subterfuges and to a denial of papal infallibility. But he hesitated no longer when the French Bishops sent Hallier to Rome as their representative for he did not wish the Bull, which had been ready for a long time, to be looked upon as the work of that determined opponent of the Jansenists. Accordingly the Pope put his signature to the Bull about mid-October, but for the time being it was only posted up in the customary places for about two hours and this at a time when, presumably, no one would read it. After that the Pope had it presented in Paris by the new nuncio Piccolomini.² In his Bull Alexander VII. expressly states that the five propositions were taken from Jansenius' book and condemned in Jansenius' sense. The *Augustinus* of

¹ In D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, 280 ; [DUMAS], III., *Recueil*, 122 seq.

² PALLAVICINO, *Alessandro*, VII., ii., 147 seq. On April 27, 1656, a letter to Bagno from Rome stated, "Da molto tempo in qua la S.Stà con pensiero di promulgare una bolla confirmatoria di quella di Innocenzo X. intorno alle cinque proposizioni e di già n'è stesa la minuta, ma andava differendone la pubblicazione per attendere di farla opportunamente" (*Nunziat. di Francia*, III, Papal Sec. Arch.). A letter of August 7 repeats that some *zelanti* demanded the Bull ; Bagno should say whether it would not be better to wait for Hallier's arrival in Rome and whether it should not rather be published after the dissolution of the Assembly of the Clergy (*ibid.*). According to the *letters of August 20, 1657, to the nuncio (*ibid.*, III A.) the king's confessor, Annat, strongly urged the publication of the Bull, "poichè con essa si sarebbe totalmente abbattuta la dannata dottrina e rintuzzato l'ardire dei suoi seguaci."

the Bishop of Ypres is once more prohibited by the document,¹ whilst the Jansenists are described as "disturbers of the public peace" and "sons of iniquity". The Pope draws attention to the fact that, as Cardinal Chigi, he had personally taken part in the discussions on the five propositions and that the inquiry had been conducted with the greatest possible care. In the spring of 1656 nuncio Bagno prayed for his recall²; a letter of October 16th, 1656, informed him that the Sienese Celio Piccolomini, Archbishop of Caesarea, would replace him as nuncio extraordinary.³ Piccolomini found opinion favourable to publication of the Bull; Mazarin desired it and several Bishops told him that it could not have come more opportunely,⁴ whilst the King and the Queen-Mother promised to promote its execution.⁵ The Assembly of the clergy received it with applause and it was resolved to convene all the Bishops then in Paris so as to add solemnity to its reception.⁶ The Sorbonne also submitted to it.⁷

However, all this only meant that the papal decisions were received with docility in so far as they concerned the sphere

¹ October 16, 1655, in [DUMAS], I., 130 *seqq.*; *Bull.*, XVI., 243.

² *Bagno on March 17 and April 7, 1656, *Nunziat. di Francia*, III, *loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.*; GÉRIN, I., 154, n. 2.

⁴ *Piccolomini on March 9, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 110 A., *loc. cit.* On March 16, 1657, Joisel wrote to Rondinini that it had met with an enthusiastic reception (*Annales de St. Louis*, X. [1905], 322).

⁵ " *Non poteva in dette MM^{ta} desiderar maggiore e migliore disposizione. . . . Mi offerse la loro assistenza, a le Regina mi disse di più, ch'era gran tempo, che haveva desiderata questa confermazione, conoscendo il beneficio che da essa resulerà " (Piccolomini, March 13, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, *loc. cit.*). " *Gratissime risposte [at the audience of March 26], e particolarmente nella Regina trovai ogni desiderabile prontezza, havendomi S. M. replicato più volte che a tutto si sarebbe dato buon ordine " (Piccolomini, March 30, 1657, *ibid.*).

⁶ *Piccolomini on March 15, 1657, *ibid.*

⁷ GERBERON, II., 343 *seq.*

of faith, but as soon as the Pope attempted to intervene in any other way, Gallican susceptibilities were at once roused in most alarming fashion. Thus the affair of the Bishops whose pastoral letters had caused so much scandal on the occasion of the condemnation of the five propositions under Innocent X., was still pending.¹ By now only three were left, for there was no longer any complaint against Bishop Henri Arnould.² Authorization to hold a formal inquiry into the conduct of the three remaining Bishops, viz. those of Sens, Comminges and Beauvais, was once more given by Alexander VII. to the same seven prelates³ who had already received it from Innocent X. A symptom of Rome's profound displeasure was the fact that the nuncio informed the Vicars-General of the three Bishops, not the prelates themselves, of the Jubilee Indulgence granted on the occasion of the elevation of the new Pope, and that his action was approved by Rome.⁴

However, the Assembly of the clergy refused to approve such treatment of French Bishops. On May 31st, 1656, it was resolved to present a memorial to the King which was not likely to give much satisfaction in Rome. The colleagues of the three Bishops, the document states, desired nothing so much as an inquiry; for all that, the Assembly prayed the King not to suffer steps to be taken which would prejudice the privileges of the realm and the liberties of the Gallican

¹ See Vol. XXX., p. 289 *seqq.*

² COCHIN, 157 *seqq.*

³ The Bishops of Arles, Toulouse, Annecy, Mâcon, Rennes, Amiens and Soissons (Brief of May 24, 1655, *Bull.*, XVI., 5]. According to Joisel (to Rondinini, April 20, 1656), the matter had no sequel because the Gallicans objected to some expressions in the formula of recantation that had been forwarded to them (*Annales de St. Louis*, X. [1905], 260). *Ibid.*, 262, a letter of the three Bishops, dated June 12, 1656, in which they assure the Pope of their submission and beg for protection from the vexations of the nuncio.

⁴ Bagno on March 3, 1656; to *Bagno, April 17, 1656, *Nunzial. di Francia*, III, *loc. cit.*

Church. The King was the Bishop without, as Constantine styled himself ; he was the guardian of the liberties of the Gallican Church ; these simply stood for the ancient Canon Law which was more faithfully observed in France than anywhere else. This title of " Patron " was more glorious for the king than any other ; Louis XIV., the Bishops felt convinced, would not suffer himself to be robbed of such a name. De Marca protested against this memorial in a letter to Mazarin. He drew the Cardinal's attention to the fact that the principles on which it rested brushed aside the later General Councils of the Lateran and Lyons ; that it was bound to destroy the Pope's prestige and to lead to schism ; for 550 years the Church of France had had no experience of the application of such principles. At the same time De Marca, artful courtier as he was, observed that here was a chance for Mazarin to represent himself in Rome as the indispensable champion of the rights of the Pope.¹ It would seem that Piccolomini, when at a later date he had become nuncio, was not far wrong when he refused to trust De Marca unreservedly.²

The Cardinal did not deem it expedient to take advantage of De Marca's hint. Though on previous occasions he had adopted a friendly attitude towards the Pope,³ at present he was angry against Rome on account of Cardinal Retz,⁴ and he secretly protected the Jansenists. He ordered the Bishops to subscribe to their letter to the King and he induced them to present a further memorial to himself in which the three Bishops were praised for the high regard in which they held the Pope, their concord with other Bishops and their readiness to give the sovereign Pontiff every reasonable satisfaction. It was with good reason that Alexander VII. complained that

¹ GÉRIN, I., 147-150.

² He fears " che non sia un ingegno assai versatile e da voltarsi da quella banda dove troverà da fare più la sua fortuna." Piccolomini, March 23, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 110 A., *loc. cit.*

³ Vol. XXX, pp. 286, 297.

⁴ PALLAVICINO, II., 71.

a Cardinal of the Roman Church assured three rebellious Bishops of his protection. One of the three, Choiseul of Comminges, expressed his hope to Mazarin that through the mediation of the minister the King would settle the affair.¹

Thanks to the efforts of De Marca and the Bishops of Limoges, Rennes, Montauban and Rodez, at least the Archbishop of Sens was prevailed upon to make a recantation.² This step caused a commotion among the supporters of the Jansenists. They let Mazarin know that if he allowed things to develop further in this direction, he would draw down upon himself the hatred and enmity of the party. However, Bishop Auvry of Coutances, a friend of the Cardinal, calmed them by pointing out that if they had been able to hold their own for so long, they owed it to Mazarin, for his protection alone had saved them from the wrath of their enemies.³

In the first days of May, 1657, after it had lasted a year and seven months, the Assembly of the clergy came at length to an end. Shortly before it had exhibited some Gallican tendencies even in the dogmatic sphere. The Bishop of Montauban took pleasure in expounding various assertions which were unfavourable to the Holy See and there was a danger of his securing the signatures of other Bishops for his proposals. Through the Bishops of Narbonne, Arles, Aire and Toulouse, the nuncio induced the Assembly to put off a decision and in the end he obtained from Mazarin a prohibition to proceed with the matter.⁴ The doctrine of the immediate divine origin of episcopal jurisdiction, which had caused so much stir already at the Council of Trent,⁵ came up once more for discussion when the Bishop of Montauban interpreted it in the sense that though the Pope enjoyed a certain precedence, he did not possess an absolute right to give orders in any diocese without the consent of its Bishop.⁶

¹ GÉRIN, I., 150 *seq.*

² GERBERON, II., 309.

³ GÉRIN, I., 151.

⁴ *Piccolomini, March 23 and April 7, 1657, *ibid.*

⁵ See our data, Vol. XV., p. 271.

⁶ *Piccolomini, March 22 and 30, 1657, *loc. cit.*

With a view to investing the new anti-Jansenist Bull with the prestige of the highest legal court in France, the Assembly of the clergy demanded its registration with Parliament. The court assented to the proposal but in view of the Jansenist and Gallican sentiments of many members of Parliament, its execution met with numerous obstacles. A first royal ordinance for registration dated May 4th, 1657,¹ was withdrawn by the Government itself, at the request of the nuncio, on the plea that it was necessary to await the orders of the King who had joined his army.² After his return the Government felt strong enough to enforce its will, but even now much reflexion was required before an unexceptionable text of the royal ordinance concerning registration was drawn up, for the jealousy of Parliament would not have tolerated any expression which would have been too favourable to the Pope or the Bishops.³ On December 19th, 1657, the King repaired to the house of Parliament with a splendid cortège composed of a regiment of the Guards, his Swiss and his body-guard. There, in the presence of the Duke of Anjou, Prince Conti and all the notables then in Paris, he gave orders for the registration of the Bull of Alexander VII. for, he declared, he was resolved to do away with the teaching of Jansenius as constituting a danger for the State and an insult to religion. Registration followed, but not before Gallicanism had secured a fresh triumph with the speech of the young Advocate-General Talon. In this speech, which was a really splendid rhetorical effort, Parliament was indeed urged to receive the Bull but it was done in a manner amounting to an insult to the Holy See. Talon spoke of gaps in the papal decrees; however, he added as if to reassure his hearers, the presence and majesty of the King makes up for everything. He even had a few

¹ Drawn up by De Marca, text in RAPIN, II., 484 *seq.*

² On May 22, 1657, Chancellor Séguier assured Mazarin that registration by Parliament was not only quite unnecessary but even dangerous for Church and State, as it would only encourage the encroachments of Parliament. GÉRIN, I., 152 *seq.*

³ RAPIN, II., 494 *seq.*

words in praise of the majesty of the Apostolic See, but according to him its roots were in the greatness of pagan Rome. It was necessary to give effect to the Bull, he finally added, but not by means of a kind of Inquisition, for what religion demands is conviction, not measures of violence. The anointing of a King, he said, was more sacred than a priest's and constituted the monarch a judge in religious disputes.¹ The nuncio's protests against this lowering of the dignity of the Holy See Talon only met with a few equivocal explanations. In the end an attempt was made to cover up the whole affair by the King himself writing a letter of homage to the Pope.² It is easy to see why Alexander VII. was in no great hurry to reply.³

In these circumstances there was no need whatever for the Jansenists to consider their cause as lost. If the ministers had not prevented the inquiry into the conduct of the three Bishops, Bagno wrote on September 7th, 1656, if they had kept their promises to the clergy, carried out the King's orders, punished the transgressors who were still holding their meetings, especially at Port-Royal, there would be no longer any mention of Jansenism.⁴ But no energetic measures were taken. Both Bagno and Piccolomini repeatedly urged the "destruction of the nest of Port-Royal",⁵ but the steps taken were hardly seriously meant. Again and again Rome pressed for decisive measures against the three Bishops, but always in vain.⁶ Representations on the subject of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 496 *seqq.*

² Text, *ibid.*, 502 *seq.*

³ It came on March 18, 1658 (*Epist. Alex.*, VII a. III-V, n. 76, Papal Sec. Arch.).

⁴ "Non sarebbe forse alcuno che più ne parlasse" (September 1, 1656, *Nunziat. di Francia*, III., *loc. cit.*).

⁵ *Bagno on February 18, 1656, *Piccolomini on February 5, 1657; *to Bagno, August 7, 1656; *to Piccolomini, September 17, 1657, *Nunziat. di Francia*, III., III A., * "L'unico ripiego sarebbe levare affatto cotesto nido del Jansenismo" (to Piccolomini, October 1, 1657, *ibid.*).

⁶ *Ibid.*, *passim.*

Jansenists, the nuncio wrote in June, 1656, would be as useless now as previously, though he had repeatedly spoken on the subject to the King and Queen as well as to Mazarin and the Ministers. The fact was that the party was very powerful, enjoyed the favour both of the court and of many Bishops, even of such as had given their signature. It was rumoured that the Jansenists had been driven from Port-Royal, but this was far from being so; it was boldly asserted that Rome had eulogized the two letters of Arnauld which had been the object of the Sorbonne's condemnation.¹

The party's chief means of defence was the press. "Daily," Bagno wrote on February 18th, 1656, "new pamphlets and broadsheets are published,"² and a year later his successor complains of the huge quantity of printed matter published against the Pope.³ Protests against the second formula, which had to be signed by order of the Assembly of the clergy, provided ample matter for polemical writings. In view of the fact that this formula demanded acceptance of the Brief of September 29th, 1654, which was itself based on a prohibition of Jansenist books by the Index under date of

¹ " *Saranno inutili le istanze che andarò facendo per reprimere l'audacia de' Jansenisti, come sono fatte sin ad hora, non ostante che più volte io n'habbia parlato al Re, alla Regina et a Mazzarino et ad altri ministri, perchè il partito de' preditti è grande, potente e favorito dalla corte e da molti vescovi di quelli ancora che sottoscrissero." Bagno, June 30, 1656, *ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, III.

³ Piccolomini, February 16, 1657: "Mi fa star sospeso [in the publication of the Bull] primo le tante stampe che vedo uscir fuori contro l'autorità della S.S. et il sentire che alcuni vescovi dell' Assemblea tenghino mano alla publicatione di tali libri" (*ibid.*, III A.). RAPIN (*Mém.*, II., 460) speaks of a "prodigieux nombre d'écrits de France et de Flandre" against the formulary. On June 16, 1657, the nuncio was instructed by the Pope and the Secretary of State, "che in avvenire con ogni applicatione e diligenza maggiore procuri qualsiasi scrittura o stampa che esca in quel regno concernente il Jansenismo" (Vezzani to Cardinal Chigi in *Annales de St. Louis*, X. [1905], 192).

April 23rd, 1654, the most gruesome tales were circulated to the effect that it was intended to introduce that tribunal in France.¹ Consequently after its acceptance of Alexander's Bull, the Assembly of the clergy drew up a third formula² in which there was no mention of the Brief they objected to, that document being replaced by the latest papal pronouncement of October 16th, 1656. But even so, there was no lack of disputed points. The formula, it was said, obliged under pain of heresy ; but to deny the fact that Jansenius had taught the five propositions could not be a heresy. And what right had the Assembly of the clergy to lay on the Bishops the obligation of signing anything ?³

It was to be expected that, more than any one else, Arnauld would not allow his pen to rust. When in the first days of May a royal ordinance was communicated to Parliament, commanding it to register the Bull, he submitted in quick succession three memorials,⁴ in which he once again evokes the terrifying spectre of the Inquisition and the threat to the Gallican liberties. The very title of a fourth memorial⁵ identifies mere registration with the establishment of an Inquisition worse even than the Roman or the Spanish one.

However, these writings were for the benefit of Parliament. For the purpose of a wider influence on the cultivated classes it was essential to produce a parallel to the Provincial Letters. The right man for this work was found when, in addition to Arnauld and Pascal, Pierre Nicole appeared on the scene as the last of the leading champions of Jansenius. Nicole also was a lawyer's son, born at Chartres in 1625. He read theology at the Sorbonne but never became a priest. In 1645 he became one of the " gentlemen of Port-Royal " and he defended Jansenism in a vast number of publications which all testify to immense erudition ; they appeared under a

¹ RAPIN, II., 460.

² Text, *ibid.*, 463.

³ *Ibid.*, 449, 462 *seq.*

⁴ *Œuvres*, XXI., 61 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 82 *seqq.*

variety of pseudonyms.¹ After 1654 Nicole became Arnauld's companion and complement. Whereas Arnauld was only happy when fighting, Nicole's was a gentler nature, peaceable and accommodating. This trait led him to turn his back on polemics and made him a much admired exponent of moral teaching.²

In 1656, writing under the pseudonym of Franciscus Profuturus, Nicole fought the Assembly of the clergy. In the following year he sought to copy Pascal in an effort to rob Alexander VII.'s Bull of its effectiveness. This he did under the pseudonym of Paulus Irenaeus, writing in classical Latin and with occasional flashes of magnificent argumentative power.³ According to Nicole there is no Jansenist heresy, "it is not the flame of heresy or schism that flares up, but a few evil-minded persons seek to blind the eyes, especially those of the rulers of the Church, with the smoke of malice and hatred, to the end that they might gratify their desires in the dark." His friends only defended the Thomistic doctrine of grace; all their differences turned round the question as to how Jansenius was to be understood. It was an unprofitable dispute which could be settled by agreement in half an hour—were it not for the Jesuits. However, he grants that the first of the five propositions "contains in its true and strict sense not one but many heresies", hence it must be interpreted in an unnatural sense in Jansenius.⁴ After many arguments with Jesuit writers and lengthy historical explanations, he at last comes to his main theme in the fifth section, where he tries to show that, owing to Jesuit intrigues, "Rome did not notice that the quarrel was about nothing at all." Under

¹ Attention must be drawn to his Latin translation, with notes, of the *Provinciales*, under the name of Wendrock.

² *Essais de morale*, 13 vols, 1671. Jansenism often reveals itself in them. Cf. [PATOUILLET], II., 68-91, 344-353. Also BREMOND, IV., 419 *seqq.*

³ "Causa Ianseniana sive fictitia haeresis sex disquisitionibus theologicæ historice explicata explosa," Paris, 1657; reprint in SAINT-AMOUR, *Journal, Recueil*, f. 187 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 196.

Innocent X. the Jesuits had successfully prevented a thorough examination of the five propositions, whilst Alexander VII. knew nothing about the matter in dispute, for which his blind trust in the Jesuits was to blame.¹ On the basis of this premiss Nicole then proceeds to demolish Alexander VII.'s declaration that Innocent X. had condemned the five propositions as understood by Jansenius. Alexander VII.'s statement was correct, Nicole writes, for Innocent X. had really intended to condemn the five propositions in Jansenius' sense and had believed that they expressed Jansenius' mind, but though Alexander VII. testified to what had been his predecessor's intention, he by no means proved that the latter's view was based on fact: accordingly the question as to what Jansenius really taught remained undecided as before.²

The dissertations of "Paulus Irenaeus" were printed together with the Latin translation of the Provincial Letters and with it they were burnt by the public executioner.³ For the rest they are not on the same level as Pascal's work, and even the Jansenists must have deemed it too risky to come to grips, after Nicole's manner, with Alexander VII. and perhaps even with the formula.

For the moment the party knew not what to do. Their oracle, Arnauld, went on with his gibes at the expense of country parish priests who, he declared, would be no wiser after attesting, by their signature, the presence of the five propositions in a book which they have never read,⁴ and he scoffed at the prohibition of his works by the Index. This measure, in his opinion, was the work of the Jesuits.⁵ However, the only advice he could give was silence and absolute trust in God.⁶ After the publication of the formula of 1657

¹ *Ibid.*, 243.

² *Ibid.*, 244.

³ Cf. the documents in [DUMAS], III., *Recueil*, 116 seq.

⁴ Letter of September 20, 1656 (*Œuvres*, I., 147).

⁵ Letter of September 30, 1656, *ibid.*, 149.

⁶ Letter of September 20, 1656, *ibid.*, 145.

he repeats the same counsel¹ but warns against expressions of excessive willingness to yield to Rome, for by this means they would only increase the presumption of the party which dominated the Pope. If there was one thing which could still stem the torrent it was the Romans' fear of opposition and loss of prestige. On no account must they give their signature to the Bull.

Despite his exhortations to patience Arnauld now took a step which at least prepared the way for success. In the person of Bishop Nicolas Pavillon of Alet² he succeeded in dragging into the controversy a man of no great intellectual eminence, yet one destined to play a leading rôle. With Pavillon a new, strongly marked personality joined a movement whose strength and weakness it was that it had to depend for its vitality on the genius or talents of its leaders.

Bishop Pavillon's episcopal see was an insignificant little town of the Pyrenees, but his personal prestige was very great because he was looked upon as a Saint, in fact another Charles Borromeo.³ It is characteristic of the period that he should have enjoyed such a reputation, though it is true that he had always been an exemplary priest. When in 1637 the see of Alet was offered to him, he had only reached his fortieth year, but Vincent de Paul told him that he was bound in conscience not to decline the offer.⁴ As a Bishop, Pavillon did all he could for his flock; thus on one occasion he did not hesitate to walk many miles through the snow by night in order to rescue from death some poor women accused of witchcraft.⁵ All that concerned divine worship and the priestly ministry was regulated by him, down to the smallest detail,

¹ To Salesse on April 7, 1657, *ibid.*, 164.

² [LE FÈVRE DE SAINT-MARC ET DE LA CHASSAGNE], *Vie de M. Pavillon, évêque d'Alet*, Saint-Miel (Chartres), 1733; ÉT. DÉJEAN, *Un prélat indépendant au dix-septième siècle : Nicolas Pavillon*, Paris, 1909; A. DUBRUEL in *Recherches* VII. (1917), 52 ss.; RAPIN, *Mém.*, III., 64-7.

³ DUBRUEL, 53 *seqq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 58.

but it must be admitted that his ordinances bear the stamp of a certain narrowness and pettiness. In their internal arrangements, the churches were almost all of one pattern, like the churches of the Capuchins. He laid down at what moments of the service the faithful were to stand or to kneel, and on one occasion Prince Conti was called to order by the sexton for failing to comply with these regulations. All parish priests were obliged to teach at the same hour the same points of religious doctrine as laid down by the Bishop.¹ Public penance was imposed for public transgressions ; thus a certain mayor was condemned to fast one day each week for a period of seven weeks, in addition to reciting special prayers for having taken part in a dance.² No wonder that even Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, who looked on Pavillon as a Saint on earth and who was enraptured by his humility, was nevertheless of opinion that his methods were dry and but little calculated to make goodness attractive and that his church discipline had about it a roughness which recalled the Spanish councils of the era of the Goths.³ Nor was this all. After Arnauld's book on Communion had become one of Pavillon's favourite books of spiritual reading,⁴ his own spirituality and his guidance of souls turned not only to strictness but even to unjustifiable rigour. Thus when at one place in his diocese some timber rafters were unable to attend church regularly, he demanded that they should give up their work, and when they refused, he forbade them the Sacraments.⁵ Missions to the people were suppressed on the ground that they only made a passing impression ; absolution in confession was nearly always deferred for all penitents, and confession to priests other than one's own parish priest was made exceedingly difficult. Things came to such a pass that in parishes of six hundred communicants only some two or three hundred received the Eucharist even at Easter,

¹ *Ibid.*, 62.

² *Ibid.*, 60.

³ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 73 ; *cf.* 271 *seq.*

⁵ DUBRUEL, 60.

and there were people between twenty and thirty years of age who had not yet made their first Communion,¹ whilst the request for ordination to the priesthood on the part of his seminarists was visited with a refusal of absolution.² Pavillon's conception of his episcopal dignity hardly squared with Canon Law. His idea was that the priests subject to him should be no more than his tools, blindly carrying out whatever he commanded, and he practically denied to the Pope any right of direct interference in his diocese. When the majority of the Canons of St. Paul, against his will, submitted to Alexander VII.'s formula, he excommunicated them.³ In 1668 Clement IX. condemned Pavillon's Ritual because it advocated Arnauld's ideas on the administration of the Sacraments, but the Bishop continued to use it.⁴ In other respects also the prelate stuck with downright obstinacy to any opinion or resolution he had once formed, defending it to the utmost even against the all-powerful Louis XIV.

This, then, was the man to whom Arnauld turned in his embarrassment, though only a short while before the Jansenist leader had insisted on the wrongfulness of contradicting one's convictions by any public statement, or of having recourse to equivocations when the lawful authorities demanded an explanation on questions of faith.⁵ For all that, Arnauld now most respectfully submitted three questions to the Bishop of Alet, viz. whether one was bound to give up an opinion held till then and to believe that the five propositions were to be found in Jansenius, and that they had been condemned in the sense in which he understood them; whether it was lawful to subscribe to the Bull and the formula in token, not indeed of assent, but merely of respect; whether, on the

¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

² *Ibid.*, 75.

³ *Ibid.*, 58; cf. [VARET], I., 188 seq.

⁴ DUBRUEL, 65 seqq. MS. instructions of Pavillon are couched in even stricter language than those of the Ritual (*ibid.*, 70 seqq.). Cf. [PATOUILLET], III., 498 seqq.

⁵ To Salesse, April 7, 1657 (*Œuvres*, I., 164).

contrary, one might not respectfully assume that the Pope had been badly informed in this affair.¹

In view of Pavillon's turn of mind, Arnauld felt sure of a favourable answer, but for once he had made a miscalculation with his artful questions. Pavillon replied that not only may one sign the Bull, but one should do so, even if it could not be done without giving up a view hitherto held, for the Pope's judgment must be preferred to one's personal opinion; in the present case the question of fact and that of right were indissolubly connected.²

Arnauld had not expected such an answer. He countered it with his customary arguments.³ Surrender of one's convictions could only be demanded by one invested with infallibility, but on a question of fact neither Pope nor Council were infallible.⁴ Alexander VII. had merely stated that his predecessor had intended to condemn the meaning of Jansenius, which was quite true, but Innocent X. had not examined the facts.⁵ Now it was well known how things were done in the Assembly of the clergy: three or four Bishops, inspired by Annat, arrange everything according to their good pleasure whilst the rest let things run their course, either out of complacency towards the court, or from selfishness, ignorance, blind devotion to the Jesuits, opportunist considerations and so forth.⁶ Against the background of such miseries the writer's figure shone, of course, with all the more resplendent lustre, for such was his firmness, at any rate, that he would never condescend to prevaricate against truth by signing the formula, though such again was his humility that at the end of the pamphlet he begged the Bishop for better guidance.⁷

¹ *Œuvres*, XXL., I *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 14.

³ *Réflexions* (*ibid.*, 18 *seqq.*). Cf. RAPIN, II., 464 *seq.*

⁴ *Réflexions*, 23.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

The deep impression these arguments made on Pavillon was only to bear fruit at a later period. For the moment peace reigned in France, except for the diocese of Beauvais, where the quarrel occasioned by the Constitution of Innocent X. continued to rage. The Chapter of Beauvais, which enjoyed numerous immunities from episcopal authority, published a number of anti-Jansenist ordinances for the benefit of its own subjects. Thereupon a minority of the Chapter, which favoured Jansenism, appealed to Parliament from the decision of the majority, and again to the royal council; thus the dispute dragged on for years. Moreover, Bishop Nicolas Choart de Buzanval, who subsequently became a column of Jansenism, would not hear of the formula.¹ In the other dioceses the signing of the formula met with no objection, so much so that the Jansenist cause seemed desperate. It seemed as if the fate of the sect would be sealed for good and all if one could but win over its leader. Several attempts were made to this end immediately after Arnould's condemnation. Armed with letters of recommendation from Bishop Henri Arnould, the Genovefan Fronteau offered his services as a mediator to the Assembly of the clergy, but Antoine Arnould very soon disavowed him.² In the following year, 1657, a certain Doctor De la Haye negotiated with the nuncio whilst Dean Deslions of Senlis did so with the members of the Sorbonne.³ From Rome Rancati made several attempts, in a roundabout way, to pass letters to Arnould in which he invited him to recant.⁴ All was in vain. To De la Haye

¹ GERBERON, II., 162 (A.D. 1653), 304 (A.D. 1656), 322 *seqq.* (A.D. 1657), 388 *seqq.* (A.D. 1658), 410 *seqq.* (A.D. 1659).

² COCHIN, 335 *seqq.*; (337 *seqq.* on the action of "Creväus" and Rancati).

³ Arnould on August 20 and December 21, 1657 (*Œuvres*, I., 175, 178).

⁴ "Creväus" to Henri Arnould, June 23, 1659, *ibid.*, 189; Rancati to De la Mirande, October 29, 1661, *ibid.*, 280. Seguenot forwards the letter to Henri Arnould, *ibid.*, 285, who sends it on to D'Andilly to whom Antoine Arnould replies on December 29, 1661, and March 21, 1662, *ibid.*, 288, 296.

Arnauld protested his readiness to do all that lay in him¹: that he would rather lose a thousand lives than rebel against the Roman Church and that on the question of fact he would never contradict a Bull. He even went so far as to maintain before Rancati that he had never openly taught Jansenism and had never taxed the papal Bulls with error; that on the contrary, in so far as the question of fact was concerned, he had shown the utmost respect for them.²

At the same time Arnauld identified himself with a conception of the five condemned propositions which seemed to lean on the Dominican teaching on grace. This circumstance raised Rancati's hopes; he urged Arnauld³ to write to the Pope directly, protesting his devotion to his person. This, too, proved a vain hope. Arnauld deprecated Rancati's mediation and declined to write to the Pope on the ground that he was unwilling to feign.⁴ For a like reason he also rejected the idea of a reconciliation with the Sorbonne.⁵ It was necessary to persevere in the defence of Jansenism, he wrote to a friend of the party⁶; for their position was impregnable and they must not allow themselves to be frightened by the authorities arrayed against them.

(4.)

However unfavourable the position of the Jansenists may have been at the end of 1657, nothing was done against them in the course of the next few years. Schemes were drawn up for the purpose of rendering Port-Royal harmless and the

¹ *Ibid.*, 176.

² "Ego quanto religiosior, qui nec Jansenium aperte defendi, nec errorem facti Pontificiis Constitutionibus imputavi, denique iis semper venerationem praestiti, etiam in facto, quae nulla maior a catholicis theologis exigitur."

³ "Creväus" to Henri Arnauld on November 24, 1659, *ibid.*, 198.

⁴ To Henri Arnauld on January 26, 1660, *ibid.*, 200 *seq.*

⁵ To Deslions, January 27, 1661, *ibid.*, 225-230.

⁶ To Hermant, February, 1661, *ibid.*, 231.

nuncio pressed for their execution,¹ but nothing was done. Mazarin was wholly taken up with the preliminaries of the Peace of the Pyrenees and had no time for religious questions,² the court was far from the capital, the Archbishop of Paris was in exile and De Marca was employed by the King in the demarcation of frontiers.³ Almost the only thing the King did was to send the Archbishop of Embrun to the general Assembly of the Oratorians, for the purpose of demanding the signature to the formula which, as a matter of fact, that assembly gave.⁴ When on the occasion of the registration of the Bull of Alexander VII. at Bordeaux, the Attorney-General, Du Sault, behaved in an offensive manner to the Archbishop, the King also intervened on behalf of the latter, but in the end nothing happened.⁵

Among the hierarchy, the Bishop of Mirepoix earned the praise of the nuncio and the Pope by his zeal against the Jansenists. In his Brief the Pope lamented the fact that not all the Bishops deserved similar praise.⁶ In view of the divergent attitude of the Bishops, even the signature of the formula could not lead to unity in the Church of France, for each Bishop published it in his own way.⁷ Meanwhile the Jansenists took advantage of the relative tranquillity which they enjoyed in 1658 and 1659 to influence public opinion once more in their favour by means of a spate of big and small books.⁸ It was only after the Peace of the Pyrenees that their position seemed to worsen seriously. The reins of government were gradually slipping from the

¹ RAPIN, III., 10, 12 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 20, 56 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 58. A laudatory papal *Brief of November 17, 1657, to De Marca for former services against Jansenism in *Alexandri VII. Epist.*, III.-V., n. 25, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ RAPIN, III., 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 50-56.

⁶ *Brief of October 6, 1657, in *Alexandri VII. Epist.*, III.-V., n. 14, *loc. cit.*

⁷ RAPIN, III., 14, 59.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 20.

hands of the one time all-powerful minister whilst the Queen-Mother was only too glad to efface herself behind her youthful son who, with absolute faith in himself and in the full consciousness of his power, was ready to enter upon the career of an autocrat. Louis XIV.'s hatred for Jansenism was due, in the first instance, to his upbringing by his pious mother, but likewise to the fact that he saw in religious disputes a danger to the State. After assuring the Pope of his zeal, through his ambassador in Rome, and having personally intervened in the registration of the latest Bull against the Jansenists, he deemed it a point of honour to carry the struggle thus begun to a victorious conclusion. Thus it looked as if the most brilliant prince of the period was about to exert all his might in dealing the innovators a blow from which there would be no recovery. In reality, however, the cause of the Jansenists was far from being so desperate as it looked. In dealing with a religious sect, the only rôle of the Government could be that of supporting the measures of the Holy See and giving them effect. However, as Bossuet observed at a later date,¹ no sooner had the King seized the reins of Government, than a policy of humbling Rome and asserting his authority against her was adopted, largely under Colbert's influence, and the royal council followed a similar line of conduct. In the mind of Louis XIV. the Pope was to be no more than the right arm of the King of France, a tool that would exercise its spiritual powers at the bidding of the King and in accordance with the royal will. Thus, as a result of the King's obstinacy, in the struggle against Jansenism papal action was constantly thwarted; Gallicanism proved Jansenism's strongest ally² and what was built up by Louis the ruler was pulled down by Louis the Gallican. Moreover none of the three ministers, Lionne, Le Tellier and Colbert, were well disposed towards Rome and they were advised by Jansenists,³ whilst amid the sumptuous

¹ In GÉRIN, I., 220.

² "Le immanità della chiesa gallicana compagne dell'eresia." Thus Alexander VII., in 1664, *ibid.*, II., 6.

³ RAPIN, III., 193.

amusements of a magnificent court Louis' zeal for religion cooled very quickly ; at the close of his long reign the sect was stronger than it had ever been.

However, about the middle of 1660 it looked as if the young King were about to take seriously his coronation oath of safeguarding the religion of the realm. In May, 1660, the Assembly of the clergy met at Pontoise, from whence it transferred its sittings to Paris in September. It had as yet done nothing worth while against Jansenism when the King himself put an end to the equivocal situation.¹ On the morning of December 13th the presidents of the Assembly were summoned to the Louvre where they found the King and the ministers in Mazarin's room. After the ministers had withdrawn, Louis XIV. made a speech in which he declared that honour and conscience no less than the welfare of the State demanded that he should uproot Jansenism. He relied on the zeal of the Assembly and the proved ability of the Cardinal. After that Mazarin also spoke for over an hour. The new teaching, he said, had been condemned by two Popes and by the Bishops ; effect must be given to that judgment, and since mildness yielded no result it would be necessary to apply severity.²

Thereupon, on December 17th, the first president, Archbishop Harlay of Rouen, convened an extraordinary meeting at which twelve commissaries were appointed to study the matter. These deliberations took up six sessions and the result of their investigation was explained to the Assembly of the clergy in five further sessions.³ The final deliberation took place on February 1st. It was decided that the formula of the last General Assembly should be signed by the Bishops and that they should have it signed by everybody, down to the school teachers and the nuns. They were to report on the matter to the Assembly of the clergy or to the agents of

¹ RAPIN, III., 83 ; GERBERON, II., 475 *seqq.* ; STE.-BEUVE, IV., 109 *seqq.* ; BOURLON, 74 *seqq.*

² RAPIN, III., 84 *seq.*

³ [DUMAS], I., 228.

the clergy within a period of two months ; should they fail to do so they would forfeit their active and passive voice at the assemblies of the clergy and incur other penalties as well. The King was requested not to allow any appeal on account of abuse, to suppress schools and associations in which Jansenism was taught, not to allow anyone to enjoy a benefice without previous signature of the formula and to prohibit and suppress all Jansenist writings.¹ The signatures of forty-five Bishops and those of another eighteen deputies were calculated to give weight to this manifesto. On April 13th the King approved the formula and in a circular letter to the Bishops, urged its acceptance ; on May 2nd it was submitted to the Sorbonne together with a royal letter of recommendation ; that body also accepted it unconditionally.² In other ways also the King had given proof of his zeal, for already after the first three months he had asked for a report on the state of the anti-Jansenist negotiations and pressed for their early termination.³

However powerful these measures may have appeared, they suffered from a flaw which even the King with all his might could not remedy : whence did the Assembly of the clergy derive authority to give orders to the Bishops ? It was possible to invoke earlier measures of this kind by those Assemblies but these did not constitute an unimpeachable right. It might be urged that the Pope, by his silence, had approved the decision of the Bishops, but to make quite sure papal authorization in due form would have been required.

¹ *Ibid.*, 229 ; RAPIN, III., 129 *seq.*

² [DUMAS], I., 230 *seqq.*

³ RAPIN, III., 89. On May 16, 1661, Alexander VII., wrote to the French clergy : “ Jansenismo exstirpando incumbatis ; sed huius mali vivacitas nunquam penitus extinguetur, nisi contra contumaces ” the penalties prescribed by Innocent X. and by ourselves, are applied (*Alexandri VII. Epist.*, n. 39, *loc. cit.*). On the same day a Brief to the king : if he persevered in his zeal and, in accordance with the desire of the Bishops, suppressed the Jansenist conventicles, it would be possible to hope for a complete extirpation of the heresy. Papal Sec. Arch.

Rome was annoyed that no such authorization had been asked for and Alexander VII. was already then thinking of drawing up a formula himself.¹

The consequences of this juridical uncertainty showed themselves soon enough. On June 8th, 1661, the representatives of banished Cardinal Retz published an ordinance,² drawn up by Jansenists,³ which trimmed the formula in their sense. For the papal decision, whether or no the five propositions were found in Jansenius, nothing more was asked than "the full and sincere respect which is due to such Constitutions". The ordinance created a great sensation. The Assembly of the clergy protested to the King on June 26th. That body was charged to examine it and on the basis of their report a royal decree ordered the Vicars-General to withdraw it. But this step by no means disposed of the matter. The parish priests of Paris who had already signed, declared on July 29th, before a notary, that they had been greatly edified by the ordinance of the Vicars-General and on its part Port-Royal did not fail to support the latter's action by means of a number of writings. To put an end to the confusion both the nuncio and the Vicars-General appealed to Rome. There the authorities were greatly embarrassed as to how they might deliver judgment without hurting Gallican susceptibilities. The Pope's hesitation caused bad blood in Paris. If Alexander VII. did not speak, Lionne wrote, the King would be compelled to convoke a national council for the purpose of seeking a remedy which Rome was unwilling to supply.⁴ At last a Brief came from Rome dated August 1st, 1661,⁵ in which the Vicars-General were repudiated in

¹ GÉRIN, I., 239, n. 2.

² Reproduction in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXII., 607 *seqq.* Cf. [DUMAS], I., 232-9; RAPIN, III., 105 *seqq.*, III *seqq.*, 118 *seq.*, 123 *seq.*; **Barb.* 1048, f. 275-8, Vat. Lib.

³ ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 607 note.

⁴ GÉRIN, I., 239 *seq.*

⁵ In [DUMAS], I., 235 *seqq.*; III., *Rec.* 136. A *Brief of August 9, 1661, to Card. Retz instructed him: "post acceptum hoc Breve intra mensem unum ambos a vicariatus officio removeas et

very severe terms. However, even so it required a lengthy correspondence with the nuncio before the Vicars-General recanted on October 31st, after which they ordered the formula to be subscribed to without qualification. The situation of the Jansenists became now increasingly precarious. They were indeed able to stave off the dissolution of Port-Royal, the heart and centre of the party, a measure devised by Queen Anne. The royal decree ordering the expulsion of the hermits was badly carried out,¹ but many who had been considered as the pillars of the party gave their signature, though with some curious reservations, in fact they even defended in writing the lawfulness of their conduct: among them were Sainte-Beuve who had lost his professor's post because of Arnauld, the curé Duhamel and the Oratorian Seguenot.² Bourzeys, up till then one of the sect's most prolific writers, submitted loyally, and in a pastoral letter of June 18th, 1661, Archbishop Gondrin of Sens made known, in the very terms of the formula, his condemnation of the five propositions.³

In these circumstances it is easy to understand the reappearance of the equivocations which had been so strong a feature of Jansenism. In the formula the signatory was made to say that he condemned "with heart and lips" Jansenius' five propositions as they stood in his *Augustinus*. On the other hand, printed works explained that one might sign and at the same time maintain that the five propositions were not in Jansenius, for it was in the nature of things that an internal assent could only be asked for the question of right, whilst for the question of fact only such respect and

alios idoneos sufficias" (*Alexandri VII. Epist.*, VI.-VIII., n. 73, Papal Sec. Arch.). On the same day a *Brief to the king (*ibid.*, n. 74) refers him to the nuncio who will pray him to hasten the extirpation of Jansenism.

¹ RAPIN, III., 97 *seqq.*

² Cf. ARNAULD's work: *De la signature du Formulaire* (*Œuvres*, XXI., 259 *seqq.*).

³ [DUMAS], I., 239 *seq.*

submission could be exacted as excluded open contradiction.¹ Others pretended that many Bishops had given their subjects to understand that in respect of the question of fact they demanded no more than an external assent ; hence one could sign in their sense without any internal acceptance of the fact.² Sainte-Beuve explained that by the signature one merely acknowledged the fact as probable, indeed it was not without external probability seeing that the Pope and the Bishops testified to it³ ; the propositions were in fact to be found in Jansenius, even though in another sense ; hence this also might be subscribed.⁴ Seguenot was of opinion that the subscription was not a statement of belief but solely of the fact that one would offer no opposition.⁵

This was too much even for Arnauld. In his rejoinder he tore these excuses to shreds and boldly proclaimed the thesis that one who did not believe the fact could not sign the formula ; otherwise it would be said of him : " Thou hast lied, not to men, but to God ! " ⁶ Anyone who after a careful study of *Augustinus* felt convinced otherwise than what the papal decision claimed, could not sign the formula, since the Pope was not infallible when pronouncing in questions of fact.⁷ For all that, even Arnauld knew a way out of the impasse so as to enable a man to give his signature without accepting the fact : if Bishops who were anxious not to tyrannize over consciences, would publicly declare that signature did not of necessity imply an internal act of faith in the question of fact, it would not be dishonourable to

¹ ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 298, 300, 315. It is characteristic of the bitterness of contemporary Jansenists that their denunciations led to the suppression, in 1660, of the Society of the Blessed Sacrament which had done so much good (PRUNEL, *La renaissance catholique en France au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, 1921, 174).

² ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 281, 296 *seq.*, 316.

³ *Ibid.*, 280, 288. Cf. COCHIN, 161 *seq.*

⁴ ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, 283.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 295.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 264-276.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 292 *seq.*

give it. Faith as regards right, respect in regard to fact—that was all the signature implied¹; only by making this distinction could peace be restored to the Church. However much the Jesuits may combat it, it will surely prevail in the end; until then the Jansenists must remain steadfast, ready to suffer all things, even martyrdom itself.²

Arnauld's own internal attitude to these events is even more clearly revealed in his letters of the period. He attaches no value to the prestige of the Pope and the Bishops. The Pope has pronounced in the affair of the Jansenists by blindly relying "on seven or eight friars whose ability may be gauged by their printed memorandums".³ "A priest can never admit that he is in error so long as his conscience bears witness to his Catholic sentiments."⁴ "I do not know whether so patent an oppression of the Church by those in authority does not ask for more than impotent tears."⁵ He prefers the opinion of his friends to that of the Bishops because the former "understand these matters, seeing that they have carefully studied them, and they sufficiently fear God to stop them from acting against their conscience". "I attest before God that at this moment I know not one Bishop possessed of these two qualities."⁶ In an opuscle on "The heresy and schism which were bound to arise within the Church of France as a result of the compulsory signature of the formula",⁷ he explains that not the Jansenists but the Bishops were heretics, seeing that they forced people to sign the formula without admitting the distinction between right and fact, for it was a heresy to demand for a fact, such as Jansenism, such faith as is only due to divine testimony.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, 318. In like manner in the letter of May 27, 1661, to Hermant at Beauvais (*Œuvres*, I., 247).

² *Ibid.*, 319, 326.

³ To Duhamel on May 3, 1661 (*Œuvres*, I., 242).

⁴ To Deslions on January 27, 1661, *ibid.*, 227.

⁵ To Hermant on April 24, 1661, *ibid.*, 239.

⁶ To Duhamel on May 3, 1661, *ibid.*, 240 *seqq.*

⁷ *Œuvres*, XXI., 251 *seqq.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 258.

The strangest position of all among the Jansenists was that of Pascal who had fallen out with his friends on account of the formula. In contradiction to his *Provinciales*, he now rejected the distinction between fact and right. He granted that the Popes had condemned Jansenius' interpretation, but maintained that his own sense was covered by the Dominican conception of grace, and that it was the teaching of the Church. Consequently when he gave his decision the Pope erred in a matter of faith. Hence the formula could not be signed except with the reservation that one excepted the sense of Jansenism when doing so.¹ It is impossible to see what Pascal meant by these words.

(5.)

Antoine Arnauld's brother Henri, Bishop of Angers, did not even publish the formula. He sought to justify his conduct in a letter to the King dated July 6th, 1661. In substance his letter contains nothing but the usual distinction between fact and right, but Port-Royal praised it to the sky, especially as it was hoped that Henri's example would lead other Bishops to act in like manner. As a matter of fact Pavillon had written a similar letter to the King on June 22nd, but a friend had kept it back. Three months went by before Bishop Godeau, who had signed the formula, also wrote to the King on October 15th, but for the purpose of combating that document. In a letter of justification to his nephew, the Secretary of State, Lionne, dated October 21st, 1661, Henri Arnauld ascribed the silence of his brother Bishops to cowardice and fear of Annat, the King's confessor.²

¹ [DUMAS], I., 250-252.

² COCHIN, 163-178. The writings of Henri Arnauld pass for works of his brother Antoine and for that reason were admitted among the latter's *Œuvres*, XXII., 610 *seqq.*, 614 *seqq.*; cf. XXI., p. xliii.: "Tous les catalogues du temps font M. Arnauld auteur de ces lettres." COCHIN speaks differently (167).

Shortly afterwards he also wrote to the Pope, adding a lengthy dissertation on the difference between fact and right, of course all to no purpose. In Rome Cardinal Albizzi made fun of the Gallican theologian who tried to teach Rome in such matters whilst to Henri's keen disgust Alexander VII. did not even do him the honour of answering his letter.¹

According to what De Marca told the Bishop of Angers on the occasion of a meeting of the two men, Government circles were expecting a papal command ordering all Bishops to sign the formula. However, nothing came from Rome and the Government had to be content with the publication of the Brief to the Vicars-General.² This gave Henri Arnauld a welcome opportunity to make another appeal to Louis XIV.³ When in answer to his objections it was pointed out to him both in a royal letter and by the nuncio Piccolomini,⁴ that the Brief was also an answer to Henri's distinction between fact and right, the Bishop wrote once more both to the King and to Piccolomini.⁵ The object of his letters appears from the fact that, like his previous communication, they were promptly thrown to the public by means of the printing press.⁶ A papal confirmation of the formula, the letter to the nuncio said, would be something so unheard of that one could only believe it on the Pope's own statement; equivocal assertions were inadequate to cover the obvious encroachments of the Assembly of the clergy.⁷ In the letter to Louis XIV. he betrays, among other sentiments, his resentment against the Pope. Can the King, so we read, the guardian of Gallican liberties, tolerate that the Pope should not even condescend to write to his brethren, the Bishops, but that, on the contrary, he should refer them,

¹ COCHIN, 179 *seqq.*

² On May 1, 1662, *ibid.*, 182.

³ Letter of July 24, 1662, *ibid.*, 183.

⁴ August 28 and 29, 1662, *ibid.*, 376, 377.

⁵ September 17, 1662, *ibid.*, 187.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 164, n. 1, 183, n. 2, 187, n. 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

through the nuncio, to decisions which bear no relation to their questions ? ¹

For the moment nothing was done against Henri Arnauld who had been joined by Choart de Buzenval, Bishop of Beauvais.² For about a year the signature of the formula was no longer demanded.³ The dispute over the Corsican Guards ⁴ turned the King's attention in another direction, moreover towards the end of 1662 an attempt was made to bring about a religious peace by means of a compromise.

The President of the Parliament of Toulouse, Miramont, was on terms of friendship with the Jesuit Ferrier, professor of theology in that city, as well as with Bishop Choiseul of Comminges who happened to be staying at Toulouse and who had dealings with the Jansenists. Accordingly, about the middle of 1662, conferences took place at Miramont's country house between Ferrier and Choiseul on ways and means to put a stop to the disputes without the signature of the formula. Choiseul reported on the first discussion to Jansenist friends of his ⁵ and Ferrier to the King's confessor, Annat, whereupon the monarch transferred the negotiations to Paris. Between January 25th and February 18th, 1663, five sittings were held at which, besides Choiseul and Ferrier, the Jansenists De Lalane and Girard, also took part.⁶ As

¹ *Ibid.*, 190.

² *Ibid.*, 186.

³ [DUMAS], 267.

⁴ See above, p. 95 *seqq.*

⁵ August, 1662 : " Récit de ce qui s'est passé dans l'accommodement de 1663," in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXI., 550. Arnauld's answer is the memorial of September 2, 1662, *ibid.*, 631 *seqq.* First *Projet d'accommodement*, sent from Toulouse on October 20, 1662, *ibid.*, 640 *seqq.* Three memorials by Arnauld, *ibid.*, 643 *seqq.* ; memorial of January 13, 1663, *ibid.*, 677 *seqq.*

⁶ [DUMAS], I., 273 *seq.* ; RAPIN, III., 219 ; GERBERON, III., 58 ; *Récit.*, *loc. cit.*, 549 *seqq.* ; FERRIER.* **Narratio eorum quae Parisiis gesta sunt cum doctoribus Iansenianis sub initium anni 1663*, in *Excerpta ex codice s. Officii continente Acta in Gallis in causa Iansenii annis 1663-1665*, f. 115 *seqq.* (Remains of Schill).

was to be foreseen, no result was arrived at. It is nevertheless worth noting that on January 23rd the Jansenists summed up their views on the five propositions of Jansenius in five articles.¹ This document, signed by all the Jansenist leaders, is important as a manifesto of the party. Despite his failure Choiseul refused to give up hope. He succeeded in persuading the Jansenists to accept three Bishops as mediators, viz. himself, Péréfixe, then Bishop of Rodez and subsequently Archbishop of Paris, and the future Cardinal D'Estrées, then Bishop of Laon. These three prelates drew up another five articles in opposition to the five propositions. However, when for an equivocal final sentence in a covering letter of explanation, a simple assurance of their submission to the Holy See, even in respect of the question of fact, was substituted, the Jansenists refused to sign.²

The negotiations were thus at an end. "They have had no other result," Annat wrote, "except to demonstrate the obstinacy of the sect to those who were not yet sufficiently convinced of it ; it is likewise all I had hoped for."³ The Jansenists did as if they were prepared to agree to anything,

¹ DUPLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 2, f. 306 ; GERBERON, III., 47 ; [DUMAS], I., 279-285.

² [DUMAS], I., 274. The question of this "subiicimus" divided the Jansenists. A letter of Le Nain, dated March 16, 1603 (ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, I., 309), takes Arnauld severely to task for his intractability. Arnauld, however, refused to yield : Letter to Lalane, dated March 17, 1663, *ibid.*, 311 ; to Hermant, March 18 and 20, *ibid.*, XXI., 597, 599. Arnauld's *Mémoire sur la proposition du Subiicimus*, *ibid.*, 686 *seqq.* A proposal to promise the Pope, like the Doctors of Louvain, in general terms, a *religiosa observantia* for the Constitutions, was declined by him (to Hermant, March 28 and 31, 1663, *ibid.*, 601 *seqq.* ; to Singlin on April 7, 1663, *ibid.*, 611).

³ " *Elles [the conferences] ont fini et n'ont eu autre effet que de faire connaître à ceux qui n'en étaient pas assez persuadés l'opiniâtreté de cette secte. C'est aussi tout ce que je m'en étais promis contre l'espérance de M. de Cominges." Annat to the French Assistant of the General of the Jesuits, March 2, 1633, *Excerpta*, f. 10, *loc. cit.*

so long as Jansenius was safe. Their views, they affirmed, differed in no way from those of the Dominicans and these the Pope could surely have had no intention to condemn. However, when Ferrier offered to test this agreement in presence of three Bishops, they replied that they felt so sure of it that their conscience did not allow them to bow to any authority on this point, be it that of the Bishops or the Pope, a council or the whole Church. Even now Choiseul refused to give up hope. He proposed the dispatch to the Pope of a respectful letter condemning the five propositions, adding that if His Holiness wanted anything else, they would be ready to comply with his demands. The letter was actually written; the five articles drawn up on January 23rd were added as a profession of faith in respect of the five propositions.¹

Arnauld had taken no part in the negotiations, though it was he who guided the steps of his followers and not infrequently opposed the sharpest resistance to their prayers that he would be more accommodating.² Even his brothers, Bishop Henri of Angers and Robert d'Andilly, at times remonstrated with him and resisted him,³ but in the end he invariably prevailed for it was thought that nothing could be concluded or broken off without him. It had been agreed that the deliberations would be conducted in secret, but the Jansenists threw them to the public together with some bitter attacks on their opponents, whereupon Ferrier

¹ [DUMAS], I., 277 *seqq.*

² Arnauld to Choiseul, February 22 and 28, 1663, *Œuvres*, I., 303, 306; to Singlin, March 21, *ibid.*, 307; Choiseul to Henri Arnauld, March 20, 1663, asking him to induce his brother to change his mind, *ibid.*, 320. At Beauvais also his friends were of different minds; *ibid.*, XXI., 592, 594, 596.

³ Henri to Choiseul and Antoine Arnauld on March 29, 1663, ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, I., 324; D'Andilly on April 10, 1663, *ibid.*, 349 *seqq.*; Antoine to Hermant and Le Nain on April 1, 1663, *ibid.*, XXI., 609, I., 327; to D'Andilly on April 5, *ibid.*, 335 *seqq.*, on May 6, *ibid.*, 356-371; to Henri on April 6, *ibid.*, 342 *seqq.*

published a rejoinder; in this way the dispute and the mutual recriminations dragged on their course.¹

In spite of everything, the Jansenists' promise to submit to the Pope's further demands, seemed to have paved the way for a real advance and to have opened a prospect of peace. Ferrier wrote to Rome that it was of the utmost importance that the Pope should receive their submission with fatherly kindness and at the same time insist on their subscribing to the two Constitutions in token of their obedience, and if it were possible to enforce the formula of the Assembly of the clergy by papal authority also; if this were done great satisfaction would be given to the whole clergy of France.² Annat wrote in the same strain.³ Should the Pope prescribe a new formula, he wrote, the Jansenists would triumph and say that even the Pope was not satisfied with the previous one. Choiseul wrote to the Pope and to one of the Cardinals, in splendid Latin, exalting the success achieved, which filled all right-minded people with incredible joy.⁴

In Rome a very sober view was taken of these negotiations, which were represented as so great a success. An extraordinary meeting of six Cardinals took place on July 21st, 1663⁵; its advice was that the five articles of the Jansenists should not be answered at all as they were characterized by so much hair-splitting that they would lead to endless disputes.

¹ [DUMAS], I., 269 *seq.*; ARNAULD, *Refutation de la fausse relation du P. Ferrier*, in *Œuvres*, XXII., 250 *seqq.* For a judgment on the dispute and the question whether Arnauld did not hesitate at times, see [DUMAS], I., 286-318; but *cf.* 270: to do no more than to explain the course of the discussions, "il faudrait un volume considerable."

² *To Fabri on June 15, 1663, *Excerpta*, f. 78.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *June 22, 1663, *ibid.*, f. 82, 101. *In like manner D'Estrées to Card. Rospigliosi, June 23, 1663, *ibid.*, f. 105.

⁵ **Excerpta*, f. 131 *seqq.*; RAPIN, III., 237 *seqq.* The six cardinals were: Ginetti, Corrado, Borromeo, Albizzi, Rospigliosi, Bagno.

Nor should the Pope reply to Choiseul, whose attitude towards Innocent X.'s Bull had not been satisfactory, though he might address a Brief to the whole French episcopate in praise of the zeal they had hitherto shown and to exhort them to continue and to apply even sharper measures, nay even to have recourse to the secular arm. The question of a formula should be dropped for it was impossible to confirm the earlier one of the Assembly of the clergy, seeing that it had been drawn up without proper authority, whilst a new one would hurt the feelings of the Bishops and provide their opponents with an opportunity for recrimination.¹ Only one of the Consultors was of opinion that the Bishops' formula might be considered as the execution of the papal Constitutions. On July 29th a Brief was drafted in the sense of the Congregation² whilst Rospigliosi replied to Choiseul and D'Estrées.³

Ferrier wrote⁴ that the Brief had been put on one side, firstly, because the King, on whose intervention great hopes were set, was travelling; secondly, because Choiseul, who had great influence with the Jansenists, was deeply hurt because his efforts had not received the papal eulogy for which he had hoped; and lastly, because the Brief was silent on the subject of the formula. As a result of this silence the seven or eight Bishops who had not yet subscribed, would only publish the papal Constitutions in their dioceses and demand no signature even if the Assembly of the clergy should order it anew, with the result that it would not be possible to distinguish between Jansenists and non-Jansenists. For the time being, then, the Brief would not be promulgated

¹ " *Considerando che non si può approvare il fatto dall'Assemblea, mentre s'arroga l'autorità ch'a lei non compete, nè può farsene un nuovo senza dar taccia ai vescovi, pretesto ai loro contrarii d'haver preteso di mettere un vincolo che qui non sia stato approvato." *Excerpta, loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, 183.

³ **Ibid.*, 189.

⁴ *To Fabri, August 25, 1663, *ibid.*, 199 *seq.*

until information should come from Rome whether it would be possible to obtain another.¹

Choiseul, who in the meantime had written to Rome in most eulogistic terms of the Jansenists' declaration of obedience,² was summoned into the King's presence in September, when he was told to see to it that his friends kept their promises.³ As the reward of three days' efforts, Choiseul obtained a declaration from Girard and Lalane which was, however, judged inadequate by the royal council.⁴ When on October 2nd, the Bishops then staying in Paris, met for an extraordinary conference, for the purpose of receiving the Brief, they too qualified the Declaration of Girard and Lalane as equivocal and hypocritical.⁵ For the rest the assembly resolved that the Brief as well as the circular should be forwarded to all the Bishops, and since in these documents the Pope urged the Bishops to take the most appropriate means for the execution of the papal Constitutions, the assembly was of opinion that the most suitable means was for everyone to sign the formulas of 1656 and 1661. The King's co-operation should also be invited; this was granted by an ordinance of October 10th.⁶

A fresh violent controversy now broke out, in which the Jansenists spared neither the Pope nor the Bishops and

¹ " *C'est une chose si nécessaire que sans cela il y a danger que la publication du bref ne fasse plus de mal que de bien." *Ibid.*

² *Letter of July 14, 1663, to Barberini (*ibid.*, 214). " *Cette soumission a désarmé tout le monde, réuni tous les esprits et le Roi a été ravi de voir etc." On September 7, 1663, Choiseul *begs the Pope to write to the French Jansenists in the same strain as to the University of Louvain (*ibid.*).

³ [DUMAS], I., 323.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ " *Mirifica nostrum omnium quotquot aderamus in his verbis reprehendendis extitit consensio. Visa sunt enim subdola, simulatum dumtaxat obsequium prae se ferentia, mente versipelli et callida concinnata." Letter of the Assembly to the Pope, October 2, 1663, *Excerpta*, f. 255.

⁶ [DUMAS], I., 330.

least of all the Jesuits who, in their opinion, were to blame for everything.¹ It now became clear how they understood their latest assurance of submission to and regard for the Holy See. Fresh light was thrown on the sincerity of the sect by the attempt of the Jansenists to read into one vague expression of the most recent papal document an approval by the Pope of their five articles.² Notwithstanding every obstacle on the part of the ecclesiastical and the secular power, the Jansenists continued to gain ground by underhand methods; "they manage to get their men appointed directors of Seminaries," Ferrier wrote,³ "they found boarding schools for girls, as for instance at Toulouse," and Annat had information that the sect was spreading in the dioceses of Toulouse and Rheims.⁴

(6.)

However, judging from appearances, the situation of the Jansenists had taken a bad turn in 1664. On January 4th, in the presence of the King, the Council of State severely condemned and prohibited two Jansenist works, one of which was Saint-Amour's diary of the Roman discussions about the five propositions.⁵ On April 29th Louis XIV.

¹ *Ibid.*, 330 *seqq.*, ARNAULD, *Les desseins des Jésuites*, in *Œuvres*, XII., 172 *seqq.*

² The Bishops, the Brief declares, had brought it about "ut muti, iique caeterorum nomine primarii . . . ad saniozem doctrinam inducti, ea qua par est, ut credimus, animi demissione sese paratissimos exhibuerint" to obey the Pope. From this Arnauld and others concluded that the five articles had been declared *sana doctrina*. [DUMAS], I., 353 *seqq.*

³ *To Fabri, September 21, 1663, *Excerpta*, f. 243. "Le Jansénisme a des suites qui ne sont pas moins dangereuses que leurs dogmes," Ferrier writes (*ibid.*). For Fabri see RAPIN III., 237.

⁴ *To Fabri, February 1, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 374.

⁵ [DUMAS], II., 1. SAINT-AMOUR's paper was also put on the Index on March 28, 1664. **Excerpta*, f. 464 *seq.*

attended a meeting of Parliament for the purpose of having a solemn edict against the Jansenist registered.¹ By the terms of this document anyone refusing to sign the formula was to forfeit his benefice, and in future no one was to obtain a benefice, a degree or position at the Universities, to take the vows of religion, or to carry out some conventual charge, without previously subscribing to that document. The motives by which the ordinance was justified, adduce strong charges against the good faith of the innovators. They had begun by defending the orthodoxy of the five propositions; later on they represented them as malicious and arbitrary, inventions of their opponents. Their declarations of submission to the Holy See were insincere for they were given the lie by their speeches and writings; they sought for ever to shelter behind St. Augustine and St. Thomas, and like the heresiarchs of former times, they spread their teaching in secret.²

However, notwithstanding this determined language of the mightiest King in Europe, the fundamental mistake made when the formula was first published, became ever more evident. The praise bestowed upon the Bishops in the latest Brief might be interpreted as a tacit approval of their formula, but that document lacked express confirmation by the only competent authority. The Government was fully aware of this circumstance. During the discussion by the royal council of the King's declaration of April 29th, it was decided to admit nothing into its text that would be a criticism of the recalcitrant Bishops, precisely because the Pope had not enforced the formula and the Assembly of the clergy had exceeded its authority.³ Hence Annat, the King's confessor, was for ever pressing for a papal formula in all his letters. When after the settlement of the dispute in connexion with the Corsican Guards⁴ a Cardinal Legate

¹ [DUMAS], II., 5 f. Printed, *ibid.*, III., *Rec.*, 156-168.

² *Ibid.*, II., 6 *seqq.*

³ *Annat to Fabri, April 11, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 381.

⁴ Cf. above, p. 98 *seqq.*

was expected in France, it was hoped that he would be the bearer of a Brief in which the Pope would state that if the formula was not alluded to in the Papal Briefs, such silence must not be construed as disapproval.¹ Rome did not at once fall in with this proposal. The Legate was instructed to inform the King that the Pope had authorized the Bishops to employ such means as seemed best to them and that Rome did not deem it necessary to invest the Legate with additional powers.² Paris, however, maintained its previous demands. Even previous to this Annat had observed to a Bishop that if a formula came from the Pope, people would stone the Jansenists if they refused to subscribe,³ and a little later the royal confessor wrote that Bishops who had hitherto been recalcitrant, now openly declared that if the Pope prescribed either the old formula or a new one, they would not refuse their signature; until now papal decrees had always been received with the utmost respect in France and this excellent disposition still continued, but nothing would be accomplished without a formula, for they had to deal with people who were prepared to sign anything, so long as they saved their Jansenius.⁴

¹ *Annat to Fabri, February 23, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 381.

² " *Che maggior autorità non ha stimato che fusse necessario di concedere a Lei [the Legate] in questo affare. *Ibid.*, f. 400.

³ " "Cela fera que tout le monde leur jettera des pierres s'ils ne se soumettent. Mais il est absolument nécessaire que Sa Sainteté temoigne que ce n'est pas qu'il y ait eu raison de refuser la signature de l'autre, ni qu'il soit nécessaire, que ceux qui ont signé l'autre, signent encore celui-ci." Annat to Fabri, March 6, 1664, *ibid.*, f. 380.

⁴ " *Nous avons à faire à des fourbes qui éludent tous les autres moyens. Ils signeront tout ce que vous voudrez pourvu que vous ne parliez point de Jansenius, c'est à dire pourvu que vous mettiez sa doctrine à couvert . . ." (to Fabri, March 28, 1664, *ibid.*, f. 461). " *Avec cela on ne doute point ici que le Jansénisme no soit annéanti et sans cela qu'il ne se retablissee au mépris du S. Siège et de ceux qui l'ont choqué jusqu'à présent " (to Fabri, April 4, 1664, *ibid.*, f. 462).

The Jansenist objections to the formula did not cease even when the new Archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe, explained in a pastoral letter dated June 7th, 1664, that for the question of fact the Church demanded indeed an act of faith, but only an act of "human and ecclesiastical faith".¹

According to Catholic teaching the Church is infallible not only when she pronounces that this or that truth is revealed by God, but also in all such definitions as are necessary to enable her to fulfil her charge as an unerring teacher as, for instance, when she declares that this or that version of the Bible is authentic, that this or that book is heretical. Catholics are bound to give an adhesion of faith to such definitions precisely because the Church's inerrancy is an article of faith and because the Church defines in virtue of her infallibility. But inasmuch as there is question here of things not immediately revealed by God, the act of faith by which such decisions are accepted is called an act of "ecclesiastical faith".² Péréfixe only threw oil on the flame with his explanation and all he achieved was to let loose another spate of publications.³

This endless confusion induced the King to request the Pope, through his Roman ambassador, the Duke of Créqui, either to confirm the Bishops' formula by papal authority or to draw up an entirely new one.⁴ The Holy Office in Rome was of opinion that the King's request removed the chief obstacle which had hitherto prevented the dispatch of a new formula, as such a step would have given offence to the Bishops, whilst approval of the old one, which had been enforced without authority, would have injured the prestige of the Holy See.⁵ Three Briefs, dated December 16th, 1664, were dispatched to the nuncio in Paris, one for himself and the Archbishops of Paris and Auch, another for

¹ [DUMAS], II., 8.

² On the distinction between "fides divina" and "ecclesiastica", cf. CHR. PESCH, *Praelect. dogm.*, VIII., n. 256.

³ [DUMAS], II., 9.

⁴ *Annat to Fabri, November 14, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 519.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 537.

the King, and a third for the Bishops.¹ However, Paris was not entirely satisfied with the papal prescriptions concerning the subscription to a new formula, and on January 24th, 1665, the Paris nuncio sent in a memorial in which he suggested three alterations: Rome should issue, not a simple Brief, but a Constitution to be registered by the various Parliaments; a time limit of three months should be fixed for signing; as to the penalties for recalcitrant Bishops, only a general reference to Canon Law should be made²; the last demand was in consequence of the Bishops' complaint that, by the terms of the Brief, a simple refusal to sign entailed deposition without summons and process.³ Alexander VII. complied with all these requests with his Constitution of February 15th, 1665.⁴ The Bishops held two meetings; they thanked the Pope and decided to carry out the Bull. Arnauld was soon ready with three memorials, two for the Bishops and a third for the magistrates.⁵ To the latter he pointed out that the Bull forbade any modifications of its dispositions, thereby assuming papal infallibility; hence it could not be received.⁶ However, this terrifying prospect

¹ **Ibid.*, 578 *seqq.* The Brief to the King in *Epist. Alexandri VII.*, a. IX-X., n. 135, Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Excerpta*, f. 594.

³ **Ibid.*

⁴ Text in *Bull. XVII.*, 335, and [DUMAS], III., *Rec.*, 171 *seq.* (*cf.* II., 28 *seq.*). Here the formulary is as follows: "Ego N. Constitutioni Apostolicae Innocentii X. datae die 31 Maii 1653 et Constitutioni Alexandri VII. datae 16. Octobris 1656 SS. Pontificum me subiicio et quinque propositiones ex Cornelii Iansenii libro, cui nomen Augustinus, excerptas et in sensu ab eodem auctore intento, prout illas per dictas Constitutiones Sedes Apostolica damnavit, sincero animo reiicio ac damno, et ita iuro, sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei evangelia." The *covering letter to the King, dated February 18, 1665, expresses the hope that "your royal arm will put an end to this affair." (*Epist. Alexandri VII.*, a. IX-X., n. 172 f., 217, Papal Sec. Arch.)

⁵ *Œuvres*, XXII., 572 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 579-583.

did not alarm the King and on April 29th, 1665, he had the Bull registered in Parliament.¹

But the Constitution was not accepted without strong Gallican protests. The alterations in the original Brief were insisted upon because of a wish to dispute the Pope's right to ordain anything in France by simple, non-registered decrees and to judge Bishops without trial.² In the parliamentary sitting in connexion with the Constitution, Talon once again seasoned an otherwise pointless discourse with numerous sallies against the papal power and the Monks.³ Nuncio Roberti had had the Constitution printed and published. Thereupon the Attorney-General protested at once; the nuncio, he claimed, could not promulgate such documents in France; the Bull could not be published without a royal declaration which alone gave it force of law. Offence was even taken at the title which Roberti had had printed at the head of the Constitution.⁴ On May 6th the printing of the Bull was forbidden by a judicial act and the printer fined, but as Roberti had already posted the printed copies, a second decree of June 23rd forbade the Archbishops and Bishops to receive papal Bulls except by order of the King.⁵

If anyone thought that a papal formula would meet with unanimous submission, he was promptly undeceived. As early as August 25th, 1664, Bishop Pavillon of Alet had written to the King on the subject of the formula ⁶ and excommunicated those priests of his diocese who had signed

¹ [DUMAS], *Rec.*, 172-186.

² GÉRIN, II., 6.

³ *Ibid.*, n. 7, " *M. Talon parle de tout autre chose que du sujet de la déclaration et [donne] toujours quelque coup de dent à l'autorité du Pape." Annat to Fabri, May 1, 1665. *Excerpta*, f. 654.

⁴ *Ad christianissimum Francorum regem et Galliarum regna.*

⁵ GÉRIN, II., 7 *seq.*

⁶ Ant. Arnauld's letter of congratulations, ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, I., 504.

it.¹ On June 1st, 1665, he published a pastoral letter² in which he published the formula, but all he asked from its signatories was credence in the question of right and respectful submission in the question of fact.³ On June 23rd the Bishop of Beauvais gave his adhesion to Pavillon, in fact, he copied the latter's pastoral letter word for word, with the exception of the introduction and conclusion. On July 8th Henri Arnauld of Angers followed at least Pavillon's main line of thought. As early as February the former had praised the Bishop of Alet's clearheadedness in connexion with the expected Bull, and represented both the Pope and the King as the victims of the Jesuits.⁴ Pavillon's admirer, Caulet of Pamiers,⁵ also reproduced the letter of his model in a pastoral letter of July 31st, that is, at the very time when the Council of State had forbidden the clergy of the recalcitrant prelates to obey the orders of their Bishops in respect of the formula. The decree of the Council of State of July 31st, in addition to the names of the Bishops of Alet, Angers and Beauvais, contains a fourth, namely that of the Bishop of Noyon; but the latter promptly withdrew his pastoral letter of May 28th.⁶ Oddly enough the leader of the recalcitrant Bishops was none too strong in his convictions; he sent his Vicar-General to the nuncio with instructions, the gist of which was that he only wanted to save his

¹ *Annat to Fabri, November 14, 1664, *Excerpta*, f. 519.

² Text in ARNAULD, *loc. cit.*, XXIV., 537 *seqq.*

³ "Soumission de foi vers le droit, et de respect et de discipline vers les faits."

⁴ To Buzenval from Beauvais, February 6, 1665, in COCHIN, 319 *seqq.*

⁵ For him *cf.* the writings of G. DOUBLET: *Un prélat janséniste, F. de Caulet, réformateur des chapitres de Foix et de Pamiers*, Paris, 1895; *Un diocèse pyrénéen sous Louis XIV.*, Toulouse, 1896; *Les Protestants à Pamiers*, *ibid.*, 1895; *Le couvent des Dames Salongues*, *ibid.*, 1896; *F. de Caulet . . . et la vie ecclésiastique dans un diocèse ariégeois sous Louis XIV.*, Foix, 1896; also BERTRAND, III., 19-61.

⁶ COCHIN, 199.

reputation; otherwise he would gladly have obeyed the Pope.¹

Apart from the four Bishops, the papal ordinances met with no opposition on the whole. Port Royal alone offered the most obstinate resistance. Already in 1661 the nuns had objected to the decree of the Vicars-General of Paris, although that document differentiated, in a wholly Jansenist sense, between the questions of fact and of right. We get a glimpse of the state of mind of those theologizing nuns just then in a letter of Pascal's sister Jacqueline.² In the ordinance of the Vicars-General she sees no more than a clever trick to get out of confessing the truth³; she defies the Bishops, the Pope, the impending excommunication⁴; in her opinion the condemnation of Jansenius implies the condemnation of the grace of Christ⁵; accordingly she is prepared to endure persecution and death itself for him.⁶ However, these were only fine phrases. These obstinate

¹ Nunciature report of July 28, 1665 [DUMAS], II., 37 *seqq.*, "que tout ce qu'il a fait, n'estoit que pour conserver sa reputation: qu'il auroit volontiers obéi à Sa Sainteté, mais qu'il avoit crû estre obligé de ne point changer sa conduite pour qui ce soit du Royaume." **Excerpta*, f. 721: "per conservare la sua reputatione."

² In COUSIN, 319-328. Cf. ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXIII., 319; [DUMAS], II., 60, 62.

³ "J'admire la subtilité de l'esprit que je vous avoue qu'il n'y a rien de mieux fait que le mandement," etc. COUSIN, 323.

⁴ "Puisque les évêques ont des courages de filles, les filles doivent avoir des courages d'évêques" (324 s.). Depreciation of Papal Bulls, *ibid.*, 325. "Mais peut-être on nous retranchera de l'Eglise? Mais qui ne sait que personne n'en peut être retranché malgré soi?" (321).

⁵ It seeks to avoid the appearance, "que nous condamnons la doctrine de Jansénius qui est clairement condamnée dans la dernière bulle"; or "que nous condamnons ou la grâce de Jésus-Christ ou celui qui l'a si divinement expliquée" (*ibid.*, 324-7).

⁶ *Ibid.*, 320 *seqq.*

women, who would not be taught by either Archbishop or Pope, bowed in all humility and gave their signature as soon as ever the "great" Arnauld had decided they should do so.¹ However, Rome rejected as inadequate the document thus signed, and when the Vicars-General submitted a fresh one, Port Royal-des-Champs only signed a formula couched in general terms.²

A three years' pause now ensued until the new Archbishop of Paris, Hardouin de Péréfixe, by order of the King, began a visitation of the convent. The nuns, however, had been adequately prepared by their Jansenist advisers; they were resolved to carry things to extremes. Their attitude towards the Archbishop can only be described as outrageous; even some defamatory pamphlets against his person were published.³ Accordingly, on August 21st, 1664, the Archbishop laid an interdict on both convents of Port Royal. For the rest, from the point of view of morals, no fault could be found with the nuns; they were as pure as angels and as proud as the devil, the Archbishop was wont to say.⁴ As a result of the King's intervention the interdict had some further consequences. On August 26th, 1664, the Archbishop arrived accompanied by secular officials and some armed men. From the carriages which had followed him there alighted some sisters of St. Francis de Sales' Order of the Visitation, to whom were assigned the post of superior and the chief offices at Port Royal; the ringleaders among the Jansenist sisters, above all the members of the Arnauld family, were removed and distributed among various convents. The Archbishop and the new Superioress did their utmost to win back the remaining Jansenist nuns, but they only succeeded with ten or twelve; the rest defied all their efforts, even when the papal Constitution of February 15th, 1665, was laid before

¹ *Ibid.*, 228.

² Text in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXIII., 329 *seq.*; *cf.* RAPIN, III., 264.

³ RAPIN, III., 256 *seq.*

⁴ ARNAULD, *Apologie pour les religieuses de Port Royal*, I., ch. 13, *Œuvres*, XXIII., 259 *seq.*

them. The Pope, the rebellious nuns objected, had no more power than the Archbishop.¹ Rome, they said, was ruled by politics, selfishness, intrigues, and the Jesuits; the Pope had no knowledge of Jansenius' book; whilst it was being examined in his presence he slept; the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility was idolatry; it did not matter if they were deprived of the Sacraments, etc.² In July, 1665, the sisters who had been removed to other convents, were allowed to gather once more at Port Royal-des-Champs where they were kept under observation, but even so they successfully eluded the vigilance of their guardians.³ Their friends, among them Pavillon,⁴ did not fail, by means of smuggled letters, to exalt these disobedient women as heroines of virtue and to strengthen them in their rebellion. Arnauld wrote three voluminous apologies of the nuns⁵ which led to another lengthy controversy. Meanwhile, the Visitation nun whom Péréfixe had appointed superioress at Port Royal in Paris, returned to her own convent together with all her sisters. The nuns of Port Royal in the city, who had given their signatures, remained together and were given an Abbess chosen from among themselves, but the thirty-five nuns of Port Royal in the country continued in their insubordination.⁶

Notwithstanding the Archbishop's strong opposition, Jansenism grew steadily in Paris. A celebrated preacher of the period, the Jesuit De Lingendes, publicly deplored in the pulpit the coldness with which people listened to the preaching of the ordinary truths of Catholicism. But "were I to preach novelties, as is done to-day, people would run after me; I should have followers and create a stir, for we have lived to see ladies giving up their jewels and

¹ RAPIN, III., 263-275.

² *Ibid.*, 299 *seq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 303 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Œuvres*, XXIII., 165-828. Appreciation of his arguments in [DUMAS], II., 46 *seqq.*

⁶ RAPIN, III., 415 *seq.*

others sacrificing everything, even their shirt, for the new opinions".¹ In 1666 nuncio Roberti reported to Rome² that the clergy daily showed a more pronounced leaning towards Jansenism. It was high time for the ecclesiastical and the secular power to take joint action against the four Bishops, but when Queen Anne died in 1666 the chief opponent of the Jansenists also disappeared.³ The Jansenist ministers paralysed the King's zeal and Gallicanism rendered the co-operation of the two powers impossible.

In March, 1666, the King charged the Archbishops of Paris, Rouen, and Toulouse and the Bishop of St. Malo to review the situation.⁴ They ended by recommending the execution of the papal proposals but expressed a wish that the Pope should appoint more than one commissary to judge the four prelates.⁵ It goes without saying that the Jansenists made capital out of these protracted negotiations and through their friends at court did all they could to delay still further the appointment of judges of the four Bishops.⁶ In point of fact a year after publication of the four pastoral letters of 1665, all that had been done was the dispatch, by the King, of four gentlemen to threaten the disobedient prelates with the nomination of commissaries.⁷

About this time, however, it looked as if the King were about to carry out his threat, though in a manner that could not possibly satisfy Rome. He demanded that the Pope should appoint no less than twelve Bishops as judges. This demand rested on ancient and antiquated legal dispositions of the primitive Church according to which the

¹ *Ibid.*, 417.

² *On May 5, *Excerpta*, 1666 seq., f. 39.

³ RAPIN, III., 374 ; cf. 354 seq. : "ce royaume qu'on peut dire qu'elle a sauvé du malheur qui le menaçait par l'hérésie de Jansénius."

⁴ *Roberti on March 22 and 26, 1666, *Excerpta*, f. 67, 69.

⁵ *The same, April 27, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 69.

⁶ *Annat to Fabri, April 9, 1666 ; *ibid.*, f. 26 ; *Roberti on March 26, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 69.

⁷ *Roberti on June 29, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 43.

Metropolitan, should a Bishop have offended, had to appoint twelve Bishops to act as his judges. Now the Pope was more than a Metropolitan, hence he was bound to resent the attempt to tie his hands with Gallican Canon Law. Worse still, the twelve would have pronounced sentence by an usurped judicial authority. According to the Roman conception their only task was to establish the fact of the obstinate insubordination of the four Bishops and, if their disobedience continued, to inflict the penalty determined by the Pope. On the other hand in Louis XIV.'s opinion the twelve were to examine whether Pavillon, and those who shared his sentiments, had done well when they refused to obey the Pope: in other words the twelve were to act as a supreme tribunal to judge between the Pope and the four. To this was added the difficulty of bringing together twelve reliable Bishops; even Lionne confessed to the nuncio that this was no small task.¹ If the examination of the affairs of Pavillon was entrusted to a commission of Bishops, the nuncio pointed out, the Jansenists would object to this or that one of their number and demand a provincial council or a papal pronouncement on the obligation of adhering by faith to facts that were not part of revelation; in this way the proceedings would be dragged out indefinitely and in the meantime the sect would gather strength.² A judicial college of so many heads would by itself alone render an early decision difficult. Moreover, a pronouncement whether Pavillon was right or wrong would be a judgment in a matter of faith, on the question, that is, of the extent of papal infallibility.³ To

¹ " *Che haveva durato gran fatica a trovare dodeci." Roberti on October 8, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 96. On the number 12 of the judges cf. VACANDARD in *Dict. de théol. cath.*, IV., 500, 508 *seq.*

² **Ibid.*

³ " Que les décisions des opinions de foi appartiennent au pape seul, et si Sa Sainteté donnait des juges, il ne se pourrait qu'ils n'entrassent en partage de cette autorité réservée au pape." The four, that is, would defend their distinction between right and fact and the 12 would then give their opinion. Albizzi to Chaulnes, in GÉRIN, II., 100.

pronounce judgment on such a point was the Pope's province, not the Bishops', quite apart from the fact that the Pope himself sought to avoid a decision in so delicate a matter.¹

Thus on the one hand it was quite impossible for Alexander VII. to agree to the French proposals, whilst on the other hand the King was determined to have his will at all costs. In these circumstances the negotiations were bound to drag on indefinitely. In November, 1666, the French ambassador in Rome prayed the Pope² to issue two Constitutions, one to command the four Bishops to retract and to subscribe to the formula, and the other to charge the twelve commissaries with the conduct of the process. On the other hand the Roman Inquisition decided to appoint no more than two or three judges, whose sole duty it would be to carry out the papal sentence.³ The debates of three further sittings⁴ led to the decision to put on the Index of prohibited books the pastoral letters of the four Bishops together with various writings in their favour: this was done on January 18th, 1668. On January 4th the French ambassador was informed that the Pope insisted on his proposal to communicate his decision to the four Bishops through the Archbishop of Paris or, perhaps, to entrust the task to three Bishops.⁵

¹ * "Cette cour était dans de grandes alarmes que les dits juges ne voulussent entrer dans les matières du droit et du fait, ce que S. S. même éviterait de décider; mais tout s'est assuré en spécifiant et ordonnant les signatures." Chaulnes to Lionne, April 26, 1667, GÉRIN, II., 101, n. 2.

² * November 28, 1667, *Excerpta*, 1666 seq., f. 117; cf. f. 116.

³ * Sitting of December 4, 1666, *ibid.*, f. 123. There were present Cardinals Ginetti, Borromeo, Albizzi, Chigi, Rospigliosi, and the assessor Marescotti. At the sitting of January 3, 1667, Cardinals Rasponi and Celsi were also present (*ibid.*, f. 120). A *memorandum, at first intended for the ambassador but eventually dispatched as his Instruction to the nuncio (*ibid.*, f. 149-157). A *dissertation by Pallavicino on infallibility in facts, *ibid.*, f. 169-172.

⁴ * January 3, 5, 13, 1667, *ibid.*, f. 210, 226, 227.

⁵ * *Ibid.*, f. 212.

On March 20th, by order of the Inquisition,¹ the assessor Marescotti discussed the matter with the ambassador, and Cardinal Albizzi did so on the 28th.² The appointment of twelve commissaries, the assessor was charged to explain,³ was an unusual procedure and a useless one, for in that case the Jansenists would demand a provincial council; it was dangerous because of the waste of time and because a door would be opened to Jansenist intrigues. Albizzi explained⁴ that the Pope could not appoint real judges because he had already judged the matter himself and because there was question of a dogma of the faith. When the ambassador admitted that the only task of the commissaries would be to decide the question of the obstinacy of the four, Albizzi expressed his satisfaction that Chaulnes and himself were in agreement; commissaries would, no doubt, be appointed by the Pope, only not as many as might be wished for. Many people felt uncertain, the ambassador continued, whether they were bound to hold as an article of faith that the five propositions had been condemned in Jansenius' sense and whether a distinction may be drawn between right and fact; why then had not the Pope defined this matter? Albizzi replied that the Pope was anxious not to give the Jansenists a pretext for more publications, hence he had contented himself with prohibiting the four pastorals. In that case Chaulnes observed, he should have issued a Brief ordering the four Bishops to withdraw their pastoral letters. A Brief merely ordering the withdrawal could easily be obtained from the Pope, Albizzi replied; all that they wished to avoid was an order for an express withdrawal because they were anxious to glide lightly over certain ticklish theological questions.⁵ Chaulnes finally expressed a few wishes in regard

¹ *Sitting of March 5, 1667, *ibid.*, f. 267; of March 26, *ibid.*, f. 300.

² *Report of the assessor, *ibid.*, f. 280; Albizzi's, *ibid.*, f. 319.

³ *Instruction for him, *ibid.*, f. 280.

⁴ **Ibid.*, f. 319.

⁵ "Non darebbe S. S.^{ta} breve, che i vescovi revocassero i mandati, per non impegnarsi nella questione, se possa farsi articolo

to certain clauses of the Brief. Albizzi now worked on two Briefs,¹ the text of which was settled by the Inquisition at the sitting of April 18th.² The day after they were laid before the ambassador with a request to keep the matter secret because the Jansenists, as their writings showed, had very able spies at the Curia. Though already mortally stricken, Alexander VII. had taken an active interest in the Briefs even in his last days.³

The next day the Briefs, dated April 22nd, came into the hands of the ambassador in their final shape. In the first, which was to remain in force for a year, the Archbishops of Toulouse and Bourges, the Bishops of Lavaur, Lombez, Lodève, Saint-Malo, Soissons, Mende and Dol were called upon to summon their four recalcitrant colleagues to withdraw their pastorals within a period of two months; if they failed to do so they were to proceed against them in virtue of the apostolic authority. The second Brief charged the nine Bishops to order the four recalcitrants to subscribe to the formula under pain of suspension and interdict.⁴ Three years had gone by before these Briefs were drawn up, and all that time the four Bishops had continued without molestation in their insubordination, thereby greatly strengthening their position. Alexander VII. touched on the reason of this delay when he told the ambassador, on December 3rd, 1666, that he regretted that the King's measures against the heresy were so inadequate and that it seemed strange that Louis would not admit it.⁵ On the other hand the Pope and the Cardinals had had to put up with almost incredible conduct

di fede ciò che dipende da fatto non revelato, e se questo del qual si tratta, sia tale ò no." *Ibid.*

¹ **Ibid.*, f. 350.

² **Ibid.*, f. 357.

³ GÉRIN, II., 165.

⁴ *Bull.*, XVII., 509, 510. The subscription must be given, 'pure, simpliciter, absque ulla omnino protestatione, exceptione vel declaratione.'

⁵ GÉRIN, II., 94.

on the part of the French ambassador.¹ Louis XIV. always imagined he knew better than the Roman Law experts how to deal with the Jansenist problem and he had instructed his ambassador to treat the Romans with haughty contempt. If they only wished to punish the four prelates for their disobedience, without trying them for heresy, Chaulnes observed with heavy humour, the four would henceforth be able to style themselves not only Bishops by the grace of God, but likewise Jansenists by favour of the Pope. On another occasion, when spoken to on the subject, the ambassador replied that he had forgotten all about it, the affair was dragging on so long! Louis XIV. repeatedly threatened to drop the whole thing if Rome refused to comply with his will. He did not come before the Pope as a suppliant, he declared, on the contrary, the Pope should be grateful to him for giving effect to his Bulls; the Pope should have yielded to the King's representations, for he was surely better acquainted with the situation in France than were the Italians or an imprudent nuncio.

In Paris Lionne adopted a similar tone towards the nuncio, in fact the King went so far as to forbid him even to discuss the affair of the four Bishops with the nuncio. It is an unheard of thing, Roberti observed, that a prince should be prevented to treat with another prince through his ambassador; they would not dare to behave like this even towards the Republic of San Marino.²

At the time of the Pope's death the two Briefs had not yet produced any effect.

(7.)

During the last years of his life Alexander VII. had been obliged to take notice of a contest in which Pascal had powerfully intervened with his *Provinciales*, the contest, that is, with certain aberrations in the sphere of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 93 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*

Church's teaching on morals. The dispute had broken out before Pascal's time and it outlived him. That a collision was inevitable, and that the Jesuits would have to bear the brunt of the attack, has its cause in the historical development of the Order and in its zeal precisely for all questions of moral theology.

The ardour with which the Jesuits applied themselves to the development of moral theology derives in direct line from their founder. The clearness of judgment which distinguished Ignatius of Loyola, the need he felt of accurately accounting to himself for his personal conduct, naturally led the keen ascetic to clarify for his own benefit, in the first instance, the leading principles of moral theology's sister science, that of ascetic theology. One need only compare the book of his *Exercises*, or his letter on obedience, with such a work as, for instance, the *Imitation of Christ*, to realize the advance he thereby brought about in the development of ascetics. Thomas a Kempis' masterpiece reveals indeed the deepest realization of that which constitutes the essence of the interior life, and its teaching is made up of the very marrow of the principles of asceticism, but as regards its style the booklet proceeds in an easy, conversational tone; nowhere is there a definition, a searching exposition or motivation of ideas. All this is found in Ignatius, and he thereby laid the foundation for a fuller application of theology to ascetics and his disciples followed in his footsteps. Numerous and voluminous expositions of the science of ascetics have been compiled by them,¹ and the Jesuits' guiding principles for a truly Christian life must be looked for, in the first instance, in those writings.

From ascetics to moral theology it was only one short step. A new scientific exploration of this field commended itself particularly to the Jesuits, because of the stress laid

¹ The whole field of ascetics is treated especially in the works of ÁLVAREZ DE PAZ, 1608 (3 folio vols.); ALPHONSUS RODRIGUEZ, 1609 (3 quarto vols.); DE PUENTE, 1612; CROMBECIUS, 1613; SAINT-JURE, 1634; LE GAUDIER, 1643, etc.

by them on frequent Communion and, in connexion with it, on frequent confession. Moreover the medieval manuals were not abreast of the greatly altered conditions of the 16th century and in other respects also they were quite inadequate. The medieval *Summas* of Sylvester Prierias, Angelo de Chiavasio, and others, were collections of cases of conscience in alphabetical order, but for their solution they relied, for the most part, on particular decisions of Canon Law which it was impossible merely to generalize, and there were no clear principles which alone could make possible a uniform treatment of particular cases.¹ Even before the Jesuits, the theologians of the 16th century had opened new paths in this field and the new Order eagerly took up their heritage. The principles by which particular cases of conscience must be solved were further clarified by the Jesuit theologians and applied to the social and economic conditions of the time. Hence the final elaboration of moral theology is largely their work; when at a later date St. Alphonsus Liguori frequently describes the Jesuits as "the Masters of the science of morals", he had this fact before his eyes.²

But as in all other sciences, the advance of moral theology did not come about without exaggerations in the criticism of what was old, nor without individual errors and mistakes.³ The new orientation in the science of morals no more escaped the opposition which, from isolated mistakes, forges for itself a convenient weapon, than any other movement which could be described in any way as new.

Misunderstandings on the part of the uninitiated were easy. In every one of these particular decisions, the question was to determine the exact boundaries of what was and what was not, lawful. However, the point was not to give the advice

¹ ALBERT SCHMITT, *Zur Gesch. des Probabilismus* (1904), 7 seqq.

² JANSEN-HENZE, *Der hl. Alfons von Liguori und die Gesellschaft Jesu*, Freiburg, 1920, II seqq.

³ Cf. below, on the moral propositions condemned under Alexander VII. On this DOM. VIVA, *Damnatae theses ab Alexandro VII., Innocentio XI. et Alexandro VIII. ad theologicam trutinam revocatae*, Padua, 1708.

to go in every instance to the uttermost limit of the permissible and to be satisfied with the absolute minimum in moral questions; the sermons and ascetical writings of the Jesuits prove the exact opposite. The aim of moral theology is to advise the confessor in his perplexities, for if a penitent makes up his mind to do no more than his strict duty, the confessor must know the limits of an obligation, lest he impose an obligation where there is none. For all that there were those whose feelings were hurt by the use of the dissecting knife of logic in the sensitive sphere of conscience. Moreover, again and again Canon Law repeats the adage that when in doubt we must choose the safer course. Even well disposed persons may have been puzzled when they saw this axiom limited to jurisprudence and practical doubt.

In effect the principles by which the Jesuits, like all moral theologians of the first part of the 17th century, decided doubtful cases of conscience, were provided by what is called "probabilism".¹ This term by no means implies that it is lawful to act on a judgment of the conscience which is purely "probable", the word being taken in the sense of "doubtful". No one called in question that before acting one must be morally certain of the lawfulness of the act. But experience shows that there exists an immense number of cases in which it is doubtful whether this or that detail falls, or does not fall, under any law. Probabilism was to provide a means for arriving at a practically safe judgment in such cases, notwithstanding any theoretical doubts. If it is probable, that is if there are good and reasonable grounds for thinking that this or that detail does not come under the law, or in other words when the existence of the law is doubtful in a given instance, the probabilists allow us to go by the principle that a doubtful law creates no obligation since in this instance it must be considered as not promulgated, and whenever it

¹ DE BLIC, in *Dict. apolog.*, III., 302-339; VERMEERSCH, *ibid.*, 339-362; ASTRÁIN, IV., 119-171; A. SCHMITT, *loc. cit.*; DEGERT in *Bullet. de littérat. ecclés.*, V. (1913), 401 *seqq.*; DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 3 *seqq.*

cannot be shown that a thing is forbidden, it must be considered lawful.

However, probabilism may not be followed when there is question not of what is lawful or unlawful, but of the rights of a third party, or when there is an obligation to realize by the most certain means a definite purpose. Thus one may not argue: "I have probably paid my debts, hence I have no further obligation in the matter; a judge must decide between various parties in accordance with the greatest probability; a physician must apply the best possible remedy: where the validity of a Sacrament is concerned, the minister must follow the safest opinion, etc."¹

However, this limitation of probabilism to its own proper sphere was the result of a gradual process of clarification, for though we find traces of probabilistic views in the works of some of the Fathers of the Church and in the writers of the Middle Ages,² their precise definition was the work of the 16th and 17th centuries. It was initiated by the great Dominican theologians of Salamanca, more particularly by the school of the real founder of this modern theology, Francis of Vitoria.³ Its essential principle was first clearly worked out in the works of the Dominican Bartholomew of Medina.

Up till the middle of the 17th century practically all theologians professed probabilism, and what the great theologians had set down in their bulky Latin tomes was made accessible to confessors and to the pastoral clergy in general by means of small manuals in the vernacular. Thus in the country of Pascal such a *Guide of Parish Priests*, by

¹ This is the conception of Probabilism generally held by Catholics. Döllinger would have it that it is nothing but "the art of transforming grave sins into venial ones, or even into blameless actions" (*Akad. Vorträge*, I., Nördlingen, 1888, 397). In like manner HARNACK (*Dogmengesch.*, III³. [1897], 671), who considers strict tutiorism as "alone moral" whereas probabilism is "the divorce of morals from morality, of religion from religion" [*Grundriss*], Freiburg and Leipzig, 1893, 350).

² DE BLIC, 304.

³ *Ibid.*, 315 *seqq.*

the Benedictine Milhard, saw a vast number of editions between the years 1596 and 1631, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux, De Sourdis, commanded all his priests to procure the book. An abridged manual of the science of casuistry by the secular priest Bertin Bertaud, a probabilistic work like that of Milhard, was reprinted twelve times between 1637 and 1639, and after that it had a further twenty-five impressions.¹ Escobar's more voluminous work had reached its 37th edition in the original Spanish when its author provided a Latin version by which he made it possible for Pascal to pour ridicule on it.² Among the Jesuits the most valuable contribution to the full development of the system came from the greatest of their theologians, Francis Suarez (*ob.* 1617)³; on the other hand among the first opponents of probabilism were the Jesuits Comitoli and Rebello.⁴ As typical representatives of excessive mildness in moral decisions two non-Jesuits are usually mentioned, viz. the Theatine Diana and the Cistercian Caramuel.⁵

On the whole the probabilist casuistry shows a humane tendency, an attempt not to make the path to heaven narrower than it need be, an understanding of man as he is and of the difficulties with which he has to contend in this life. The more immediate orientation towards the perfection of Christian life is left to the ascetics, but precisely by exactly circumscribing the sphere of strict duty, probabilism makes room for magnanimity and charity which aim at something higher than the mere fulfilment of duty. The moral teaching of the opponents of the Jesuits, the Jansenists, stood in sharpest possible contrast to these tendencies. According to Jansenism, inculpable ignorance never excuses from sin; any action which cannot be reconciled with the law, even though the agent is unaware of the fact, is imputed to him as sin because ignorance is the consequence of original sin,

¹ DEGERT, 403 *seq.*

² WEISS, 76.

³ SCHMITT, 119-129.

⁴ DE BLIC, 318; DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, 31 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 30.

hence it does not exculpate.¹ Such premisses leave, of course, no room for probabilism since according to them, however much a man may be convinced of the lawfulness of an action, it will always be sinful if it is not in material agreement with the law. Accordingly probabilism roused Jansenius to indignation²; in his view, in any doubt about the lawfulness or otherwise of a given action, there can be but one rule, namely to choose the safest course. In his opinion it is no mere counsel but a strict obligation, always to follow the opinion which excludes every infringement of the law, were it a purely material transgression. The soil of such opinions became the seed plot of rigorism which took, as it were, a tangible and bodily form in Pascal's life and teaching. The Christian life, according to Pascal, demands that the soul should be wholly detached from all love of the world; the soul must part even with what the heart holds dearest; in fact it must be made to die to itself so that it may turn to God and cling to Him alone.³ Such views, which no longer distinguish between strict Christian duty and higher perfection, help us to understand how it was that Pascal could only read with indignation the casuists' discussions on what was generally lawful. In reality, however, the exorbitant demands of the Jansenists are no longer human, for apart from a few exceptions, they consign the whole of mankind to everlasting damnation; they are unchristian because for no one had Christ sterner words than for those who laid intolerable burdens on men's shoulders; and even in the sphere of a higher perfection, they rob the fairest flowers of virtues of their lustre and fragrance; instead of being the spontaneous service of a loving heart, the highest ethical aspirations become a dull service of the pipe-clay type. It is one of Jansenism's many contradictions that it exalts the love of God as the one and only virtue, whereas in reality it exalts

¹ *Augustinus, tom., 2, l. 2, c. 2, p. 117.*

² *Ibid., lib. prooem., c. 8, 28.*

³ *Lettres provinciales, lettre 5, p. 56.*

fear and trembling as the most important thing in the life of its adherents.¹

Thus two ethical conceptions faced each other and between them compromise was impossible and a shock inevitable. However, the first blow came not from the Jansenists but from the Calvinists who, in the first instance, attacked not the Jesuits, but the Catholic Church. In 1631 their champion Dumoulin published a catalogue of objectionable propositions extracted by him from the works of Catholic theologians.² Ten years later, on the occasion of a dispute between the University of Paris and the Jesuits of that city, the same

¹ The passages in KREITEN in *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, XLV. (1893), 171. A. M. [OLINIER] says of Pascal: "La moindre contradiction le met hors de lui; esprit purement géométrique, il ne sait rien de la complexité de la nature humaine. Dans les Petites Lettres déjà ce défaut se fait jour, quand il a la prétention d'appliquer à l'humanité entière les règles d'une morale austère qu'à peine quelques hommes sur des millions pourraient pleinement pratiquer." (*Rev. crit.*, LVI. [1903], 52.) Of Jansenist morality in general the Franciscan F. BONAL (*Le chrétien du temps*, 1655) writes: According to the Jansenists "il n'y a rien de vertueux, s'il n'est pas héroïque, rien de chrétien, s'il n'est miraculeux, rien de tolérable, s'il n'est inimitable. Cela tient plus de la roideur du stoïque on du faste du phariséen que de la mansuétude du chrétien" . . . "à force de hérissier le christianisme et d'en faire une religion épineuse, effroyable et inaccessible, feront, peut-être avec quelque petit nombre d'austères suffisants, beaucoup d'infirmes désespérés et plus encore de libertins impenitents." In like manner Clement XI. judges severely the pretended moral strictness of the Jansenists: "Caritatem nulli impensius laudant, nulli impudentius violant; divinae gratiae veritatem praedicant, quam catholicus nullus negat, sed damnatis erroribus faventes spiritui gratiae contumeliam faciunt. Quod vero nos de pusillorum scandalo sollicitos plurimum excruciat, illud est, quod, dum plerique eorum haec faciunt vel consentiunt facientibus, adhuc specioso quodam eumentitae severitatis amictu se contegentes, rigidioris doctrinae gloriam captare non cessant." Bull *Pastoralis* of August 28, 1718, Bull XXI., 811.

² DE MEYER, 514.

idea was once more taken up.¹ In 1618, to the great disgust of the University, the Jesuits were given back their College in Paris. Thereupon the professors sought to render the tiresome rivals harmless in the teaching sphere by means of an ordinance which practically debarred the pupils of the Jesuits from all academic degrees. The dispute on this point broke out afresh in 1642 when the Jesuits demanded for their professors and pupils the same rights as those enjoyed by the other colleges. In order to deal them a blow, the speaker of the University, Godfrey Hermant, first drew the attention of wider circles to the moral teaching of the Jesuits. In his opinion that teaching was² "the chief stumbling block, a snare for the credulity of the people, a sweet poison ruining souls by flattering them, a deceptive charm hiding the strictness of divine justice; in one word, one of the most evident causes of the decadence of the last century." The Rector of the University of Paris, Saint-Amour, even addressed a memorial to Urban VIII. against the Jesuits' "innovations in dogma and morals".³ In the same year Arnauld also took the field. After the manner of Dumoulin he too drew up a list of Jesuit theses which, so he alleged, offend against Christian moral teaching in general, against the ten commandments, the teaching on the Sacraments, the Church, and the hierarchy.⁴ These writings seem to have achieved their purpose; at any rate the Jesuits succumbed in their fight with the University. In view of the fact that all the champions among the Paris Doctors, Hermant, Saint-Amour, Arnauld, were also leading Jansenists, their writings may be considered as an offensive on the part of the sect. After it had succeeded, the Jansenists remained silent on the subject of Jesuit moral teaching. Feeling against the Jesuits ran very high just then, not because of

¹ *Ibid.*, 374 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 378.

³ *Ibid.*, 378 *seq.*

⁴ *La théologie morale des Jésuites, Extraict fidèlement de leurs livres*, Paris, 1643, 1644 (*Œuvres*, XXIX., 1 *seqq.*). On the sources for Arnauld's writing cf. DE MEYER, 510-549.

their moral teaching, but because they were accused of having exported large quantities of wheat to Spain, thereby causing a famine.¹ Hermant's writings may have influenced the passions even of the common people, but Arnauld's learned work achieved practically nothing at all; in fact it was publicly burnt by order of the Parliament of Bordeaux.² A revulsion only took place when Arnauld's incriminations were recast by Pascal in the entertaining mould of his Provincial Letters. These Letters roused the clergy to indignation. The seventh Provincial Letter had hardly been published when the parish priests of Paris demanded the condemnation either of the incriminated moral theses or that of the Provincial Letters. An inquiry was however impossible owing to Paris being without an Archbishop at the time. Thereupon the parish priests of Rouen decided to take action. They summarized the Provincial Letters in thirty-eight propositions and then invited their colleagues of Paris to join them in their efforts to obtain their condemnation.³ From Paris the invitation was extended to the parochial clergy of other towns,⁴ and a request was made to the Assembly of the clergy, which happened to be sitting at the time, to take steps against the incriminated propositions, and even more so against probabilism which was the cause of all the mischief. The Assembly of the clergy refused to comply with the request and contented itself with ordering a reprint and the diffusion of St. Charles Borromeo's "Instruction" for the guidance of confessors.⁵

Thus the attack on probabilism was apparently repulsed,

¹ *Ibid.*, 380; *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, IV., 884 *seqq.*, V., i., *seqq.*

² As containing "des faussetés et des impostures" (DE MEYER, 391).

³ ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXX., xiii.

⁴ [MINARD], *Divers écrits des curés de Paris, Rouen, Nevers, Amiens, Evreux et Lisieux contre la morale des Jésuites* (1762); *Annales de la Société des soi-disans Jésuites*, IV., 843 *seqq.*; reprinted in the tendentious pamphlets of Récalde.

⁵ DEGERT, 406 *seqq.*

when the Jesuits, through a serious indiscretion, themselves put weapons into the hands of their adversaries. One of their number, Georges Pirot, a learned canonist, wrote a very clumsy defence of the casuists in which he harked back to such topics as Pascal had rendered ridiculous, in an endeavour to justify them, although he had the whole current of established opinion against him. The Superior of the Province of Paris refused his *imprimatur*, but the General granted it at the instigation of the French Assistant, a friend of Pirot's. Even so the Provincial hesitated to allow the book to go to press as the ablest Paris Jesuits were against it, but he ended by giving way. The book appeared towards the end of 1657 when it let loose a fresh storm against the Jesuits and their teaching, for it was naturally felt that the Jesuits really held the opinions which Pascal had attacked.¹ For a whole year a fresh mass of pamphlets appeared, whilst the parish priests of Paris, Rouen, and many other dioceses renewed their protests. Once a start had been made by the Bishops of Tulle and Orleans, not a month went by between September, 1658, and the following May, without the publication of one or more episcopal condemnations of Pirot.² Many Bishops condemned probabilism together with other theses; a number of them described it as the source of all evil.³ On August 21st, 1659, the episcopal condemnations were supplemented by one of the Roman Inquisition.⁴

Pirot's condemnation by about twenty prelates might have been neutralized by the silence of the remaining hundred Bishops of France when, seven years later, there was published at Lyons a French edition of a Spanish work which fanned the smouldering fire into fresh flame. In 1654 a Spanish Dominican published at Coimbra a book against the moral teaching of the Jesuits. He was attacked in his turn, in 1657, by the Jesuit Mateo de Moya writing under the *nom*

¹ RAPIN, III., 14-16.

² DEGERT, 409 *seqq.*; SOMMERVOGEL, VI., 857-863.

³ DEGERT, 411.

⁴ REUSCH, 486.

de plume of Amadeus Guimenius, who endeavoured to show that the incriminated propositions were either not taught by the Jesuits, or not by them alone, but that, on the contrary, they were advocated in particular by the Dominicans. Unfortunately he also sought to excuse or justify much that was not worth justifying.¹

On February 3rd, 1665, the Sorbonne censured de Moya in the severest terms, describing him as a deadly enemy of the peace of the Church and an apologist of every kind of crime and abomination.² The censure grants that here and there de Moya expressly repudiates the propositions quoted by him, but as against that it is said that, for him any opinion is probable if it is held by teachers of repute ; in this way all the propositions of his book are declared probable ; accordingly the Faculty condemned them all, for they wished to hit not alone Moya, but all the advocates of a degenerate moral teaching.³

The Sorbonne's action was to have an even more important sequel. The Faculty had taken the liberty to repudiate likewise a proposition in de Moya's book and in one by the Carmelite Vernant, concerning papal infallibility. This the Pope could not suffer in silence. As he told the French ambassador,⁴ such teaching aimed at reducing him to being no more than the Bishop of Rome, and if pontifical infallibility was of no value, the papal decrees against Jansenism lost all their authority. Accordingly Alexander VII. protested at once to Louis XIV., and when his representations remained unheeded he published a Bull, on June 16th, 1665, on the two censures passed on Vernant and Guimenius. The Bull declares the condemnation by the Sorbonne null and void

¹ ASTRÁIN, VI., 150 ; DEGERT, 411 *seqq.* ; REUSCH, 497 ; DUPIN, III., 178-345 ; D'ARGENTRÉ, III., 106-114 ; III., 2, 352 *seqq.* ; SOMMERVOGEL, V., 1349-1355.

² DUPIN, 274.

³ " Afin que du même coup de censure elle ne punit pas un écrivain seulement, mais aussi tous les auteurs trompeurs quels qu'ils soient." DUPIN, 277.

⁴ Bourlemont to the King, June 16, 1665, in GÉRIN, II., ii.

and reserves to the Holy See the further examination of the affair. Among the propositions on which the Sorbonne is said to have passed a "presumptuous" censure, mention is made of "such as are concerned with the standard of moral actions".¹ Pascal was therefore not mistaken when he saw in the Bull a papal confirmation of probabilism.² The Pope's decision furnished Parliament with a pretext for complicating the situation still further. After a venomous speech by the Attorney-General Talon, on July 29th, it prohibited the Bull; no one was to be permitted to defend the censured propositions and this decision was to be promulgated in all houses of theological studies. The Sorbonne was invited to go on with its censures as occasion served.³ The Assembly of the clergy would have had all the more cause for protesting against a parliamentary decision in ecclesiastical matters, as Talon, on December 12th, had expressly claimed for secular rulers the right to pronounce in matters of faith and Church discipline. Against this claim the Bishops protested to the

¹ "Censura praesumptuosa notantur [by the Sorbonne] aliquae propositiones eaeque praesertim, quae ad . . . actionum moralium regulam pertinent, et aliae, quae et gravissimorum scriptorum auctoritate et perpetuo catholicorum usu nituntur," Bull XVII., 369.

² "Remarques sur la bulle contre les censure (*Œuvres*, X., 743) : puisqu'il appuye en particulier le principe de la probabilité qui est cette règle des mœurs dont il est parlé dans la bulle." Cf. DEGERT, 413. For the rest Arnauld's work is based on a gross distortion. From the passage in the Bull quoted in the preceding note, Arnauld concludes (X., 741) : "Le Pape n'a pas craint d'approuver . . . toutes ces propositions censurées . . . Ainsi . . . si l'on dit que c'est une erreur et une impiété de soutenir qu'il soit permis de tuer en secret un homme qui médit de nous, on est téméraire, scandaleux et présomptueux." Arnauld's opening remarks are : "La nouvelle bulle . . . est peut-être la chose la plus monstrueuse et la plus étonnante que l'on ait jamais su dans l'Église catholique . . ."

³ DEGERT, 414. The parliamentary decree was only a provisional one and was only passed by 14 against 11 votes; GÉRIN, II., 15 *seqq.*

King, not altogether unsuccessfully, but they did nothing to uphold the papal Bull.¹ The King, through his ambassador, had sought to induce the Pope to withdraw the Bull.² Alexander VII., naturally enough, would not hear of this; judgment on Guimenius, which he had reserved to himself, was pronounced when the Index forbade his book.³

The Roman Congregation had long since paid a great deal of attention to all works on moral theology, but their criticism differed fundamentally from that of the Jansenists. No fault was found with probabilism and a few mistaken solutions were not deemed a reason for a wholesale condemnation of the whole of casuist literature. Thus the year 1603 saw the condemnation of a small casuistical book by the Jesuit Emanuel Sa, which gave solutions in alphabetical order of cases of conscience, without lengthy explanations. The Congregation ordered a revision of a number of passages, but in its improved form the book was allowed to be reprinted nearly thirty times in as many years.⁴ Other books fared in like manner. Bauny's book, so violently attacked by Pascal in 1656, had already been condemned, and that unreservedly, in 1640; in the same way some objectionable statements in the work of the Jesuit Amico—another victim of Pascal—had been dealt with by the Inquisition in 1654.⁵ Consequently, if their only concern was the purity of moral teaching, Arnauld and Pascal might well have left the care of it to the Roman Congregations.

Alexander VII.'s zeal against the exaggerations of moral theologians yielded in no way to that of his predecessors. On the occasion of the Dominican General Chapter in 1656, the Pope informed the Fathers of his weariness of the mass of new opinions with which men diluted the teaching of the Gospel and played with the human conscience, to the detriment

¹ *Ibid.*, 17 *seqq.*

² *Ibid.*, 36 *seqq.*

³ April 10, 1666; see REUSCH, 500.

⁴ REUSCH, II., 312.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 316.

of the soul. For that reason he desired the Dominican theologians to compile a work which, basing itself on the teaching of St. Thomas, would oppose a barrier to the prevailing licence of manners and opinions.¹ The Pope's wish was destined to have far-reaching consequences: the whole Order of Friars Preachers forsook probabilism in favour of probabiliorism; since that time no Dominican has advocated the probabilist system.² This was carrying obedience too far because Alexander VII. personally inclined towards probabilism³ and in the above-mentioned Bull he had spoken approvingly of it.⁴ It is said that he had had in mind a special Constitution in which he would have laid down the principles by which cases of conscience were to be solved; however, on the advice of Cardinal Pallavicino, he contented himself with the condemnation, on September 24th, 1665, and March 18th, 1666, of a number of propositions which went too far. Some of these forty-five condemned propositions fringe on some of the theses attacked by Pascal⁵ others are important for the delimitation of probabilism⁶; the greater part of the remaining ones refer to the duties of priests, the administration of the Sacrament of Penance, the recitation of the Breviary and the celebration of Mass. In the introduction the decree speaks in severe terms of the ever-growing "arbitrariness of extravagant minds". Opinions contrary to the strictness of Christian discipline and the salvation of souls were being rescued from oblivion or formulated anew, in opposition to the simplicity of the Gospel and the teaching of the Fathers; if this new way of thinking were adopted by the faithful as a safe rule, terrible injury would be done to the Christian life.

¹ Vinc. Baron, O. P. in ASTRÁIN, VI., 146; DE BLIC, 330; DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 38.

² MANDONNET, in *Dict. de théol.*, VI., 919.

³ TEXILLUS (in DE BLIC, 330) speaks of it as a well-known fact (*notorium*).

⁴ See p. 258, n. 1.

⁵ n. 1, 17 *seq.*

⁶ n. 26, 27.

For the rest, previously to this the authorities of the Society of Jesus had spoken in similar terms. As early as 1617 their General, Vitelleschi, had protested against the excessive liberalism of some Jesuits and warned them to stand by such opinions as were safest and were maintained by the best theologians.¹ In 1651 Vitelleschi's second successor, Piccolomini, received complaints against men who inclined towards excessively liberal views and who promoted new opinions or revived obsolete ones.² At the next election of a General one of the requisite qualities demanded of a candidate was that he should have the strength to restrain his subjects from lax opinions.³ The German General, Goswin Nickel, repeated these warnings in 1654 and again on May 12th, 1657. In the latter document there are unmistakable allusions to the Provincial Letters. "No accusation," we read, "was put forward with such an air of triumph by the Jansenists and other opponents as that we teach lax moral principles. Hence let no pretext be given to those who are on the lookout for a pretext! Our theologians are reproached with attaching too much weight to subtleties and paying inadequate attention to piety; they are said to have drifted far from the well-known strictness of the first Jesuits; to have widened the path of sin and the decline of morals by representing as probable and lawful much that at one time was thought unlawful, more especially in questions concerning the duel, the fifth commandment, calumny, usury, and simony. Many conscientious persons were afraid of putting themselves under the guidance of the Jesuits because they preferred wholesome strictness to perilous mildness"⁴

The success of the Provincial Letters sufficiently shows by itself alone that the severity of the Jansenist principles, excessive though it was, operated in favour of the party.

¹ DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, I., 32.

² *Instit. Soc. Iesu.*, II., Prægae, 1705, 226.

³ "[Ne] laxi adeo sint in opinando circa res morales, cum harum disciplinarum dedecore, conscientiae et externorum offensione" (in ASTRÁIN, VI., 145).

⁴ *Ibid.*, 146.

Despite Alexander VII.'s personal views, his pontificate marks the opening of a long-drawn fight against probabilism. In France, from Pascal's time onwards, public opinion turned against it and the papal decrees were interpreted not merely as a condemnation of exaggerations, but as a repudiation of the moral system that had prevailed until then, and after Alexander VII., the powerful Dominican Order also opposed it. It was only with St. Alphonsus Liguori that ideas became gradually clarified.

(8.)

Archbishop Boonen of Malines who, in consequence of his preventions in favour of the Jansenists, had created so many difficulties under Innocent X., died on June 30th, 1655, a few weeks before the elevation of Alexander VII. His opponent, the internuncio Andrea Mangelli, survived him but a short time, for he too died on October 31st of that year.¹ The University of Louvain soon took up its old game under the new Pope also. On August 23rd, 1656, the professor of theology, VanWerm, arranged for a defence of some theses on grace which were, to say the least, equivocal.² Alexander VII. saw himself obliged to complain to the new Governor of the Netherlands, John of Austria, that, in contravention of the prohibition of the Holy See, the condemned Jansenist propositions were still being defended and that to this end the sense of the condemnation was being distorted.³ Mangelli's

¹ Nunciature report of December 18, 1655, “*Excerpta ex codice s. Officii, cuius inscriptio : Acta in Belgio circa Constitutionem damnantem quinque propositiones Iansenii à. 1653-1656 ” (Schill's remains).

² *Ibid.*

³ On December 23, 1656, in FLEURY, LXII., 326. Already in his *letter of thanks, dated August 21, 1655, for the Faculty's congratulations on his elevation, Alexander VII. inserts a warning “ ut Apost. Sedis decreta reverenter accipiant ”. *Epist.*, a., I, Papal Sec. Arch.

successor, internuncio Girolamo de' Vecchi of Siena, Abbot of S. Maria di Monte Reale, experienced great difficulty in getting an unequivocal recognition of the Bull of Innocent X.; the University sought to save itself by declaring that it hoped for a new Bull from Alexander VII. which would give a fuller explanation of the definition of his predecessor.¹

A new Bull of Alexander VII. appeared as a matter of fact, but it was only the well-known decree deciding that the five propositions were really Jansenius' and that they were condemned as understood by him. Fresh difficulties arose at once at Louvain. On April 7th, 1657, the new Bull was read to the University and unanimously accepted by all the Faculties, and it was decided to promulgate it solemnly.² This seemed unequivocal enough, yet intrigues began immediately. On the plea of making quite sure that at Louvain nothing was taught in opposition to the papal definition, and with a view to removing every suspicion, the theological Faculty, on its part, resolved to present to the Pope a statement of its constant teaching in regard to the five propositions and to declare that it would never deviate from it, and especially that it would not swerve from its censure of Lessius of the years 1588 and 1613, unless the Church or the Pope should decide otherwise; that the aim of this step was the desire to make sure, by a judgment of the Holy See, that the University taught the true doctrine. Internuncio De' Vecchi was not greatly edified by this exuberant submissiveness. When Sinnich and Pontan, who were both suspected of Jansenism, brought him the text of the declaration on April 12th, he observed that either the Faculty felt hit by the new Bull, in which case the declaration was a proof of disobedience, or it did not feel hit, and in that case the declaration was superfluous; it

¹ RAPIN, III., 30. *Brief of November 9, 1655, conferring on De' Vecchi full powers for a judicial procedure and, in fact, the powers of a nuncio, in the *Extracta e codice s. Inquisitionis continente Acta*, a. 1657, f. 519 (Schill remains).

² What follows is based on a report of De' Vecchi, *ibid.*, after f. 479.

should, accordingly, be struck out of the acts whilst they themselves submitted in all simplicity. Thereupon the Faculty cancelled the declaration but informed the internuncio that this had been done because the Pope's representative had reassured the Faculty by guaranteeing that its teaching would not be touched and that any attack in this respect would find an opponent in him. However, the purpose of this information was really too obvious. De' Vecchi received orders from Rome to inform the Faculty, in presence of a notary and witnesses, that he had not in any way attested that the Louvain Doctors agreed with the Bull. The Pope's will was perfectly clear, hence his decision must be accepted without reservation or explanation.

De' Vecchi put off the execution of this order until after the solemn promulgation of the Bull by the University because, as he explained, in this affair of the Jansenists the whole country modelled itself on Louvain, hence it was best not to clash with the promulgation.¹ Only on June 29th did he carry out the Pope's command.² The whole University submitted and only the inner theological Faculty, consisting of Van Werm, Pontan, Sinnich, Van Vianen and Laurent, who was absent, refused to withdraw the declaration, but they were overruled by the remaining divines.³ The Rector wrote⁴ that the latest papal definition had met with unanimous and unconditional submission, and on July 13th the theological Faculty also announced its assent to the decision of the rest of the University.⁵

For all that De' Vecchi did not feel reassured. Past experience led him to think that the submission of the Faculty was one of words rather than deeds.⁶ He was obliged to have the Bull printed a second time for the benefit of the

¹ *Letter of June 23, 1657, *ibid.*

² *De' Vecchi to the University, June 29, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 488.

³ **Id.*, July 7, 1657, *ibid.*

⁴ *Of July 1, 1657, *ibid.*

⁵ **Ibid.*, f. 502.

⁶ " *Più tosto di parole che di fatti." De' Vecchi, July 21, 1657, *ibid.*

Vicariate of Malines because the first impression had been maliciously tampered with.¹ On his part the Rector of Louvain begged for some copies, on the plea that the University was too poor to have it printed; as a matter of fact the printing cost no more than two scudi whereas the "poor" University had spent a hundred thousand scudi on the spread of Jansenism! The same Rector had described his opponents as traitors because they corresponded with the internuncio.² The truth was, as De' Vecchi wrote, that every one of the Jansenistically inclined superiors only received the Bull with the utmost reluctance.³ Van Werm, whose theses gave the internuncio occasion for legal proceedings against him, is described by De' Vecchi as so hardened in his opinions as to be quite incorrigible, and as a man who had recourse to the most extravagant expedients in order to deny that the five propositions stood in Jansenius' book.⁴ Two delegates who had been sent to Rome to promote the cause of the University rendered themselves so suspect in the Eternal City that they were subjected to a domiciliary visit.⁵ Nothing of a nature to incriminate them personally was discovered, on the other hand a great many letters of the University were found which clearly established its Jansenist sentiments.

Like his predecessor Mangelli,⁶ De' Vecchi considered the

¹ " *Mentre la prima volta vi havevano usato malitia." De' Vecchi, June 23, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 431.

² *Letter of July 7, 1657, *ibid.*

³ *Non vi è stato alcun Superiore aderente al Jansenismo che non mi sia bisognato tirarlo come la serpente all'incanto ad una piena notificatione et accettatione della bolla." De' Vecchi, June 23, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 431.

⁴ He is " così allucinato che sia incorrigibile quanto al intelletto, e che al più si possa sperare d'obbligarlo col timore a tenere in se i suoi errori ". The texts of Jansenius in question he explains, " sciocchissimamente con sensi diversi dal genuino." Letter of July 28, 1657, *ibid.*

⁵ *Report of June 17, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 79 *seqq.* Cf. RAPIN, III., 31.

⁶ Cf. Vol. XXX., p. 333 *seqq.*

so-called inner theological Faculty of the University as the chief seat of the evil. This body had become the real parent of Jansenism because it completed itself by co-optation, hence always with Jansenists; accordingly, in his opinion, this particular Faculty should be utterly done away with.¹ Meanwhile the internuncio summoned it to receive the Bull as the University had done² and he likewise asked Rome to authorize him to regulate the procedure by which the College kept up its full complement.³ Thereupon a Brief was sent to the Governor, Archduke John, requesting him not to admit anyone to a vacant post at the University who did not profess the orthodox teaching.⁴

On January 28th, 1658, the Archduke, by express order of the King of Spain, addressed a circular to the Bishops⁵ to the effect that it was the King's will, as well as his own, that the papal Bulls concerning the five propositions should be unequivocally observed and that no one should presume to call in question the declarations issued regarding them. The Bishops were to punish any infringement of these decrees and to report to him from time to time on the subject; the help of the secular arm would not fail them.

Meanwhile a fresh dispute had arisen between the secular and the ecclesiastical authority. On September 6th, 1657, the Roman Inquisition condemned a number of Jansenist books and the Archbishop of Malines had the decree promulgated without asking for the *placet* of the civil authority. There-

¹ “*Tutto il male sta nel collegio della stretta facoltà theologica, ora consistente in sei persone, che bisogneria estirparlo funditus.” June 23 and July 7, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 431.

² *Letter to Rome, dated July 14, 1657, *ibid.*

³ *July 21, *ibid.*

⁴ *Brief of August 25, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 520. A similar *Brief was sent to the Archduke on October 13, 1657: “Let him see to it that sound professors are appointed at Louvain and that ‘janseniani a gradibus et honoribus arceantur.’” *Epist.*, Alexandri VII., a. III.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ **Excerpta e codice s. Inquisitionis continente Acta a. 1658* (Schill remains), f. 398.

upon the Council of Brabant declared the promulgation null and void,¹ whilst the Roman Inquisition did the same for the nullity decree of the Council of Brabant.² When the internuncio brought the affair to the notice of Archduke John, the latter replied that he must report the matter to Madrid,³ which was also the conclusion arrived at by a commission consisting of two Spanish gentlemen, of President Hovyne and of the Archbishop of Malines, which had studied the question.⁴ However, De' Vecchi had the decree of the Inquisition affixed on the Chancellery of Brabant and two churches even before the arrival of the King's answer.⁵ The Council of Brabant accordingly resolved to expostulate with the internuncio and to report to the Archduke ⁶ and at the same time to inform the latter that they were determined to issue a fresh nullity decree.⁷ However, previously to this the Governor had forbidden the Council to act in this matter without him ⁸ and on July 6th he repeated his prohibition of any further step, as it was necessary to wait for the King's decision.⁹ This came towards the end of the year: it was to the effect that the decree of the Index prohibiting Jansenist writings, which had led to the outbreak of the dispute, was to be promulgated at once.¹⁰

It goes without saying that Rome had not remained silent in the face of these encroachments by the Council. In a letter

¹ *Edict of November 23, 1657, *ibid.*, f. 383.

² *On March 14, 1658, *ibid.*, f. 389.

³ *De' Vecchi, April 13, 1658, *ibid.*

⁴ **Id.*, on May 11, 1658, *ibid.*

⁵ *On May 13, 1658, *id.*, on May 17, *ibid.*

⁶ **Ibid.*, f. 443.

⁷ *May 22, 1658, *ibid.*

⁸ *De' Vecchi, May 18, 1658, *ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 445.

¹⁰ *Letter of the Madrid nuncio, November 13, 1658, *ibid.*, 472. *Ibid.*, 500 *seq.*, two memorials by Rubeis and Laurea showing that in Belgium the *Placet* could not be extended to dogmatic questions.

to the Archduke¹ the Pope gave expression to his grief at the Council's recalcitrance against Rome's prohibition of heretical books. Papal Constitutions and the definitions of General Councils, the letter said, were not subject to the *placet* of the State. Let the Archduke cancel the Council's prohibition and have it removed from the registers so that no trace may remain of it: meanwhile the Pope would take no further steps in the matter.

¹ *March 30, 1658, *Epist. Alexandri VII.*, a. III.-V., n. 84.
A *Brief of August 7, 1660, once more expresses the hope that the University would submit to the measures against the Jansenist errors, *ibid.*, a. VI.-VIII., Papal Sec. Arch.

CHAPTER VI.

ALEXANDER VII.—A PROMOTER OF SCIENCE AND ART.

(1.)

As a young man Fabio Chigi had essayed the poet's craft ¹ and a special love of literature accompanied him through his maturer years. As Ferdinand of Fürstenberg, subsequently Bishop of Paderborn, reported in the year 1657, he was in the habit even as Pope and during the hottest hours of the day to forgo the customary siesta of the Italians. He invited instead, as it were in rotation, some of his poetically endowed friends such as Natale Rondinini, Alessandro Pollini, Agostino Favoriti and Fürstenberg himself, and during the midday meal and afterwards he would discourse with them and Sforza Pallavicino for a couple of hours on literary and scientific topics.² Thus on one occasion, during this time of recreation, he discussed for a whole hour some verses of Ovid with Favoriti, Magalotti and the learned Cistercian Ughelli, and he never appeared more cheerful as when, over these humanistic and philological trifles, he seemed able to forget his disputes with Louis XIV.³ On another occasion,

¹ Of him we have *Philomathi Musae inveniles*, ed. by Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, Cologne, 1645, by Ferdinand von Fürstenberg at Antwerp, 1654, and at Amsterdam, 1660; édition de luxe, Paris, 1656 (RICHTER in *Zeitschr. für vaterländ. Gesch. und Altertumskunde Westfalens*, LVI, 42). Cf. in Chigi Arch., Rome, the codex *Scritti di vari soggetti* with autographs of Alexander VII., a poem *Iter Aquisgrano Romam*, 1651, a *Discorso sopra l'erario del Papa*, sketches for consistorial and other addresses, and a dissertation: *Che cosa sia più riguardevole nel cavaliere, il valor o la prudenza*.

² Ferd. von Fürstenberg to Francis van der Veken, June 23. 1657, in RICHTER, *loc. cit.*, 43.

³ Ferd. Raggi in NERI, in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 662.

when conversing with the learned Athanasius Kircher, he put to him a question of an archæological kind which prompted the latter to write a formal dissertation for the Pope's benefit.¹ Writing of his stay in Rome between 1652-61, Ferdinand of Fürstenberg says that he still cherished the most delightful memories of that golden age when "under the government of Alexander VII., the sciences and the fine arts reached their highest efflorescence and men of learning vied with one another in exalting, in their writings, the Pope's munificence".² Cardinal Chigi also had an Academy in his "Vigna".³

In point of fact Alexander VII. only felt really happy among scholars and humanists and he favoured them in every way. Among the letters of Janus Nicius Erythraeus there are many addressed to "his beloved friend" Tirreno, who was no other than Fabio Chigi⁴; it was this "beloved friend" who made possible the publication of Erythraeus' *Pinacotheca*.⁵ During the time of his nunciature in Cologne, Chigi extended his patronage in a particular manner to the Jesuit Van der Veken, a professor of theology in that city and the author of a learned theological work.⁶ He kept up a

¹ " *Il P. Atanasio Kircher fra otto giorni trasmetterà a piedi di V. S. un intiero opuscolo sopra i dubbii da lei mossigli intorno alle figure de' numeri. Serviranno i foglii del padre per materia de' quegli innocenti et eruditi trattenimenti che a. V. B^{ne} sono il divertimento della Villa et ad ogni altro sovrano anche pontifice sarebbero paruti occupationi stentate e soggetti da porsi tra le cure più gravi." Oliva to Alexander VII., April 20, 1662, *Chig. C. III.*, 63.

² *Autobiography*, in RICHTER, *loc. cit.*, 44.

³ *Accademia delli sfaccendati*; its secretary, about 1655, was Benedetto de Rubeis, a former internuncio at Vienna (information supplied by Canon Luigi Delbello, from the Archives at Montegiorgio [Ascoli]).

⁴ L. CERBONI, *Un umanista nel secento: Giano Nicio Eritreo*, Città di Castello, 1907, 2; cf. 36 seq., 77 seq., 105.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁶ HURTER, *Nomenclator*, III., 49. Van der Veken's **Epistolae Latinae ad Alexandrum VII.*, 1642-1663, 2 vols., Bibl. Chigi,

correspondence with Veken and eventually called him to Rome. He likewise gave proof of his gratitude to his teacher, the celebrated canonist Clement Merlin to whom he set up a monument at St. Mary Major.¹ If he thus honoured the exponents of scholastic theology and Canon Law, his stay in the North had likewise convinced him that the new age could not afford to neglect the study of Church history and archæology. During his nunciature at Cologne Fabio Chigi corresponded with the archæologist and historian Erycius Puteanus (Hendrick van Putte).² At this time too he gave assistance to the Bollandists, encouraged them by letter to continue their great work and as Pope inquired about its progress. At his invitation Henschen and Papebroch came to Rome in December 1660, when Alexander VII. furthered their labours in every way.³ Thus, notwithstanding his predilection for humanism, the Pope had realized that the important element in the writing of history is not the rhetorical effect but the presentment of truth. Hence he encouraged writers who were no humanists but research workers. On January 15th, 1661, the learned Greek Leo Allatius was able to announce to a friend that he had been named guardian of the Vatican Library.⁴ The author of the voluminous history of the Italian dioceses,⁵ the Cistercian Ughelli (*ob.* 1670), was one of the more intimate friends of the Pope to whom he was permitted to dedicate his sixth volume. Ughelli would have been raised to the episcopate had not the modest scholar declined the honour. The Jesuit Athanasius Kircher,

a. II., 32 seq. *Ibid.*, F., IV., 98-99. Van der Veken's **Ephemerides sanctorum*, 1643-1659, with dedication to Alexander VII.

¹ POSSE, *Sacchi*, 128 seq. A poem of Alexander VII. to Merlins in *Musae iuveniles*, n. 4.

² Five **letters* of Chigi to Puteanus, 1643 and 1644, in *Barb.* 2575, Vat. Lib.

³ *Acta Sanctorum*, February, Vol. I., in the dedication to Alexander VII.; see PELSTER in *Stimmen der Zeit.*, 1c (1920), 536.

⁴ **Cod. Barb.*, XLV., 18, p. 275, Vat. Lib.

⁵ *Italia sacra*, Rome, 1644-1662; *Freib. Kirchenlex*, XII*, 183 seq.

who was held in great repute in his time and who attempted to decipher the hieroglyphs of the Roman obelisks, received from the Pope financial help to enable him to publish the result of his studies which, however, could not then yield a useful result. For the costly printing of Kircher's *Egyptian Oedipus*, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, Coptic and Samaritan type had to be specially cast.¹ Alexander VII. likewise took an interest in the rising natural and technical sciences. The famous astronomer Cassini was summoned to Rome as the Pope desired to have his opinion on various questions,² and a Dutch expert was asked for his advice on the oft-attempted draining of the Pontine Marshes.³ His friend, Sforza Pallavicino, the historian of the Council of Trent and an acknowledged master of the Italian tongue, he honoured by calling him into the Church's Supreme Senate.⁴

How greatly he had at heart the advance of knowledge Alexander showed by his solicitude for the Roman University, the so-called Sapienza, the building of which was completed by him. For over a century and a half work on a worthy seat for the Roman University had been in progress, but the execution of the plan advanced only by very slow degrees.

¹ KIRCHER'S *Autobiography*, translated by N. Seng, Fulda, 1901, ch. 7. Appreciation of Kircher in DUHR, *Gesch.*, III., 592 seqq.; NOACK, *Deutschtum*, I., 189 seq.

² RENAZZI, III., 139. An unfriendly attitude on the part of the Pope towards astronomy might be deducted from a remark of F. X. KRAUS; following H. REUSCH, (*Bonner Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1870, 813; cf. 1867, 752 seqq., he notes in his *Synchronistische Tabellen zur Kirchengeschichte* (Trèves, 1894, 142) for the year 1664: "Alexander VII. condemned the Copernican system as false in a Bull." However there exists no formal Bull against Copernicus. All that Alexander VII. did was to confirm by a Bull the previous decrees of the Index, hence also that against Copernicus, but this confirmation gave the decrees of the Index no higher authority than that which they enjoyed as decrees of the Index. Cf. *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CII., 345.

³ See p. 31.

⁴ See p. 130.

Alexander VII. may well claim that he was the first to take energetic steps in this matter and to have carried the work to its consummation. He assigned to the Rector, Emmanuele Vizzani, the sum of 10,000 scudi to defray current expenditure on the new structure.¹ The existing building was promptly completed and a new wing added²; the only thing still lacking was a suitable room for the accommodation of the students between lectures. For this purpose Alexander VII. provided a large hall and he also remedied the want of a large library. In the small town of Urbania the Minor Clerics Regular had inherited from the last Duke of Urbino a collection of books which they could not use. After indemnifying the town and the community the Pope had the books transported to Rome by Faustus Naironus, thus providing professors and students with a library which he further enriched by the addition, in particular, of the valuable books collected by the Benedictine Abbot Constantine Gaetano for the use of the Benedictine hostel.³ A bronze bust of the Pope by Guidi in

¹ *Chirografo* of April 7, 1659, in RENAZZI, III., 254.

² *Ibid.*, 153, *Archigymnasii Romanae Sapientiae ab Alexandro VII. P. M. perfecti, lustrati, consecrati postridie idus novembres descriptio*, Romae, 1661; KEYSSLER, II., 17, 32; MORONI, LXXXV., 41 *seqq.*; AMEYDEN, *De pietate Romana*, 108 *seq.*; *L'Université de Rome*, Rome, 1927. Various *documents: *Sapienza e sua fabbrica*, in Chigi Library, H., III., 62; also p. 15; ceremonial for Alexander VII.'s visit on November 7, 1660; pp. 16-18: number of professors from 1539-1658 (highest number in 1549 is 40, lowest in 1552, 19); p. 25, 36, 40; list of professors 1658-1660; p. 43: plans for reform, p. 57; "Alla lettura delle controversie dogmatiche concorrono P. Macedo, Osservante, P. Bonaventura Bontempi min. convent., P. Peri min. convent."; p. 64: "Concorrenti per la cattedra di matematica"; p. 144: *Fabrica e diversi conti*, p. 175: "Costruzione della nuova chiesa per Alessandro VII."; p. 186: "Giardino a S. Pietro Montorio."

³ RENAZZI, III., 156 (*cf.* 135); *Lettere di M. Giustiniani*, Roma, 1675, 134 *seq.* Bull for erection of the library and the appointment of the librarian and two keepers in CARAFA, *De gymnasio Romano*, Romae, 1751, 600-607; NARDUCCI, *Catalogus Bibliothecae Alexandrinae*, Romae, 1872, 36-41.

this so-called *Biblioteca Alessandrina*, together with an appropriate inscription,¹ perpetuated the memory of this fresh service to knowledge which Alexander VII. further enhanced by the restoration of a botanical garden which had been laid out in the 16th century but had become a complete wilderness with the lapse of time.² The internal development of the University was ensured by the foundation of six new chairs; four of which were devoted to the law. In all probability they must be considered as a renewal of an older foundation. A fifth chair was devoted to controversial theology and a sixth to the teaching of Church history; the latter was an entirely new creation of far-seeing Alexander VII.³ On September 29th, 1659, the Pope inspected everything and on November 16th, 1660, the University church of St. Yves, the work of Borromini,⁴ was solemnly consecrated by Lorenzo Gavotti, Bishop of Savona. On the following day the Pope personally inaugurated the new University. Of the professors who delivered speeches on this occasion, two bear well known names, viz. the professors of Syrian and Arabic Abraham Ecchelensis and Ludivico Maracci.⁵

Besides the *Libreria Alessandrina* another and much more important collection was taken to Rome in 1657 and incorporated in the *Vaticana* by order of Alexander VII., namely the library of the Dukes of Urbino whose heirs in law the Popes now were. At all events, treasures of this kind were far safer in Rome and more readily accessible to scholars. The library was valued at 7,400 scudi but the Pope paid the city of Urbino the sum of 10,000 scudi by way of compensation.⁶

In those days it was not very difficult to collect valuable

¹ RENAZZI, III., 255. ² *Ibid.*, 158.

³ *Ibid.*, 159; cf. 179 seq.

⁴ See below, p. 307.

⁵ RENAZZI, III., 166 seq.

⁶ A. VALENTI, *Sul trasferimento della Biblioteca ducale di Urbino a Roma*, Urbino, 1878 (Defence of the Pope against the criticism of *Riv. Europ.*, of October 1, 1877); F. RAFFAELLI, *La isuparziale e veritiera istoria della unione della Bibl. ducale*

manuscripts; their owners no longer attached the same importance to their possession since the same text could be had in printed books, and much more legibly. Alexander VII., who could appreciate the value of this heritage of bygone days, was a keen collector of manuscripts. As a young man, in his native Siena, he had examined all the literary remains of the Sienese Popes Pius II. and III., and what was most valuable he had added to his own library.¹ His travels in France and Germany enabled him to acquire many more such treasures; to them were added manuscripts from Italian monasteries; in this way the Biblioteca Chigi, one of Rome's most valuable libraries, was built up.²

Alexander VII. rendered yet another important service to the historical studies of future ages. Until his time it had been taken for granted that on relinquishing office the Secretary of State kept as his own property the reports of the nuncios and other official documents, leaving them to his family by will. During his term of office as Secretary of State, Alexander VII. had collected documents of this kind for the Holy See, and as Pope he established special archives for them, viz. the "Archives of the Secretariate of State"; he also created special archives for the Acts of the Roman Congregations, which until then had been preserved by the secretaries at their private lodgings.³

d'Urbino alla Vaticana di Roma, Fermo, 1877; FRASCHETTI in *Fanfulle della Domenica* of May 29, 1907; cf. on the library *Giornale stor. di letteratura ital*, XLIX., 467; STORNAJOLI, *Codices Urbinatenses graeci*, Romae, 1895.

¹ CUGNONI in *Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della classe di scienze morali*, etc., VIII. (1882 seq.), 319-686 seq.

² J. GIORGI, *ibid.*, *Rendiconti*, XXVII. (April 21, 1918), 151 seqq.; MABILLON, *Iter Italicum*, 91; GACHARD, *La bibliothèque des princes Chigi à Rome*, in *Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'hist.*, 3 series, X., Bruxelles, 1869, 219 seqq.; A. MUÑOZ in the periodical *Il Marzono*, January 28, 1917.

³ G. MARINI, *Memorie istoriche*, 31; LAEMMER, *Mon. Vatic.*, 451; TAJA, 483; NOUAES, X., 174 seq. Cf. the draft of an inscription (in I. B. PITRA, *Analecta novissima*, I., Paris, 1885,

The example of the occupant of the Apostolic See as a patron of scholarship could not fail to have a beneficial and encouraging effect on the pursuit of knowledge in the Eternal City. It became now the fashion for Roman prelates to take up collecting ancient manuscripts.¹ Ughelli's *Italia sacra* was written prior to a work of the same kind by the French Maurists, viz. *Gallia Christiana*, and if France can claim the honour of having created the first literary periodical with *Le Journal des Savants*, Rome could soon boast a similar organ with the *Giornale de' Letterati*,² the first of its kind on the Apennine Peninsula. The famous Kircher Museum also dates from the reign of Alexander VII. Alfonso Donnino, a native of Tuscany but living in Rome in the capacity of "Secretary of the Roman People", had got together a collection of curious and rare objects of every kind which he left to the Roman College. Athanasius Kircher was appointed guardian of the collection which, in the sequel, was still further enriched until its dissolution in 1913, when its contents were distributed to other museums.³

158): "Alexander VII. Pont. Max. sacri scrinii Palatini de gravissimis rei christianae negotiis epistolas, mandata, responsa, aliaque scripturarum monumenta quotquot reperiri potuerunt novo hoc tabulario recondi et ad sedis apostolicae usum posteritatisque memoriam adservari voluit, an. Chr. 1656 Pont. II." But the following inscription was eventually put up: "Alexander VII. P. M. | Variarum congregationum | de rebus ecclesiasticis | archiva | incertis antea locis dispersa | ad maiorem Sedis Ap. | securitatem dignitatemque | in Vaticanum | cubiculis, armariis fociisque | notis ad eam rem exstructis | adunanda transtulit | A.D. 1658, A. P., IV."

¹ Ora che il genio del papa è fatto pubblico, tutti i prelati fanno alle pugna per buscar manoscritti (Lorenzo Magalotti in GIORGI, *loc. cit.*, XXVII., 152).

² Since 1663. RENAZZI, III., 151.

³ E. RINALDI, *La fondazione del Collegio Romano*, Roma, 1914, 121; Ph. BONANNI, *Musaeum Kircherianum s. musaeum a. P. Ath. Kircheri iam pridem incoeptum, nuper restitutum, Romae*, 1709; MAU, *Katalog der Bibliothek des Deutschen Instituts*, I, 1250; *Kunstchronik*, XXV. (1914), 411.

The natural consequence of the Pope's patronage was that he was sung by the poets and a number of poems and scientific works were dedicated to him.¹

¹ Among the poets who may be mentioned here the outstanding one is Jakob Balde who in 1663 dedicated to the Pope his *Urania victrix*. Among the scientific works dedicated to Alexander VII. are the 1st vol. of February of the BOLLANDISTS and the 6th vol. of UGHELLI's *Italia sacra*. The following also are of some interest: FAM. NARDINI, *Roma antica*, Roma, 1666, and ROSSI, *Teatro di Roma*; also *Musarum plausus Alexandro VII. P. M. renuntiatio* (by POLLINI), Romae, 1656; B. VIRGILIO, *Rime per la felice dimora di Alessandro VII. in Castel Gandolfo*, Roma, 1662; ASCANIUS DE SILVESTRIS, **Romuleus sol s. de Alexandro VII. P. M. carmen* (Cod., D. III., 34, Bibl. Chigi); TIBALDUTIUS SOLINDRIUS ROMANUS, **Alexandro VII. carmina* (*ibid.*, D. II., 30); Lod. Tingoli, **Per clemenza insigne del glorioso Pontefice Alessandro VII. Ode* (*ibid.*, D. III., 33); Sigisbertus Pleniplanus, *De solis actione. L'oro nascente, idillio musicale del fabro imperfecto al Pp. Alessandro VII. et alla Reina di Suetia* (Reg. 2021, p. 156, Vat. Lib.). A volume of Latin poems to Alexander VII. is also found in the Costaguti Archives Rome. DOM. JOVACCI, **Notizie di Castel Gandolfo, di Albano, della Riccia, di Genzano e di Nemi, dedicate ad Alessandro VII.* (edited by the Ottoboniana, in CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 100). A *poem by REYER, *Votum Alexandri VII. for peace*, which must proceed from Rome, against Louis XIV., 1660

Da, Pater omnipotens, ut sancta Ecclesia mater,
Praevaleat,

Extollat generosa caput Stygioque tyranno

in Vat. 6910, p. 339, Vat. Lib. (cf. ORBAAN, *Bescheiden*, I., 57); ANNIANO SILVESTRO (Carmelite), **Breve relazione dell'imperio Turchesco di Levante*, 1664 (for Alexander VII.), Cod. G. IV., 103, Bibl. Chigi; OCTAVI WORST (Capuchin) **Apologia sacra of the primacy and infallibility of the Pope* (to Alexander VII.), Cod. Barb., XX., 7, Vat. Lib., and Bibl. della fraternità di S. Maria at Arezzo, Cod. 270; LAURENTIUS PIZZATUS DE PONTIREMOLO, **Totius urbis et orbis in multis rudis reformatio propter bonum publicum ad Alexandrum VII.*, 1659 (Reg., 1507) and (in Italian), 1925; Cod. Barb. XXXII., 262, and LIX., 20, Vat. Lib.

(2.)

Alexander VII.'s pontificate, fruitful and important as it was for literature, was incomparably more so for the arts. Immediately after his elevation he made up his mind to take up once more in good earnest the Pope's traditional patronage of the arts. This aim he was destined to realize all the more brilliantly as a great number of artists were available, among them Bernini who had enjoyed his favour whilst Alexander was only a Cardinal and whom he appreciated even more than Urban VIII. had done. The sun had not yet set on the day of Alexander VII.'s election, so Baldinucci relates, when he sent for the master and with expressions of the utmost goodwill requested his co-operation in the vast plans he meditated, more especially for St. Peters'.¹ Thus there opened before Bernini, then nearing his sixtieth year, a new and most fruitful period of work to which belong several of his most brilliant creations.

As early as 1626 Fabio Chigi had interested himself in the restoration of the magnificent chapel erected by Antonio Chigi, one of his ancestors, in S. Maria del Popolo.² When he became a Cardinal in 1652, and took up permanent residence in Rome, he had the work taken up anew by Bernini.³ and what he had begun as a Cardinal he completed as Pope. He came repeatedly to see how the work progressed⁴ and

¹ BALDINUCCI, edit. RIEGL, 168.

² CUGNONI, in *Arch. d. Soc. Rom.*, IV., 58 *seqq.*; L. OZZOLA, *ibid.*, XXI., 22 *seq.* A *letter to Fabio Chigi, dated November 8, 1625, says of the chapel del Popolo that "è veramente un poco mal tenuta da questi padri, poichè la polvere che non si è in piccola quantità, non lassa godere le bellissime pitture che vi sono". *Chig. A. III.*, 64, Vat. Lib.

³ CUGNONI, *loc. cit.*, 72 *seq.*

⁴ **Avviso* of March 4, 1656: on Sunday the Pope held a visitation of St. Mary Major and went to S. Maria del Popolo, "che S. Beatitudine fa tuttavia restaurare et abbellire a proprie spese" (Papal Sec. Arch.). An **Avviso* of February 10, 1657 (*ibid.*), speaks of a papal visit on Thursday and another of March 3 of

as a result of his insistence on speed, everything was completed by the middle of 1657.¹ The chapel was finished off with a balustrade, the marble floor was repaired, the lunettes were adorned with the paintings of the Sienese Raffaele Vanni² and the pyramid-shaped sepulchral monuments of Agostino and Sigismondo Chigi were restored.³ The chief ornament, however, consisted of two new magnificent works of sculpture for the execution of which Alexander VII. had at first thought of giving scope to the rivalry between Bernini and Algardi⁴; in the end, however, he decided to give the whole commission to Bernini. By way of contrast to Lorenzetto's "Jonas and Elias", Bernini created the figures of two other prophets of Christ's resurrection, viz. Habacuc, with an Angel at his side, "rising inspired as from a dream," and Daniel, an admirable youth behind whom is seen a lion; kneeling with hands folded and expectant eyes raised to heaven, he invokes the help of God.⁵

After restoring the Chigi chapel, Alexander VII. did the same year mentions a visit on Wednesday to S. Maria del Popolo. It adds that the new building "si va perfettionando; che a spese della S.S. si va con celerità terminando".

¹ See besides the letter of Francesco Gualengo of July 31, 1659, referred to by FRASCHETTI (280, n. 1) the **Avviso* of September 7, 1657 (Papal Sec. Arch.): the church "è fat a bellissima di ornamento e doi organi che fanno una bellissima vista".

² *Order for the payment of 300 scudi for Raffaele Vanni "per haver fatto diverse pitture nella chiesa del Popolo" in *Cod. H. II.*, 40, Bibl. Chigi, Rome.

³ GNOLI shows in *Arch. stor. dell' arte*, II. (1889), 322 *seqq.*, that the monuments were only restored and slightly altered in 1652, but not newly erected, a fact overlooked by BÖHN (39). Payments for two bronze chandeliers given by Alexander VII., by BERTOLOTTI, *Art.*, Bolognesi, 196.

⁴ See Alexander VII.'s *autograph letter to L. Holstenius in *Cod. C. III.*, 62, of the Chigi Library about an inscription which it was proposed to put up in the chapel.

⁵ See the excellent appreciation of these statues by BENKARD (27 *seq.*; reproductions 46 and 47); see also REYMOND, 124 *seq.*

same for the whole church.¹ Bernini adapted the quattrocento structure to the taste of his period and gave it that character of joyous freedom which distinguishes it even at this day.² Typical children of the inexhaustible fancy of the master are the many figures of angels on the arches and vaults of the central aisle, at the entrance to the chancel and on the organ where the Chigi coat of arms proclaims the name of the man who ordered the restoration.³ These stucco decorations⁴ as well as the magnificent statues of angels by the side of the two altars of the transept, were executed to the design of Bernini by his pupils, among whom the Lombard Antonio Raggi distinguished himself by his great technical skill and a nice sense of the intentions of the master.⁵

Raggi also carved a marble statue of Alexander VII. for the Cathedral of Siena, the Pope's native city, after a design by Bernini. Siena likewise possessed the family chapel of the Chigi, constructed of purest marble and richly adorned with gold and lapis lazuli. Alexander VII. put up within its walls two impressive marble statues, viz. of St. Jerome and St. Magdalen, both Bernini's own work.⁶

¹ ALVERI, *Roma*, II., II; FORCELLA, I., 387; COLANBUONI, *S. Maria del Popolo*, 182. In March 1658, Alexander inspected the work in company with Bernini; FRASCHETTI, 283, n. 1.

² BÖHN, 89; cf. also REYMOND's appreciation.

³ He also put up the Chigi arms on the apex of the central gable of the façade. On the alteration of the façade, see REYMOND, 122 seq.

⁴ FERRARI, *Lo stucco nell' arte italiana barocca*, 97 seqq.

⁵ TITI, 389, 390 seq.; DVORAK in *Der Palazzo di Venezia*, 71. Reproductions of the Angels on the altars of the transept in RICCI, *Baukunst*, 85; *ibid.*, 95, the organ loft with the coat of arms of Alexander VII. (1658); *ibid.*, 84, the high altar, also designed by Bernini.

⁶ FRASCHETTI, 285 seq., where there is a good illustration of the statue of Alexander VII. Cf. REYMOND, 126 seq.; BENKARD 29 seq., illustr. 48 and 49. Alexander VII. gave the precious altar furniture for the chapel founded in 1661. These objects called forth universal admiration at the *Mostra d'arte* of Siena, 1904. They are Roman work, finest polished rock crystal, very rich

However, Bernini was employed by his exalted patron not only as a sculptor, but likewise as an architect. In that capacity also he gave proof of his greatness, especially in his churches, for which he created a new ornamental style, such as suited the altered character of the time.¹ Besides the arsenal at Civitavecchia² and the beautiful water reservoir of the Acqua Acetosa,³ he enlarged the Quirinal⁴ and the hospital of S. Spirito.⁵ In 1665,⁶ by command of Cardinal Flavio Chigi, he completed in such splendid fashion the monumental Chigi Palace [now Odescalchi], opposite SS. Apostoli, the erection of which had been begun by Carlo Maderna, that with its façade he may be said to have fixed the canon of the palace style for the ensuing period.⁷

By order of Alexander VII., Bernini added to the papal summer residence at Castel Gandolfo, the façade and the gallery from which one has a view of the sea.⁸ In 1661 the

work in gold with intaglios of *email translucide* recalling the best work of the Cinquecento (cf. L. v. BÜRKEL in *Allg. Zeitung*, 1904, suppl. 131). At the above-mentioned exhibition one also admired the Golden Rose bestowed on the Duomo of Siena by Alexander VII. NOVAES (X., *Alessandro VII.*, n. 79 seqq.) recounts all that the Pope did for the churches of Siena.

¹ REYMOND, 127 seq.

² THIEME, III., 465.

³ According to an inscription of 1661 (cf. FRASCHETTI, 299), but not completed then for in an **Avviso* of March 11, 1662 (Papal Sec. Arch.), we read that on Monday the Pope inspected the "nuova fabbrica" at "Acqua acetosa che S. St^a fa fare". The inscriptions are mostly somewhat antedated.

⁴ 1656; see FRASCHETTI, 299.

⁵ Inscription of 1664; FRASCHETTI, 297 seq.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 298; HÜBNER, II., 407.

⁷ Opinion of BÖHN (90). Cf. FRASCHETTI, 298 seq.; BRIGGS, 36 seq.; REYMOND, 140. After Cardinal Flavio's death the palace was let in 1694 and in 1745 it became the property of the Odescalchi; see ASHBY in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, VIII. and IX.

⁸ Alexander VII.'s inscription of 1660 on the façade of the palace in GUIDI, *Colli Albani*, 61. Cf. also GURLITT, 416;

Pope instructed Bernini to erect a church in honour of St. Thomas of Villanova, not far from the palace,¹ for which the artist chose the form of a Greek cross. Besides this building of extraordinarily harmonious proportions both within and without,² and which Alexander VII. consecrated in person in May, 1661,³ Bernini erected between 1664–1665 at Ariccia, the church S. Maria Miracolosa opposite the Chigi Palace.⁴ This edifice is a plain rotunda preceded by an arcaded porch flanked on either side by porticos. Like the exterior, the interior of the church is quite plain, only the entablature supporting the dome is charmingly enlivened by a wreath of angels holding garlands in their hands.⁵

Bernini furnished yet another proof of the richness of his imagination when Alexander VII. commissioned him to erect the small obelisk found in the garden of the convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1665. The Chigi library still has in its possession the seven sketches drawn by Bernini for the purpose: some of them are so bold that it would hardly

FRASCHETTI, 292; CANCELLIERI, *Tarantismo*, 115 seqq., 177 seq. FEA (*Varietà di notizie sopra Castel Gandolfo*, Roma, 1820, 37 seq.) gives the *Descrizione dell' acqua e scandaglio della spesa che si stima anderebbe a condurla in Castel Gandolfo*, from Bibl. Chigi, H. II., 42. The Chigi arms are also seen on the garden gate.

¹ Inscription of 1661 in GUIDI, *loc. cit.*, 63.

² REYMOND (134) has particular praise for the cupola. SCHRADER (*Campagna*, 175) describes the high altar, by Pietro da Cortona, as a masterpiece; reproduction in RICCI, 87.

³ See **Avviso* of May 21, 1661, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ GUIDO, 84 seq.; illustration of cupola in RICCI, 72; an **Avviso* of May 16, 1665 (*loc. cit.*), states that on Sunday the Pope said the first Mass at Ariccia.

⁵ GURLITT, 414; BÖHN, 91; REYMOND, 134 seq.; TOMASSETTI, II., 245 seq., and especially the rare work by E. LUCIDI: *Mem. stor. del municipio Ariccia*, Roma, 1796, where on p. 336 seqq. there are the fullest details on the erection of the church, and p. 295 seq. on the Pope's solicitude for Ariccia. *Ibid.*, 452, the deed of the purchase, in 1661, of the palace of the Savelli by Mario, Flavio and Agostino Chigi.

have been possible to carry them out.¹ Prompted by an illustration in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of the Dominican Francesco Colonna, published at Venice in 1499, Alexander VII. finally decided that an elephant should carry the obelisk on his back.² The monument was begun in April 1666, and completed in February of the following year³; it was Bernini's last work for Alexander VII.

Besides Bernini, the Chigi Pope also gave a great many commissions to that other great exponent of baroque art in Rome, Pietro da Cortona. In 1655 he charged this highly gifted artist with the direction of the frescoes with which it was intended to decorate the gallery of the Quirinal palace. In 1656, Cortona executed several pictures for the Pope, who created him a knight.⁴ This honour was Cortona's reward for the splendid way in which he had carried out another commission of the Pope. As at S. Maria del Popolo, the question was the restoration of a building of Sixtus IV., S. Maria della Pace, that is the church in which Agostini Chigi had founded the chapel which became famous by reason of Raphaels' "Sibyls". Alexander VII. had had it repaired and decorated already in 1627.⁵ As the many Chigi emblems show even at this day, a complete restoration of the interior of the church was now undertaken and a new floor laid down.⁶

¹ See reproductions in FRASCHETTI, 300 seq.; GNOLI, *Disegni del Bernini per l'obelisco della Minerva*, in *Arch. stor. dell' arte*, 1888; Keyssler, I., 724.

² The copy of the *Hypnerotomachia* in the Chigi Library shows many marginal notes by Alexander VII. Bernini's model of the elephant with the obelisk is in the Galleria Barberina in Rome. Cf. GIEHLOW, *Hieroglyphenkunst*, in *Jahr. der k.k. Sammlungen*, XXXII. (1915), 15.

³ See Cervini's diary in FRASCHETTI, 306. Cf. the **Avviso* of March, 1667, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See POLLAK in THIEME, VII., 492, and *Kunstchronik*, new series, XXIII. (1911-12), 565 seq.

⁵ CUGNONI, in *Arch. Rom.*, IV., 57 seq., 60 seq., 72 seq.; cf. MUÑUZ, *Cortona*, 12.

⁶ Cf. C. FEA, *Promemoria per la chiesa di S. Maria della Pace*,

Like most of the other chapels, the Chigi chapel was given a marble balustrade and the niches received statues of the Sienese Saints, Catherine and Bernardine, the latter by Ercôle Ferrata and the former by Cosimo Fancelli. These two artists shared between them the execution of the *putti* on either side of the chapel. The bronze relief on the altar representing Christ being taken down from the cross is by Cosimo Fancelli.¹ For the wide spaces of the cupola above the chapels, where one already beheld Peruzzi's celebrated "Mary in the temple", the Pope ordered large paintings, among them a crowded picture by Carlo Maratta representing Mary's visit to Elizabeth.² The Pope, who inspected the work twice in 1657,³ was even more pleased with Pietro da Cortona's masterpiece in front of the plain, but slightly modified façade⁴ of S. Maria della Pace, where he erected on the ground floor a semi-circular portico formed by eight coupled Tuscan columns, "a charming motif, the value of which is further enhanced by the supreme delicacy of its execution." The upper storey of the façade is also designed with equal simplicity and beauty.⁵ It is matter for surprise that the master should

Roma, 17, 9 *seq.* The expenditure between 1656-1661 amounted to 51,583 scudi (*ibid.*, 12). Cf. **Avviso* of December 23, 1656 (*loc. cit.*): Yesterday the Pope came into Pace "a dare una vista a quella nuova fabrica che si va terminando a spesa della S.S."

¹ TITI, 414; THIEME, XI., 242, 465.

² FEA, *loc. cit.*, 9; BELLORI, III. (Pisa, 1821), 147; Voss, *Barock malerei*, 602. C. Maratta painted a "Visitation of Mary" and a "Flight to Egypt" for the Chigi chapel in the Duomo of Siena; see BELLORI, III., 149; *ibid.*, for further commissions for Maretta.

³ See **Avviso* of September 1 and November 10, 1657, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ The entrance door, with the arms of Sixtus IV. and the inscription: "Templum pacis Virgini dedicatum per Sixtum PP. IV.," was given another cornice. The arms of Sixtus on the gable of the façade was also retained.

⁵ GURLITT, 376; BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, 78; MUSCHINI, in *L'Arte*, 1921, 192 *seq.*

have succeeded in the short time between 1656 and 1658,¹ in carrying through this important architectural undertaking whilst at the same time he also laid out the piazza in front of it.² Here also he revealed all his skill, for the problem was not merely to widen the piazza but to give it a harmonious appearance. The task was a difficult one because two streets terminated to the right and the left of the church, and houses of the most varied styles rose near by. Pietro da Cortona regulated the two sides of the piazza by means of a double-storied row of pilasters bearing on the side facing the Anima the medallion portrait of Sixtus IV., and on the other that of Alexander VII.³ "The piazza gives the impression of a quadrilateral; only by degrees does the eye notice the splendidly calculated relations between the church, the walls of the piazza and the piazza itself."⁴ The great importance the Pope attached to these creations appears from the fact that he threatened the severest penalties for any alteration.⁵

All these undertakings sink into the background by comparison with the stupendous work at St. Peter's which,

¹ The two inscriptions are correctly given by FEA, 10. CIACONIUS, IV., 724, wrongly gives the date of 1657 instead of 1658. The inscription: "Alexandro VII. quod votis," etc., which Fea places within is now outside, facing the Anima; the second: "Virgini pacis," etc., is within, above the entrance. According to the **Avviso* of October 4, 1659, on the Pope's visit, operations on S. Maria della Pace were "quasi finita" (Papal Sec. Arch.). Cf. FORCELLA, V., 506; MARTINELLI, *Roma ricercata* (1660), 73; BONANNI, *Numismata* (1699), 644.

² Cf. the *Chirografo* of July 4, 1657, on the purchase of houses in FEA, 36 seq., and SCHMIDLIN, 463.

³ The inscriptions beneath the medallions, the best of which, so far as I know, has not yet been published, are as follows: for Sixtus IV.: "Erit opus institutae pax et cultus institutae silentium securitas usque in sempiternum"; for Alexander VII.: "Orietur in diebus nostris iustitia et abundantia pacis, donec auferatur luna."

⁴ BRINCKMANN, *loc. cit.*, 78 seq.

⁵ See the text of the prohibition in FEA, 22.

under Alexander VII., became once more the centre of artistic activity. The reorganization by the Chigi Pope of the Congregation of the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* was but a symptom of the new spirit.¹ One of his first measures was to order,

¹ In *Cod. H. II. seq.*, cf. the *Bibl. Chigi*, there is a note on the subject in the Pope's own hand :

Nota dell'opere da farsi dalla ven. fabrica in S. Pietro con li suoi assegnamenti e della sua entrata et uscita.

Opere ordinate e disegnate di fare dalla reverenda fabrica.

Altare di metallo per la cattedra circa a scudi cento-	
mila	sc. 100,000
Candelieri e croci di metallo circa a sc. dodicimila .	sc. 12,000
Il residuo delle colonne di cottanello ordinatesi qui	
a sc. tremila	sc. 3,000
Il pavimento del portico circa a sc. dodicimila .	sc. 12,000

Somma in tutto la spesa . . . sc. 127,000

Assegnamenti della reverenda fabrica per le dicontra opere.

Li depositari della reverenda fabrica hanno in mano	
circa a sc. quarantamila	sc. 40,000
Al signor Francesco Nunez Sanchez per rimesse di	
Portogallo sc. quattromila cinquecento	sc. 4,500
Monti diversi da vendersi sc. ventimila	sc. 20,000
Cruciata di Spagna debitrice per l'anno 1656 di sc.	
ventimila	sc. 20,000
Cruciata di Portogallo debitrice come sopra di sc.	
settantamila	sc. 70,000
Debitori diversi, che si esigeranno circa a sc.	
dodicimila	sc. 12,000

Sommano tutti detti assegnamenti sc. 166,500

Somma la spesa di contro. sc. 127,000

Sopravanzo dell'assegnamenti. sc. 39,500

Nota dell'entrata che ha di presente la reverenda fabrica.

Cruciata di Spagna l'anno sc. ventimila	sc. 20,000
Detta per S. Giovanni Laterano sc. mille cinquecento	sc. 1,500

in August, 1655, the laying down of the marble floor of the basilica ; Bernini furnished the plan for the work. At the same time he gave orders that no vendors should trade in the portico, which he commanded to be shut at night.¹ Bernini was likewise commissioned to lay down the floor of the benediction loggia and to restore its ceiling. This period also saw the completion, in his studio, of the bas-relief begun under Urban VIII., now placed over the main entrance,² representing Christ in the act of appointing St. Peter His Vicar and the shepherd of His flock, with the words : " Feed my sheep." Bernini's brother, Luigi, furnished the stucco decorations of the chapel of the choir and that of the Blessed

Cruciata di Portugallo sc. sedicimila	sc.	16,000
Tribunale di Napoli avanti il contagio sc. dodicimila	sc.	12,000
Gabelle di Napoli avanti il contagio sc. novemila	sc.	9,000
Incamerazioni di Roma e Stato Eccles. sc. ottomila in circa.	sc.	8,000
Frutti di diversi Monti sc. mille	sc.	1,000
Somma l'entrata l'anno	sc.	67,500
Somma l'esito l'anno	sc.	41,417

Sopravanza l'entrata all'esito sc. 26,083

Ma è da avvertire, che l'entrate di Napoli che prima erano sc. 21^m, come sopra, Dio sa per l'avvenire quello renderanno.

Et che l'entrate di Spagna e Portugallo alle volte tardano gl'anni a riscuotersi.

Nota dell'esito, che ha di presente la reverenda fabrica.

Per li frutti de' suoi Monti passivi paga l'anno sc. sedecimila ventisette	sc.	16,027
In manuali, musaici, cartoni, indorature, calce, puzzo- lana, pietra et altro circa a sc. ventiquattro mila	sc.	24,000
Provisionati sc. mille centosettanta	sc.	1,170
Elemosine sc. ducentoventi	sc.	220

Somma la spesa l'anno sc. 41,417

¹ FRASCHETTI, 324.

² *Ibid.*, 324 seq.

Sacrament in the basilica of St. Peter.¹ Bernini's magnificent monument of Alexander VII. in St. Peter's, which the Pope had planned for himself already in September 1655, was only completed under Innocent XI.² The Pope also thought of building a new sacristy,³ but it was not granted to him to carry the plan into effect. On the other hand, he lived to see the wonderful structure in which it was intended to preserve the chair—*cathedra*—of St. Peter.⁴

The internal decoration of the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles, on which he bestowed many valuable gifts,⁵ went hand in hand with other important works. The entrance to the Vatican built by Ferabosco under Paul V.,⁶ was to be

¹ *Ibid.*, 213.

² “ *Il Pontefice meditando continuamente la brevità della vita humana, oltre la scritta cassa fattasi fare per riporvi il suo cadavero, intendesi che hora faccia fare il disegno della sua sepoltura componendo egli medesimo l'inscrizione, che in essa dovia farsi ” (*Avviso* of September 18, 1655, *Avvisi* 102, Papal Sec. Arch.). Cf. GREGOROVIVS, *Grabmäler*, 56; REYMOND, 159 seq.; BERTEAUX, *Rome*, 149, 151; R. CECCHETELLI in *Riv. d'Italia*, 1915, I., 546; *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIX., 36. Severe critique in BRINCKMANN, *Barockskulptur*, II., 252.

³ Cf. “ *Osservazioni del. card. Castello sul progetto della nuova sagrestia [di S. Pietro] nel disegno del cav. Morelli fatti per commissione di Alessandro VII.,” *Cod. M. VIII.*, LXVI., Bibl. Chigi.

⁴ See p. 299.

⁵ The precious damask hangings of red silk with gold fringes which Alexander VII. gave to the basilica to cover the marble pilasters are in use to this day on great festivals. Another splendid work of art is the Missal richly adorned with miniatures, and bearing as its title page the portrait of Alexander VII. (1663). It was returned to Rome under Louis XVIII. and is now kept in the treasury of the Sistine Chapel (cf. *Annuaire cath. pontifical*, 1909). Three *paliotti* with precious embroideries given by Alexander VII., “ anno nono,” as the inscription says, to the basilica of St. Mary Major, are still among the treasures of that Church.

⁶ See XXVI., 426.

remodelled, the papal palace and St. Peter's were to be joined, and a piazza was to be laid out in front of the basilica which would worthily express the significance of the world's greatest shrine. The difficulty of this task, which was great enough in itself, was further enhanced by the fact that in consequence of the centuries' old and anything but uniform architectural story of the Vatican and the basilica of St. Peter, many contradictions and defects had to be removed, or at least minimized, if unity was to arise out of so mighty a complexity.¹

The old piazza of St. Peter's, where the faithful received the blessing of every Pope at his election and at Easter, was out of proportion with the importance of the basilica to which pilgrims flocked in crowds from every part of the world²: above all, it was far too small. Already under Innocent X., Papirio Bartoli and Carlo Rainaldi had drawn up plans for a new arrangement,³ but remarkable as these were, they were inadequate. A happy solution was only found when Alexander VII. put the matter in the hands of Bernini who succeeded in creating a wonderful unity out of the monumental piazza before St. Peter's, the entrance to the Vatican and the rooms connecting them.

Baldinucci relates that Bernini once remarked that an architect did not show what he could do when, unhampered by any obstacle, he was able to realize the harmonious conceptions of his imaginations; only then did he do so when he was compelled to deal with what was imperfect or bad and yet, despite every hindrance, succeeded in creating a thing of beauty.⁴ This was realized by the master in wonderful fashion, in the first instance, in the radical alteration of the staircase connecting the oldest part of the Vatican with the porch of St. Peter's. By overcoming great technical and practical difficulties, he replaced the dark, narrow and irregular ascent to the Sala Regia and the Sistine chapel

¹ VOSS, *Bernini as architect*, 2 seq.

² BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, 66.

³ VOSS, *loc. cit.*, seq; HEMPEL, *C. Rainaldi*, 24 seq.

⁴ BALDINUCCI, edit. RIEGL, 240.

by a commodious, admirably lighted staircase whose imposing beauty and decoration are deservedly famous.¹ His skilful hand turned the defects of the old staircase into new beauties. To quote Baldinucci, it was by a stroke of real genius that he succeeded in this, the most difficult of all the works undertaken by him, "by means of splendid perspectives of steps, columns, architraves, pediments and vaults, in bringing the wide entrance and the narrow exit into a harmony pleasing to the eye."²

The great staircase, which was given the name of Scala Regia, was begun in 1663 and by June, 1665, the main part of the work was complete; in the following year it received the beautiful stucco decoration of the barrel vaulting.³ At the entrance an armorial shield held by two trumpet-blowing genii, proclaims the glory of Alexander VII., its builder.⁴

In front of the staircase was a bright and lofty space where, in a niche on the right hand side, it was intended to put up on a high pedestal Bernini's colossal equestrian statue of Constantine the Great. Though executed under Alexander VII. this statue of the founder of St. Peter's was only unveiled in 1670.⁵ To this "violently agitated equestrian figure of the most dramatic impressiveness", was to correspond a statue of Charlemagne on the opposite side, at the end of the portico of St. Peter's.

There is profound historic significance in the circumstance that in the vestibule of St. Peter's the two first great protectors of the universal Church, the one the founder of the eastern,

¹ Cf. besides PANOFSKY, *Die Scala Regia im Vatikan*, in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 241 seq., and VOSS, *Bernini als Architekt*, 6 seq. On the controversy between them on the subject of expedients for perspective see FREY, *Barock architektur*, 10.

² BALDINUCCI, edit. RIEGL, 176 seq.

³ FRASCHETTI, 318.

⁴ FERRARI, *Lo stucco nell'arte ital. tav.*, 80.

⁵ FRASCHETTI, 318, 320; BENKARD, 41; CECHELLI, 23. Cf. DVORAK, *Gesch. der ital. Kunst*, Munchen, 1928, 208. A *satire on the statue in *Barb.* 4331, Vat. Lib.

the other the creator of the western Roman Empire, should stand on guard before the tomb of the Galilean fisherman.

With the famous colonnade of the piazza of St. Peter's, also executed by order of Alexander VII., Bernini created an even greater masterpiece than the Scala Regia. When the idea of a forecourt for St. Peter's first came up for discussion by the Congregation of the Fabbrica, at the beginning of 1656, Cardinal Pallotto raised several difficulties. There was reason to fear, he explained, that the digging of the foundations would cause noxious evaporations, spreading disease, as had happened more than once in Rome; moreover, the work would prove exceedingly costly since a number of valuable houses would have to be demolished, and lastly, in view of the unfavourable economic situation, so heavy an expenditure might prove a pretext for an attack by foreigners.¹ Against this it was argued with good reason that the work would precisely relieve the adverse situation, since it would provide employment for a large number of men.² This view was shared by Alexander VII. and, of course, that settled the controversy. In conformity with the Pope's orders the Congregation of the Fabbrica resolved, on July 13th, 1656, to entrust the arrangement of the piazza of St. Peter's to the experienced hands of Bernini.³ Work was to begin on the left side; accordingly, on August 19th, 1656, the Congregation ordered the demolition of all the houses starting from the Palazzo del Priorato as far as the Campo Canto. It would seem ⁴ that at that time Bernini's project still conformed to a

¹ FRASCHETTI, 314.

* See Chigi *MS.

³ FRASCHETTI, 314.

⁴ FRASCHETTI, 315, whose data are substantially supplemented by an *Avviso* of August 19, 1656, " *Si è risoluto mettersi di breve mano al gettito delle case contigue alla Penitentiaria nella piazza della Basilica Vaticana, cominciando dal Palazzo del Priorato sino a Campo Santo, per poi ambedoi le parti di essa piazza edificare con loggie coperte, appartamenti et altre commodità per li canonici, Penitentieri e tutto il corpo del Capitolo di S. Pietro con ogni magnificenza." (*Avvisi* 103, Papal Sec. Arch.

drawing preserved to this day, according to which, behind a two-storied portico, a palace corresponding to the Vatican, was to be erected on the left, for the purpose of housing the Canons and penitentiaries.¹ The work of demolition began in September.² A letter in the Pope's own hand, of December, 1656, ordered the purchase of more houses, all of which were to be demolished.³ At a sitting of the Congregation on March 17th, 1657, at which seven Cardinals were present, Bernini submitted his whole plan,⁴ the fruit of prolonged study and a great number of sketches. It was approved and Bernini's fees were likewise settled.⁵ In June 1657, it was announced that the necessary funds were ready and that the work would begin the following week.⁶ This proceeded with

¹ The drawings in the possession of the architect Busiri-Vici and first published by him in *La Piazza di S. Pietro in Vaticano nei secoli III., XIV. e XVIII.*, Roma, 1893, and subsequently by FRASCHETTI, 309, and RIEGL, *Baldinucci*, 174, are not even considered as copies after Bernini by Voss (*Bernini*, 22, n. 2); he is exclusively for Bernini's authentic sketches in the Chigi Library.

² " *Si è cominciato a cavar su la piazza di S. Pietro vicino alli Tedeschi [Campo Santo] per veder se terrà il fondamento " (*Avviso* of September 29, 1656, *loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, an **Avviso* of September 8, 1656: " Il disegno de' portici da far a S. Pietro si è intorbidato, perchè il disegno non era del Bernini, al quale si crede habbi fatto far de' mali offittii."

³ " *N.S. ha spedito chirografo per la compra e demolitione di molte case sopra la piazza di S. Pietro da fabricarvi attorno il disegnato teatro " (*Avviso* of December 23, 1656, *loc. cit.*).

⁴ **Cod. H. II.*, 22, Bibl. Chigi.

⁵ Decree of the Congregation dated August 17, 1657, in FRASCHETTI, 315.

⁶ **Avviso* of June 7, 1656: " Della prossima settimana ha ordinato il Papa doversi principiare la magnifica fabrica del già designato teatro sopra la piazza di S. Pietro, trovandosi per tale effetto all'ordine il contante necessario, come anche quello per l'accennato gettito delle case contigue alla chiesa della Rotonda per farvi isola in maggior decoro di quel tempio," Papal Sec. Arch. V. PRINZIVALLI, in the periodical *Catholicon*,

such speed ¹ that already on August 28th the Pope was able to lay the foundation-stone of the colonnade.² The medals which were buried in the ground on the occasion bore the legend : *Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis* : the foundations thereof are in the holy mountains. (Ps. LXXXVI. [LXXXVII.], 1). The design on their face shows Bernini's plan for the forecourt which included a third portico destined to close the magnificent circle of the colonnade in front, at a spot where the approaching spectator beholds the whole overwhelming grandeur of the basilica of St. Peter's and its dome.³

In November, 1657, Alexander VII. inspected Bernini's model.⁴ In the ensuing years the Pope followed the work with the intensest interest and inspected it several times, first in September, 1659,⁵ and again in September ⁶ and December, I. (1899), 6 *seqq.*, gives some unpublished “**Scritture sulla controversia d'appalto dei lavori per i portici di S. Pietro fra il cav. Bernini e gli appaltori*” which register in the form of a diary the differences that arose day by day and give valuations of the work of excavations and the construction of the foundations of the gigantic portico.

¹ **Avviso* of August 18, 1657, *loc. cit.*

² Besides the note of Giuseppe Cervini in FRASCHETTI, 315, see the **Avvisi* of August 31, 1657 (Tuesday) [August 28] “andò [the Pope] a S. Pietro e gettò la prima pietra nelli fondamenti con alcune medaglie d'oro, e poi entrò in chiesa e disse la messa bassa nel choro de' canonici”; and of September 1, 1657 (“**Tuesday* the Pope inspected the new construction in ‘Pace’ and laid the foundation-stone for the *teatro*”), *Avvisi* 105, Papal Sec. Arch. MIGNANTI is mistaken when he says (II., 111) that the laying of the foundation-stone took place on the feast of the Assumption, 1660.

³ Reproduction of the medal in FRASCHETTI, 306.

⁴ *Avissi*, p. 9, *loc. cit.*

⁵ See Franc. Gualengo's account in FRASCHETTI, 315.

⁶ **Avviso* of September 11, 1660: “Venerdi il Papa visitò in S. Pietro la nuova fabrica di quel gran teatro, come anco dove si fabricano le statue da mettersi all'altare della cathedra di S. Pietro a capo di detta basilica, che sono di gran meraviglia, opera inventata dal celebre et famoso architetto sig. cav. Bernini,” Papal Sec. Arch.

1660.¹ Although work was pushed on with the utmost ardour, the gigantic task could not be completed as quickly as the Pope wished, but that it would be a magnificent thing was clear even then.² When he inspected the work in June, 1661, Alexander VII. distributed gifts of money to the workmen.³ In August he again went to see for himself the progress of the work on the foundations, which had now begun on the right hand side also.⁴ In the first days of October he was there again.⁵ These visits were repeated in March, June and September, 1662.⁶ By the middle of November, 1662, he saw half the colonnade finished,⁷ but it was only in November,

¹ **Avviso* of December 18, 1660: "Venerdi il Papa visitò la nuova fabrica di quel gran teatro attorno la piazza, che riesce di gran bellezza, tirandosi avanti con celerità." *Ibid.*

² See Card. D'Elce's letter of September 11, 1659, in OZZOLA, 13, and the **Avviso* of February 26, 1661. On Sunday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's the "fabrica di quel teatro intorno aquella piazza che riesce di tutta bellezza". Engravings of the piazza were soon in circulation; on September 6, 1659, two such were sent to the Inquisitor of Malta; see PICCOLOMINI, *Corrisp. tra la corte di Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta*, Firenze, 1910, 36.

³ Friday the Pope inspected the "fabrica del nuovo teatro e fece regalare quei operarii di buona somma di danari, tirandosi avanti con ogni sollecitudine." *loc. cit.*

⁴ **Avviso* of August 20, 1661: On Tuesday the Pope examined the "nuovi fundamenti di quel teatro cominciati dall' altra parte" (*loc. cit.*). On the pagan sepulchres which were brought to light during the process of digging the foundations see GRISAR, *Gesch. Roms*, I., 219 seq.

⁵ **Avviso* of October 8, 1661: On Friday the Pope inspected the "nuovo teatro" at St. Peter's, *loc. cit.*

⁶ **Avvisi* of March 11, 1662 (on Friday the Pope visited the "fabrica del teatro" of St. Peter's); of June 24, 1662 (on Monday the Pope inspected the work on the "nuovo teatro" and went into Bernini's house to see the statues he was making for him); of September 9, 1662 (on Monday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's, "nella fonderia le statue grandi di bronzo che vi si perfettonano da porre attorno la cathedra). *Ibid.*

⁷ **Avviso* of November 18, 1662: On Monday the Pope inspected "quel teatro, la metà del quale è già compita. *Ibid.*

1665, that the end of the huge undertaking came within sight, though even a year later it was not quite completed.¹ April, 1666, saw the demolition of the last houses near the colonnade.² At the beginning of 1667 work was begun on the magnificent sloping flight of steps in place of those of Paul V., and the rising corridors which join the colonnade to St. Peter's. At the same time the foundations were laid for the second monumental fountain corresponding to that of Carlo Maderna.³ About the middle of March 1667, the corridors were approaching completion.⁴ Meanwhile, a whole band of sculptors, under Bernini's direction, was at work on the statues of Saints, five metres high and 96 in number, with which it was intended to crown the balustrade of the colonnade.⁵

The arrangement of the piazza of St. Peter's is Bernini's greatest architectural work.⁶ With his colonnade he has produced a piazza which "by reason of the grandeur of its conception, its spaciousness and finely calculated exploitation of perspective, was equal to the highest demands".⁷ A more

¹ **Avviso* of October 9, 1666: On Wednesday the Pope inspected the work on the "teatro che si va terminando". *Ibid.*

² **Avviso* of April 17, 1666: "Essendo hormai perfettionato il teatro di S. Pietro, si demoliscono li palazzi e case, che restono fra mezzo di esso." *Ibid.*

³ **Avviso* of January 22, 1667: In front of St. Peter's, "si è dato principio a fare la nuova scalinata, et al braccio che unisce il teatro col portico, com'anco al fondamento della fontana, simile all'altra di qua e di là della guglia." *Ibid.*

⁴ **Avviso* of March 19, 1667: "Si termina il braccio, che unisce il teatro col portico di S. Pietro, col dimolirsi il palazzo del Priorato et altri, per fare la poca parte di mezzo, che manca per terminarlo." *Ibid.*

⁵ According to Sandrart Bernini himself made the models for 22 statues. Considerations of style lead to the conclusion that a number of statues were at least sketched by Bernini, Voss, *Bernini*, 25.

⁶ TH. HOFFMANN, *Eutstehungsgeschichte des St. Peter in Rom* (1928), 294 seq.

⁷ WEISBACH, *Stadtbaukunst in Terza Roma*, in *Preuss. Jahrbüchern*, CLVII. (1914), 83.

beautiful and worthy forecourt for a church of world-wide importance it is hard to imagine. Bernini gave it the form of an ellipse to which is joined a quadrilateral widening out in the direction of the basilica. This quadrilateral is framed by rectilinear, closed-in corridors leading to the portico of St. Peter's, and on the right hand side form the entrance to the Vatican. Their oblique shape widens the space and the inclination given to them and to their entablature by Bernini, softens the impression of excessive breadth of the façade of the basilica, pushes it back, as it were, and so makes it appear loftier.

The colonnade is linked to the corridors: it consists of two imposing porticos, open and semi-circular and formed by four rows of Doric columns which thicken outwardly. These 284 travertine columns, 15 feet high, are divided into groups by 88 pilasters bearing a plain, strong entablature and the attica above it with its statues. The colonnade forms three corridors, of which the middle one is vaulted and wide enough to allow the simultaneous passage of two carriages. Their practical purpose, that of sheltering the pilgrims to the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles from the heat of the sun and the rain, had already been present in the mind of Nicholas V. when he planned three approaches to St. Peter's.¹ A plan in Bernini's own hand now in the British Museum, states this practical purpose in some explanatory notes²; it is likewise pointed out in an inscription which Alexander VII. put up at the eastern entrance to the central corridor.³

Besides the practical purpose, which was particularly realized at the great procession of Corpus Christi,⁴ Alexander VII. and Bernini had also an aesthetic one. When the Pope asked the master how it would be possible to increase the effect of height of St. Peter's, which was inadequate by comparison with its breadth, Bernini suggested the addition of wings of lesser height which would cause the façade to seem loftier

¹ See our data, II., 173 *seq.* ² Voss, *Bernini*, 23 *seq.*

³ "In umbraculum diei ab aestu, in securitatem a turbine et a pluvia" (BONANNI, 158; MARTINELLI, II, 112).

⁴ PALLAVICINO, II., 181 *seq.*

than it is. He explained his idea by means of a comparison : the wings of the colonnade would add to the impression of height of the façade because they would be in the same relation to it as the arms are to the trunk.¹ As a matter of fact, the wings of the colonnade stretch out, as it were, two gigantic arms towards the approaching pilgrims, as if to invite them to worship God at the tomb of the first Pope. Two inscriptions put up by Alexander VII. express this thought in words taken from the psalms and the prophets : *Venite, procidamus ante Dominum in templo sancto ejus et nomen Domini invocemus* [Come, let us prostrate ourselves before the Lord in His holy temple and let us call upon the name of the Lord], says the first inscription, whilst the other is thus worded : *Venite, ascendamus in montem Domini, adoremus in templo sancto ejus* [Come, let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, let us worship in His holy temple].²

The merits of the incomparable portico which St. Peter's owes to Alexander VII. are thus extolled by one of Bernini's contemporaries : "The beautiful panorama of the piazza makes a most satisfying impression, as would not be the case if, in keeping with the sketches of some architects, the fore-court were rectangular, thereby constituting a peristyle, as Vitruvius would say. In the present arrangement the inward curves of the colonnade form, as it were, niches adorned with fountains. If, standing in one of these curves, and slightly in front of the great middle line, one looks in the direction of Monte Aureo, the effect is amazing. The obelisk rises in front of the spectator and on either side of it the two

¹ CHANTELOU, *Tagebuch über die Reise des Cavaliere Bernini nach Frankreich*, edit. by ROSE, Munich, 1919, 36, 49; also PANOFSKY in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL., 269, and Voss, *ibid.*, XLIV, 20. Cf. also FREY, *Barockarchitektur*, 105.

² MARTINELLI, II., 112. In a MS. of the Bibl. Chigi (H. II., 22) we read : "Essendo la chiesa di S. Pietro quasi matrice di tutte le altre doveva haver un portico che per l'appunto dimostrasse di ricevere a braccia aperte maternamente i cattolici per confermarli nella credenza, l'heretici per riunirli alla Chiesa, e gl'infedeli per illuminarli alla vera fede."

roaring fountains throw shimmering masses of water towards the sky. Their mighty sound, as they fall back, together with the green of the gardens which is glimpsed between the columns, thrills the spectator and brings home to him the wonder of this spacious and magnificent panorama. And though each particular feature is magnificent, all of them are but the setting of the supreme, mighty temple."¹

With good reason a modern scholar describes the arrangement of the piazza of St. Peter's as Alexander VII.'s just claim to undying fame. Whereas until then the basilica of the Prince of the Apostles had been hidden away and hemmed in, with only a small piazza crushed by the great mass of the church, it was now given sufficient space to make it stand out as the chief shrine of the Catholic world, not only in the eyes of art lovers, but also in those of pilgrims.² Bernini's forecourt, an architectural masterpiece of supreme stateliness and immense simplicity, is able to stand comparison with the highest achievements of antiquity, such as, for instance, those of Palmyra.³ We see here a triumph of spirit over matter no less admirable in its way than Michelangelo's dome.⁴

¹ CARLO FONTANA, *Il tempio Vaticano*, Roma, 1694, 183 seq., 228, transl. by BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, 72 seq. A Latin poem on the piazza of St. Peter's in honour of Alexander VII., in FORCELLA, I., 95.

² ESCHER, 27. Cicognara has said that for a just distribution of Bernini's triumph among his three great works for St. Peter's, viz. the baldacchino, the chair and the colonnade, one must bear in mind that by the first and second he won the applause of his contemporaries and by the last the admiration of posterity (*Storia della scultura*, VI., 143). BRIGGS (*Barockarchitektur*, 35) and REYMOND (115 seq.) concur in this opinion.

³ BRINCKMANN, *loc. cit.*, 66. In his *Stadtbaukunst* (Berlin, 1920, 57), Brinckmann speaks of the Piazza of St. Peter's as the most important architectural square of the world, and elsewhere (p. 103), he says that this square, though it is not even completed, would always remain the most important event in urban architecture.

⁴ Opinion of ROSE (*Spätbarock*, 88). The gigantic dimensions are not easily realized. BRIGGS (*loc. cit.*) gives the following

Both are unparalleled in the world ; they show forth the soul of the universal Church, her unique greatness, her sublime beauty, her admirable harmony and her unity.

At the same time as the colonnade there came into being another and no less stupendous work which forms, as it were, " the coping stone, crowning the architectural lay-out of the entire complex of the basilica." ¹ This was the placing of the Chair of the Prince of the Apostles in the choir of St. Peter's, which had not possessed until then any distinctive adornment. A sepulchre of a Pope in the choir of the church, between the two that were already there, would have been out of place ; only a personal memorial of the Prince of Apostles could have occupied this place of honour in the basilica dedicated to St. Peter. In view of the fact that his tomb was beneath the dome, Alexander VII. enriched the choir of the church with another most venerable relic of St. Peter, his episcopal chair. This greatly venerated relic was originally a perfectly plain oak chair ; in the ninth century its front and back had been decorated with antique ivory tablets, and by adding rings through which staves could be passed, it was altered into a *sedia gestatoria*. In this state it had already occupied a place of honour in old St. Peter's, where it stood in Pope Damasus's baptistry. We know from unimpeachable evidence that already in the third century this *Cathedra Petri* was looked upon as the token and symbol of apostolic succession and authoritative teaching, and that it was the object of a special

measurements : from the portico of the basilica to the west side of the ellipse 240 m., principal axis of the ellipse, 190 m., total area 34,000 sq. m. (BRINCKMANN, *Platz und Monument*, 67).

¹ The chronological sequel already stressed by BALDINUCCI (edit. RIEGL, 178 seq.) is supplemented by H. VOSS. " The widening of the space before the entrance of the basilica," he writes (*Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 26 seq.), " but more particularly the enormous lengthening and emphasizing of the great axis of the whole, created the unavoidable necessity of fixing as forcibly as possible the focal point in which the gathered rhythmic energies discharge themselves. This was the real architectural task of the *Cattedra di S. Pietro*."

feast observed on February 22nd. In the course of the Middle Ages we find particular reference to the *cathedra* in the accounts of papal enthronizations and in liturgical books. It was the object of similar veneration in Christian antiquity and for a long time it used to be solemnly carried, on February 22nd of each year, to the high altar of St. Peter's where the Pope sat in it.¹ Urban VIII. had placed it in the new baptistry² and had it decorated,³ and Innocent X. had it enclosed in a new bronze reliquary.⁴ In March 1657, Alexander VII. decided to place it in the apse of the choir, between the monuments of Paul III. and Urban VIII.⁵ The erection of the structure which was to enshrine it was entrusted by the Pope to Bernini; the Pontiff also provided the necessary funds.⁶ The master's fee was at first fixed at 150 scudi a month; later on it was raised to 200.⁷

Bernini sketched a small model from which his pupils executed a larger one.⁸ Alexander VII.'s keen interest in the work appears from the fact that he inspected it repeatedly,

¹ DE ROSS (*Bull. d. arch. crist.* V. [1867], 33 seq.), who examined the relic in 1867, shows that the oak chair goes back into the remotest time whilst the decorations belong to a later period. Cf. KRAUS, *Roma sotterranea*², Freiburg, 1879, 568 seq.; CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dict. d'archéol. et de Liturgie*, III., I, 40-47; *Freib. Kirchenlex*, II.², 262.

² BAGLIONE, *Vite*, 179, 379.

³ See orders for payment in FRASCHETTI, 331.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ A letter of March 16, 1657, says: "Dove sono le due sepulture di Paolo III. et Urbano VIII. in mezzo vi si porrà la Cattedra" (*Avvisi* 105, Papal Sec. Arch.). *Ibid.*, an **Avviso* of March 17, 1657: "D'ordine della S. di N. S. è stata levata dalla capella del battesimo, dove da molto tempo in quà si trovava posta, nella basilica Vaticana, la cathedra dell'apostolo S. Pietro, e trasportata con ornamento più decente nella tribuna in faccia l'altare de' SS. Apostoli." On the Cathedra, 1657, see *Kunstgeschichtl. Mitteilungen*, 1906, 96.

⁶ See p. 301, n. 8.

⁷ Bernini received 8,000 scudi in all; FRASCHETTI, 332.

⁸ *Ibid.*

viz. in September 1658,¹ in September² and October³ 1659, and again in September 1660,⁴ and towards the end of September 1661.⁵ In June 1662 and 1663, he repaired to Bernini's studio for the purpose of inspecting the statues of the four Doctors of the Church who were to support the Cathedra.⁶ In view of the admiration which Bernini's model called forth, particularly from the Pope, no great importance was attached to the cost. In view of the fact that more bronze was required than even for the baldacchino of the cupola, viz. 191,383 pounds,⁷ the cost amounted to 100,000 scudi.⁸ The casting was directed by Giovanni Artusi da Piscina⁹ and was only completed in 1665. Carlo Mattei superintended the gilding.¹⁰ The Pope went several times to the foundry

¹ See Fr. Gualengo's letter of September 18, 1658, *ibid.*, 333.

² See the letter of Fr. Gualengo of September 13, 1659, in OZZOLA, 10.

³ See **Avviso* of October 4, 1659; on Monday the Pope inspected the "suntuoso altare che si fa fabricare al capo d'essa (chiesa) per collocarvi la Cathedra d'esso glorioso apostolo, et doppo dati gl'ordini necessarii per la continuatione della fabrica del gran teatro attorno la piazza della medesima restò a desinare in quel palazzo."

⁴ See **Avviso* of September 11, 1660: On Friday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's the "nuova fabrica di quel gran teatro, come anco dove si fabricano le statue da mettersi all'altare della Cathedra di S. Pietro a capo di detta basilica che sono di gran meraviglia, opera inventata dal celebre et famoso architetto il cav. Bernini." *Ibid.*

⁵ See Muzzarelli's letter of October 7, 1661, in FRASCHETTI, 333.

⁶ See the **Avviso* of June 24, 1662: On Monday the Pope inspected the work on the "nuovo teatro" and went into Bernini's house to see the statues on which he was at work. The same information is contained in an **Avviso* of June 9, 1663, on a visit on Tuesday, *loc. cit.*

⁷ FRASCHETTI, 333.

⁸ FRASCHETTI (333) gives 82,000, *Cod.*, Chigi H. 140, p. 136. 100,000 scudi.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 332.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 333.

and subsequently to St. Peter's, in order to inspect the work.¹

On January 18th, 1666, feast of St. Peter's Chair,² the venerable episcopal chair was carried by the Canons of St. Peter's into the choir of the basilica where it was enclosed in Bernini's structure.³

The voices that condemned this colossal reliquary of the *cathedra Petri* as sharply as they had condemned the baldacchino under the dome,⁴ have been silenced long ago. The most recent critique has done full justice to this achievement and acknowledged that Bernini carried out his task in a way than which none more magnificent and imposing could have been imagined.⁵ Only his third sketch satisfied him⁶; it

¹ See the **Avviso* of September 9, 1662 (On Monday the Pope inspected in St. Peter's "due statue di bronzo delle quattro che S. B. fa fare con spesa grandissima, rappresentanti li quattro dottori di s. Chiesa, con altri ornamenti dell'altare, che si farà in quella tribuna, ove si esporrà la Cathedra"). On September 22, 1663 (On Monday the Pope inspected at St. Peter's the "Cathedra di S. Pietro in Antiochia e statue di bronzo, che si vanno indorando"), *loc. cit.*

² Cf. our data, Vol. XIV., 242.

³ The ceremony took place not in 1665, as stated by BENKARD (30), but a year later; see **Avviso* of January 23, 1667, *loc. cit.*

⁴ BURCKHARDT, *Cicerone*, 228, 469 seq., who styles it "the Master's coarsest work, a mere decoration and improvisation," an opinion which BENKARD (41) condemns as "Protestant prejudice". In like manner GURLITT (417): "Bernini's worst work." RIEGL, in his edition of Baldinucci also speaks in depreciating terms (p. 179).

⁵ Voss in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 26. MUÑOZ describes the *Cattedra di S. Pietro* as "la più bella decorazione absidale che un tempio cristiano abbia avuto mai" (*Roma barocca*, 355). See also BÖHN, 88 seq., and BENKARD, 30 seq., with whose excellent appreciations I associate myself.

⁶ The first sketch in a drawing at Windsor (Voss in *Archiv. für Kunstgeschichte*, II., fasc. 2-4), the second in METZ, *Imitations of Ancient and Modern Drawings*, both side by side in *Jahrb. der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XLIII., 27. Bernini's *bozzetto* for the Chair in the collection of Prince Chigi, cf. FRASCHETTI, 331.

alone gave prominence to the precious relic and caught the eye of the worshipper from the moment he entered by the great door, allowed for the baldacchino of the dome and the two monuments of Popes in the choir, and adapted itself not only to the gigantic proportions but, in the measure in which this was possible, to the given architectural setting.¹ Thus a work arose which belongs to "the most highly imaginative and supra-terrestrial achievements of Western art."²

The base of the gigantic, multi-coloured masterpiece, constructed of precious marbles and adorned with the arms of Alexander VII., leans against the wall of the choir and from there soars freely upwards. White-spotted black marble forms the first storey of the base, and brilliant red and yellow-flaked jasper the second. Above this, surrounded by clouds of pale gold, is seen floating the magnificent chair³ of dark bronze adorned with resplendent gold ornamentation, within which the precious relic is preserved. Two magnificent figures of angels stand on either side, whilst above the back of the chair, which bears a relief of the scene when Christ said to Peter: "Feed my lambs,"⁴ two winged genii appear in the air bearing the tiara and Peter's keys. The chair is surrounded by the gigantic figures of four Fathers of the Church, each statue being over five metres in height: they are those of two Latins, viz. Augustine and Gregory, and two Greeks, Athanasius and Chrysostom, just as at the Pope's Mass the Gospel is heard in Latin and Greek. "Only the heads

¹ VOSS, *loc. cit.*, 27 *seq.*

² BENKARD, 31. Cf. REYMOND's opinion (120 *seq.*).

³ REYMOND says of the chair: "D'un très beau dessin architectural, elle est malgré ses dimensions colossales, traitée comme un délicieux bijou d'orfèvrerie; elle est charmante par ses formes courbes, par le gras bas-relief qui orne le dossier, par cette grille du siège faite pour laisser entrevoir la relique qu'elle recouvre, par toutes ses ciselures qui la décorent."

⁴ For an appreciation of this bas-relief, which FRASCHETTI describes as *brutto* (334), see BENKARD, 33.

and hands of the figures show the natural colour of bronze, the drapery and mitres being resplendent with gold.”¹

These figures, distinguished by great dignity and gravity,² do not give the impression of carrying or supporting the chair which must be imagined as floating in the air. In order to create an illusion that “here a supernatural element enters into a space created by the hand of man, doing away with its laws of weight and gravitation”, Bernini calmly preserves the given architectural disposition of the choir apse; in this way the dark *cathedra* stands out even more strongly against its white background and heightens the impression that the Apostle’s chair is floating in space.³

The luminous clouds round the chair, from which golden rays break forth on either side, are intimately linked to the second main element of the structure, with what has been called the “miracle in the heights”. There, in the midst of the luminous effect which is further heightened by means of a sheet of coloured glass, the Holy Ghost is seen in the form of a dove, as the mediator between heaven and earth, surrounded by bands of exulting Angels. From this spot, where “by a stroke of genius, the window of the choir is drawn into the composition”, a flood of unearthly light spreads in a downward direction unto Peter’s chair.⁴

¹ BENKARD, *ibid.*

² It is incomprehensible that RIEGL (*Baldinucci*, 179) and later on FRASCHETTI (333 *seq.*) should say that the Fathers of the Church “are in an extremely agitated state”. Let anyone study the reproduction of “St. Augustine” in BENKARD, ill. 53. The *bozzetto* of St. Gregory the Great is in the possession of L. Pollak in Rome; see BRINCKMANN, *Barock Bozzetti italienischer Bildhauer*, Frankfurt, 1923, 100.

³ BENKARD, 33.

⁴ BÖHN, 88. Cf. *Baldinucci*, edit. RIEGL, 240. “Jamais l’hymne de la lumière n’a été chanté avec une telle ivresse” (REYMOND, 120). IOS. MARIAE SUARESH, **Racematio circa cathedram S. Petri apost. principis S^o D^o N^o Alexandro VII. P. M.*, in *Cod. Barb.*, XXXVIII., 69, Vat. Lib., HONORATI FABII, **Extemporanea gratulatio de collocatione cathedrae s. Petri in throno gloriae per Alexandrum VII.*, in *Cod. D. VII.*, 110,

Like Raphael's *Disputa*, Bernini's chair can only be fully understood if viewed in the full light of the Catholic faith.¹ A mystical enchantment issues from this "ecstasy of light and gold" of baroque art²; the full effect is particularly felt in the play of sunlight at the time of the evening "Angelus"³; when seen lit up by electricity, the impression is one that can never be forgotten. Bernini's colossal creation proclaims in its own way the same message as that of the gigantic letters of the luminous inscription of the dome; the message of the papacy's charter of foundation: 'Thou art Peter, the undying shepherd and Teacher of the Church into whose hands the Son of God has entrusted the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the Rock on which Christ built his Church.' Here, as there, a profession of loyalty to the pastoral and teaching authority of Peter and his successors, founded by Christ upon an unshakeable rock which throughout the vicissitudes of all the centuries no storm can shake, no power, not even that of the Gates of Hell, can overcome.

To have opened the way for the final completion of St. Peter's and its adornment would, by itself alone, have shed sufficient lustre upon any pontificate. However, with all his solicitude for this centre of the whole Catholic world, Alexander VII. did not overlook the other churches of the Eternal City. Almost all over Rome we find traces of his zeal for restoration and embellishment. His predecessor had begun work on the restoration of the ancient church of the Lateran.⁴ In 1663, Alexander VII. reconditioned the mosaics of the apse. Already in 1660 he had had the antique bronze doors of S. Adriano transferred to the Lateran, after enlarging them.⁵ Provision

Bibl. Chigi; O. FALCONERIUS, *De Petri cathedra ab Alexandro VII. in Vaticanae basilicae apside collocata*, Romae, 1666.

¹ BENKARD (32 seq.) first drew attention to this. Cf. DVORAK, *Gesch. der ital. Kunst.*, München, 1928, 209 seq.

² ESCHER, 28.

³ TH. HOFMANN, *Entstehungsgesch. des St. Peter in Rom.*, Zittau, 1928, 287.

⁴ See Vol. XXX., 387.

⁵ ORTOLANI, *S. Giov. in Laterano*, 36, 46; CRESCIMBENE,

had been made there for the addition of four small chapels to the outer lateral aisles ; the greater part of the plan was carried out during Alexander VII.'s pontificate.¹ At this time also, several churches in honour of the Mother of God were built in Rome, with the active co-operation of the Pope. S. Maria in Campitelli was rebuilt from its foundations. After the plague had abated in Rome in 1656,² the Senate resolved, in the name of the Roman people, to erect a new church for the picture of S. Maria in Portico, in the Rione di Ripa, and for this it craved the Pope's permission on November 29th. Alexander VII. personally inspected the site and finding it unsuitable gave orders for alterations to S. Maria in Campitelli in the Piazza Capizucchi, which would make of it a new church. On January 23rd, 1660, he deposited the sum of 15,000 scudi in the bank of Pietro and Filippo Neri ; on March 7th the demolition of houses was begun for the purpose of obtaining the required space for the new structure, and on September 29th, the first stone was laid. Work proceeded round the old church which was allowed to stand for a time : " Nothing may be undertaken in honour of the Mother of God unless it be something great," Alexander VII. one day observed in connexion with the preparations for the new church which was only completed under Clement X.³

Stato della chiese Lateranense, Roma, 1723, 68, 92, 116, 143, 147 ; LETAROUILLY, 477 ; LAUER, 334 ; KEYSSLER, I., 686 ; FORCELLA, I., 245, VIII., 65 ; Brief of December 18, 1657, in *Bull.*, XVI., 332 ; *Brief of May 10, 1660, in *Cod. Vat.* 9313, f. 414, Vat. Lib. On the bronze doors, see LANCIANI, *Wanderings through Ancient Rome* (1924), 2121 ; HÜLSEN, *Forum*, 110.

¹ HEMPEL, *Borromini*, 108.

² See p. 33 seq.

³ HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 36 seqq. ; GURLITT, 394 ; PASCOLI, I., 308 ; FORCELLA, IX., 93. Cf. the Senate's decision of May 13, 1658 : " Li conservatori e priori furono ai piedi di S. B. e gli portarono i disegni e pianta della chiesa da farsi in Santa Maria in Campitelli, e li disegni e piante per la ristaurazione delle mura di Roma incominciate già a ristaurarsi, come anche

Two other churches, S. Maria di Monte Santo and S. Maria de'Miracoli, were likewise to constitute a further embellishment of the Piazza del Popolo. In the north of Rome the Monte Pincio has its base so near to the Tiber as to allow of only a narrow entrance into the Eternal City. The Porta del Popolo stands there, together with an adjoining piazza of the same name; three rectilinear streets also meet here in a sharp angle. The two churches within these angles were to serve as two lateral pilasters of a majestic gateway into the city of the Popes. The work was entrusted to Carlo Rainaldi, who was eventually succeeded by Bernini; however, S. Maria di Monte Santo was only completed in 1675 and S. Maria de'Miracoli in 1679.¹ By order of the Pope another church of our Lady, that of S. Maria in Via Lata, was given a new façade between 1658–1662 by Bonomini; this church had received a porch in 1661.² Alexander VII. is likewise entitled to the honour of having completed the church of the Roman University, dedicated to St. Yves, Bonomini's most daring and original work. November 13th, 1660, saw the consecration of this sacred edifice resplendent with gold and rich colouring and flooded with streams of light. On the following day, after the consecration of the altar, Alexander VII. came to celebrate Mass. The retable of the altar, the work of Pietro da Cortona, represents St. Yves, the holy lawyer, Leo the Great, the holy theologian, Pantaleon, the holy physician, together with other Saints connected with learning. The inscription put up in the church: *Initium sapientiae timor Domini* [the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom] and the legend of the medal struck for the occasion: *Omnis*

dello stato nel quale si trova la sepultura di Caio Cestio" (*Cod. Chig. G. III., 78, p. 224b*).

¹ HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 47 *seqq.*; LETAROUILLY, 518. For a letter of Rainaldi to the future Cardinal Gastaldi on the building and on the medal of Alexander VII. which was placed in the foundations of S. Maria di Monte Santo, see GIOV. INCISA DELLA ROCCHETTA in *Il Messaggero* of April 9, 1926.

² THIEME, VII., 495; FORCELLA, VIII., 403; MUÑOZ, *Cortona*, 12; ESCHER, 29.

sapientia a Domino [all wisdom is from the Lord], secured the name of "Sapienza" for the University.¹ The Pope made himself particularly popular with the people of Rome when he completed the Church of S. Andrea della Valle, the façade of which was finished as a result of his co-operation.² The restorations in the Pantheon were confined to the east side of the pronaos where two columns were erected.³ In a number of other Roman churches the arms of the Chigi Pope attest that they owe some improvement or other to his liberality; thus the seven hills surmounted by a star are seen in S. Giovanni in Fonte and in the church of the Crociferi.

The restoration and completion of the churches went hand in hand with the widening and laying out of the piazzas in front of, and the streets leading up to, them. Thus the piazza

¹ Cf. *Opere del cav. Borromini: La chiesa e fabbrica della Sapienza di Roma con le vedute in prospettiva, pianta, etc.*, Roma, 1720; N. RATTI, *Notizie della chiesa interna dell' Archiginnasio Romano*, Roma, 1833; POLLAK, in *Jahrb. der Wiener Zentralkommission*, 1911. The church, which had been secularized in 1870, was restored to its original purpose by Professor Fedele, minister for public worship in Mussolini's Cabinet, on the proposal of Gilberto Martire and P. Giovanni Genocchi. On this occasion the periodical *Italia sacra* published a special number with valuable contributions by A. Muñoz, Alessandro Canezza and Paolo Romano (cf. *Corriere d'Italia*, of January 21, March 5 and 21, 1926). The *ceremonial for Alexander VII.'s visit, arranged on November 7, 1660, is in *Cod. H. III.*, 62, p. 15, of the Bibl. Chigi, where (p. 158) there are also the accounts for the *Fabbrica della Sapienza*.

² HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 54; A. BONI, *S. Andre della Valle*, Roma, 1907; MOSCHINI in *L'Arte*, 1921, 194; PALLAVICINO, I., 281.

³ FRASCHETTI, 299. Memorial on the embellishment of the Pantheon by Cipriano Cipriani in the accounts of the transactions of the *Kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. Leipzig, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, XXXVII. (1885), 124 seqq. Del Pantheon il maestro (Bernini) era ammiratore appassionato e ne studiò la cupola per le sue chiese di Sant'Andrea e di Ariccia, e diceva che la Basilica di San Pietro ha cento difetti e la Rotonda neppur uno (Muñoz, *Bernini*, 27).

before S. Maria della Pace was widened and embellished by Alexander VII.¹ Inscriptions show that the same was done for the Chiesa Nuova and the Chiesa di Monte Giordano as well as for S. Carlo ai Catinari.² In 1659 the Pope ordered the Jesuits to buy the Salviati palace and to demolish as much of it as was required for the purpose of giving a more symmetrical appearance to the piazza in front of the Roman College.³ In like manner a few streets of the city were improved by order of the Pope. Thus the Corso was levelled and widened here and there; the street leading from S. Marco to the Gesù, and the street which started at the Porta Portese, were widened in the same way.⁴ The Pope also interested himself in the restoration and embellishment of the fountains which provided Rome with water, viz. the fountains in the Piazza Colonna, on the Capitol,⁵ in Trastevere, in the Piazza Navona, the Fontana delle Tartarughe.⁶ In 1667 the fountain of the Vatican was transferred to the hospital of S. Spirito.⁷ To

¹ See p. 283. *Motu proprio ' di Alessandro VII. sull'allargamento delle piazze e vie di Roma dato del Nostro Palazzo Apost. di Monte Cavallo," *Cod. Chig. H. III.*, 57, p. 159 seq. *Ibid.*, N. III., 80, p. 3, a *description of the embellishment of Rome.

² OZZOLA, 36 seq.; ESCHER, 29.

³ E. RINALDI, *Fondazione*, 122. A *letter of Pallavicino to the Pope, dated December 8, 1660, probably refers to this: he prays for an audience for " il P. Giattino col modello della facciata della piazza e di quanto occorre, acciochè la S. V. possa ben giudicare, in qual modo debba riuscir meglio l'ingresso della porta maggiore dello stesso collegio, avanti che si ponga mano all'opera ".

⁴ OZZOLA, 37 seq.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 34 seq.

⁶ Orders for payments of 1659 and 1660, *ibid.*, 35. Cf. FEA, *Storia delle acque*, Roma, 1832, 32, 46, 148, 327, 330; GUIDI, *Le fontane barocche di Roma*, Zurigo, 1917, 47; FALDA, *Fontane di Roma*, 32. On the *Fontana delle Tartarughe* we read the old inscription: " Alexander VII. a. IVº. restauravit ornavitque." On Bernini's fountain in the Piazza Navona, see XXX., p. 403. seq.; *Kunstchronik*, XIX. (1907), 179.

⁷ OZZOLA, 32.

this must be added repairs to the bridges of S. Angelo and Quattro Capi, the Pyramid of Cestius and the walls of Rome.¹

The solicitude which Alexander VII. lavished on Rome's great basilicas, St. Peter's, the Lateran, the Pantheon, he also extended to the great palaces. The Vatican was connected with St. Peter's by means of a magnificent staircase, the *Scala Regia*; Bernini also further adorned the *Scala Ducale*.² The Quirinal, which had already been embellished with the frescoes of Pietro da Cortona,³ was enlarged by the addition of a new wing for the purpose of accommodating the papal household.⁴ A new mint was also built,⁵ the University secured a worthier seat,⁶ the lateral façade of the palace of Propaganda was given its definite form in 1662⁷ and the façade at the back of the hospital of S. Spirito, facing the Lungara, was completed in 1664.⁸

Thus nearly all the more important institutions of Rome benefited by Alexander VII.'s munificent liberality, and if he employed the architects he also gave work to the painters. A whole band of the latter was engaged in the decoration of the great gallery of the Quirinal, the Pope's favourite residence.⁹ Pietro de Cortona was in charge of the execution

¹ OZZOLA, 36. Cf. the inscription: "Urbis moenia a porta Pinciana ad Flaminiam usque restaurata a-s., 1661, *ibid.*, Cf. also above, p. 306, n. 3.

² FRASCHETTI, 324; LETAROUILLY-SIMIL, II., 22; ESCHER, 28; MORONI, IX., 153; REYMOND, 142 *seq.*; TAJA, 196; FERRARI, *Stucco*, 81.

³ See above, p. 283.

⁴ NOVAES, X.: *Alessandro*, VII., n. 77; FRASCHETTI, 297.

⁵ CIIACONIUS, IV., 726.

⁶ See above, p. 272 *seq.*

⁷ HEMPEL, *Borromini*, 160 *seqq.*; GURLITT, *Barock*, 362; WEISBACH, 29. In the Archives of Propaganda (*Fabrica*, 1663, p. 354, 1659-1660) payment to "Gius. Paglia Domenicano aintante architetto della fabrica del Collegio Urbano de prop. fide."

⁸ FRASCHETTI, 297; FORCELLA, VI., 441.

⁹ The question arose at this time whether it would not be better for the Pope to reside at the Vatican; cf. "Scritture contrarie

of the frescoes which represented scenes from the Old and New Testament,¹ but there was hardly a painter in Rome who was not given a share in this work, and besides the Italians Pier Francesco Mola, Ciro Ferri, Lazzaro Baldi, Guglielmo Cortese (Borgognone), Carlo Maratta, Giovanni Francesco Bolognese, the names of some foreigners likewise appear, such as those of Gaspard Poussin and the two brothers, John Paul and Aegidius Schor of Innsbruck.²

All over Rome one encounters the arms of the Chigi Pope, or some inscription perpetuating his work.³ His example prompted more than one Cardinal to contribute to the

del card. Sf. Pallavicino e del M. Luca Olstenio, sulla questione nata a tempo di Alessandro VII., se al Pontefice più convenga di abitare a San Pietro che in qualsivoglia altro luogo della città." Roma, 1776. Cf. FORCELLA, I., 112.

¹ MUÑOZ (*Pietro da Cortona*, 16) says of him: "Tra il Bernini animatore di masse poderose e il Borromini cesellatore di fini gioielli, Pietro da Cortona è l'artista che seppe equilibrare in opere perfette le due opposte tendenze dell'architettura barocca."

² The frescoes of 1660 are for the most part hidden since 1870. Cf. PASCOLI, *Vite*, I., 138, 150; BELLORI, *Vite*, III., 148; NOACK, *Deutsches Leben in Rom*, 11; On the two Schors cf. also OZZOLA in *Corriere d'Italia* of March 31, 1908; BENEDETTI, *Palazzi Reali*, I. (1911), 52 seq. Salv. Rosa also painted in the Quirinal for Alexander VII.; see OZZOLA, *Vita ed opere di S. Rosa* (1908), 133 seq. Sacchi also did some work for the Pope; see POSSE, *Sacchi*, 111. On Salv. Rosa's dwelling in Rome: NEM in *N. Antologia*, May 1, 1909, and PERRONE DI MARTINO, **Memor. in Biblioteca Hertziana*; on his landscapes, WOERMANN, I., 200.

³ A number of such reminders of the Chigi Pope in OZZOLA, in *Arch. Rom.*, XXXI., 1 seqq. Cf. **Cod. I.*, VI., 205, pp. 269-505, *Bibl. Chigi*. Outside Rome also we encounter traces of Alexander VII.'s restoring activity, as at Orvieto (inscription in PICCOLOMINI-ADAMI, *Guida*, 236), at the "Rocca" of Nettuno and that of Cività Castellana (arms of the Pope), on the bridge of S. Gennaro (TOMASETTI, II., 297). On the Torre Alessandrina at Fiumicino, 1662, see GUGLIELMOTTI, *Fortificazioni*, 495; on the hospital at Civitavecchia, *id.*, *Squadra*, 40. There is an inscription of Alexander VII. on the arsenal there.

embellishment of Rome,¹ in fact so many new palaces and churches arose by degrees that the custom of describing Rome of the baroque period as "new" or "modern" Rome, gradually established itself.² Alexander VII. ordered a model of his capital to be made in wood,³ to enable him to see

¹ The Cappella S. Giovanni in Oleo restored in 1658 by Card. Franc. Paolucci (HEMPEL, *loc. cit.*, 182), the Cappella Spada in S. Girolamo della Carità 1660 (*ibid.*). In S. Isidoro the chapel of the Immaculate Conception was decorated by Lopez de Silva, Knight of St. James, with the co-operation of Bernini, see FRASCHETTI, 300. To this period belongs the foundation of the French Academy in Rome, 1666; *cf.* MORONI, I., 557; FRANCHI-VERNEY, *L'Acad. de France à Rome*, 1666-1903, Turin, 1903; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1872; LAPAUZE, *Hist. de l'Acad. de France à Rome*, Paris, 1924; *id.*, *La première liste des pensionnaires de l'Acad. de France à Rome* (1668), *et le premier logis de l'Acad.*, in *Bullet. de l'art ancien et moderne*, 1912, 53.

² CHLEDOWSKI, II., 275; G. J. ROSSI, *Il nuovo teatro delle fabbriche et edifici in prospettiva di Roma moderna*, Roma, 1665. Descriptions of contemporary Rome: NIC. DE BRALION (Oratorian), *Les curiosités de l'une et de l'autre Rome* (with many details on the Catacombs), Paris, 1655; a French description of 1662; PICOT, *Bibl. von Rothschild*, III., 228; ALVERI, *Roma* (1664), 39 (Piazza del Popolo), 108 (Bridge S. Angelo); T. ASHBY, *Lievin Cruyl e le sue vedute di Roma*, 1664-1670, in *Atti della Pont. Accad. Rom. di archeol.*, Mem. 3, series I., Roma, 1923-4; CHRIST. VON EISSLINGEN, *Breviarium itineris Italiae*, Norimberg, 1664; CORNELIUS POELENBURG (*ob.* 1667), sketches in the Uffizi, Florence. On Rome in 1667 *cf.* *Arch. des miss. scientifiques*, 2 series, IV., 95.

³ "Il Papa ha tutta Roma di legname in camera distintissima e curiosissima, come quello che non ha maggior sfera che di abellire la città" (F. RAGGI, quoted in *Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 676). The Chigi Library in Rome (H. II., 22, p. 223) still preserves a *note in Alexander VII.'s own hand on his plans for the beautifying of Rome: "La fontana di piazza Colonna metter in quella di S. Marco — La fontana qui di Monte Cavallo in piazza S. Apost. — La guglia di Campo Marzo rizzarla qui a Monte Cavallo. — I cavalli portarli di qua e di là al portone di acqua disegnato con tagliar il canto di quello muro. — Rifinire

what should be done for the further embellishment of the metropolis. Following the example of Sixtus V., Clement VIII. and even more so Paul V., Urban VIII. and Innocent X. created Rome such as it existed up till 1870. With Alexander VII. this incomparable line of patrons of the arts reached an apex which likewise marks a kind of finale.

Porta Pia e che in faccia sia l'acqua predetta. — Portare la mostra della fontana di Trevi in piazza Colonna. — A. S. Pietro gli, (1) scalini alla chiesa et al (2) teatro ; la (3) fontana a suo luogo ; (4) l'altra fontana di nuovo ; il passo per le (5) carrozze alla fine dei due bracci ; le (6) guide a tutta la piazza, buttare (7) a terra il priorato.” To this is added this observation : “ 1. La porzione di dentro retta, quella di fuori circolare. — Bastano di travertino e con meno ripulitura. — 3. Nel trasportarla accrescerla nel più largo giro. — 4. Se la tazza di Campo Vaticano è buona ; si no, di travertino. — 5. Farci il disegno puntuale di questi passi di carrozze. — 6. Per le guide che sorti di lastroni e de' loro profili. — 7. Far la stima e disegno di ciò che resta senza questo appoggio.” For Alexander VII.'s building activity see also BROSC, I., 470 ; *cf.* 426.

CLEMENT IX. A.D. 1667-1669.

CLEMENT X. A.D. 1670-1676.

CHAPTER I.

ELECTION, ANTECEDENTS AND CHARACTER OF CLEMENT IX— THE ROSPIGLIOSI—PATRONAGE OF SCHOLARS AND ARTISTS.

AT the moment of Alexander VII.'s death the Sacred College numbered the legal maximum of seventy members, but during the interregnum the learned Jesuit Pallavicino and Cardinal Bandinelli died on the same day, June 5th.¹ Four Cardinals were absent, so that there were sixty-four electors in all.² The period of the interregnum produced a number of satires

¹ From his deathbed Pallavicino, whilst fully acknowledging all that Flavio Chigi and Barberini had accomplished, earnestly warned the Cardinals to make provision against the excessive nepotism of the new Pope. In particular he desired "che per avvenire non si dessero più alli parenti delli Papi titoli di Principi, Duchi etc. che tutto il denaro che si cavava dallo Stato, dalla Dataria, dalla vendita degli officii e da altri diritti della Sede Apostolica, s'impiegasse unicamente in beneficio delle anime et in isgravamento delli popoli, etc." (*Archivio storico italiano*, App. VI., 398 seq.). Taught by experience, he said, Card. De Lugo had adopted stricter views on nepotism in the last years of his life and had left him a paper on the subject with the request that he should make it known. The Pope could not spend more than 50,000 scudi on his relatives. Cf. also SILV. MAURUS, *Relatione della morte del sig. card. Pallavicino*, MS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus.

² CIACONIUS, IV., 779.

on Alexander VII. and the forthcoming conclave,¹ but no troublesome incident of any kind occurred.²

A glance at the Sacred College reveals a number of splendid men. Even enemies of the Curia³ acknowledged Borromeo's knowledge of theology and Ottoboni's of Canon Law, the

¹ MS. copies of such satires are widely spread. I note : Cortona, Bibl. Comm., *Cod.* 323 ; Florence, Bibl. naz. Cl. VII., n. 369 and 370, and State Archives (see *Carte Strozzi.*, I., 2, 389) ; Gubbio, Bibl. L. Benveduti ; Rome, Boncompagni Archives, *Cod. C.*, 15 and 16 ; Vat. Lib., *Barb.*, 3870. *Il conclave delle donne nella pericolosa infermità di P. Alessandro VII. sequita il mese di Agosto, 1665," *Barb.*, 4709 is filthy. Pasquinades of this kind are mentioned by GUYOT DE MERVILLE, *Voyage d'Italie*, La Haye, 1729 (Germ. transl., Frankfurt, 1736).

² See **Avviso* of June 18, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ See the passage in *Relazione della corte di Roma fatta alla Maestà del Re Christ. dal s. DUCA DI SCIONE, ambasciatore della sudetta Maestà alla S^{ta} di N. S. Clemente IX., tradotta dal Francese*, 1669 in LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 55. LÄMMER describes this account which was widely diffused in print both in Italian and in French as well as in MS. (Munich, *Cod. Ital.* 310 ; Vienna, Staatsbibliothek, 5814, p. 177 *seqq.* ; Brescia, Bibl. Queriniana B. III., 20) more accurately than RANKE (III., No. 137) who observes : " I doubt if this work is from the pen of a French diplomatist unless it be the Duc de Chaulnes ; in any case it is from a not uninformed contemporary. Some of the material is textually taken from Grimani." The " Duca di Chaulnes " is designated as the author in *Barb.* 5259, p. 530, a MS. known to Ranke but not quoted by him. The *Relatione della corte di Roma durante il pontificato di Clemente IX.*, 1676, referred to by RANKE (III., No. 138) and much used by him (in MS. also in Paris [see MARSAND, I., 603] and in *Barb.* 6154, p. 11 *seq.*, Vat. Lib., [partially] printed in *Tesori della corte di Roma*, Bruxelles, 1672) is not as Ranke and after him ADEMOLLO (*Riv. Europ.*, 1878, V., 291) and many others thought, from the Venetian ambassador, for the latter's account, the original of which is in the State Archives of Venice and in print in BERCHET, II., 349 *seqq.*, reads quite differently. I made no use of what Pseudo-Grimani says in praise of Clement IX. because I am unwilling to follow a report which presents itself under a false

shrewdness of Imperiali, the comprehensive erudition of Altieri and Azzolini and the prudence and skill of Rospigliosi. Barbarigo¹ combined holiness of life with learning. Carpegna, too, was universally beloved by reason of his blameless life and his gentle nature, though he was reproached with partisanship for the Medici.² Palotto had given proof not only in Rome, but in Germany and at Ferrara, of ability, energy and piety. He had a great reputation for his knowledge of statecraft but the various Governments were not favourably disposed towards him because of the unyielding vigour with which he defended the Church's liberty. Brancaccio was widely read in Church history and Canon Law, but it was thought that the Spaniards would object to a Neapolitan and that they had not yet forgotten his encounter with the Viceroy of Naples in connexion with ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Many more were thus mentioned, all fit candidates for the papacy by reason of their excellent qualities; on the other hand, there were also serious objections to most of them. Albizzi's skill in dealing with ecclesiastical and political questions was not contested, but his violence prejudiced the princes against him, more especially the Chigi, towards whom he had used language of unusual freedom. The princes, and the majority of the Cardinals, would have liked the aged Spada as Pope. His many years' governorship of Rome was not forgotten, but the circumstance that he came from Lucca was against him and though he had been named by Innocent X., he was thought to be too partial to the Barberini. D'Elce had distinguished himself in every office he had held, especially in his German nunciature; calm, modest, pious, of blameless conduct and learned as he was, he had the unconditional support of Alexander VII.'s Cardinals;

name. Moreover I had at my disposal contemporary sources of undoubted authenticity.

¹ See p. 131.

² These and the following character sketches are based on the " *Relatione sopra 15 cardinali papabili a S. A. elettore duca di Baviera " in *Barb.* 4504, p. 16 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

however, the Medici did not want a Sienese. Farnese was also held in high esteem. He had carried out the various offices entrusted to him with universal approval, but it was thought that the princes would not care to have a Pope possessed of so much business ability. Rospigliosi was popular at the Curia and with most of the Cardinals. He was on good terms both with the Spaniards and the French, but his chances were prejudiced by the fact that he was born a subject of the Medici and that he had a great many relatives. No one doubted Buonvisi's knowledge and ability as a ruler, but he was thought too young. "Rospigliosi and Buonvisi," Cardinal Harrach wrote to the Emperor Leopold I., on the eve of the conclave, "encounter the least opposition among all the *papabili*, but it is felt that the former has too many nephews and is too delicate; however, people think he may live another two or three years and it is precisely this circumstance, more than anything else, that will contribute to his election."¹

The Sacred College was divided into two great parties, viz. the 24 Cardinals of Alexander VII., headed by Flavio Chigi, and Urban VIII.'s 16, led by Antonio Barberini.² Between them, under the leadership of Azzolini and Imperiali, stood the ten Cardinals of the *Squadron volante* and those of French and Spanish sympathies: these parties were of almost equal strength. The imperial Cardinals, Harrach and Hessen, sided with the Spaniards whose leader, Sforza, was, however, most unpopular with his own party. Harrach wrote to Leopold I. that the Spanish fraction was small and for the time being unable to do more than prevent the election of an enemy of the Habsburgs.³ The Cardinals with French sympathies, namely Este, Antonio Barberini, Orsini,

¹ Letter of June 2 and 16, 1667, State Arch., Vienna.

² See *Conclavi*, III., 72. The number of Chigi's followers is here given as 34, an obvious misprint but one that WAHRMUND (144) and EISLER (154) unhesitatingly followed.

³ WAHRMUND, 144, 275-276.

Grimaldi, Retz, Maidalchini and Mancini were very closely united.¹

On June 2nd, 1667, sixty-one Cardinals entered the conclave; later on this number rose to sixty-four.² The conclave had not been prepared at the Quirinal, as many would have wished, but at the Vatican, and it was more spacious than on previous occasions.³ The very first discussions showed that only three candidates were seriously in question: Farnese, D'Elce and Rospigliosi.

Farnese was declined by the *Squadron volante* and the prospects of D'Elce, for whom Chigi worked with all his might, were nipped in the bud by an excess of zeal on the part of a conclavist.⁴ Thus there remained only Rospigliosi, but his supporters only put forward his candidature with the utmost caution. At the first scrutiny on June 3rd, he received two votes; on the morning of the 7th he had eleven, but on the evening of the same day he had only seven; on the 8th his votes fell as low as four; on the 9th they rose again to eight; on the 10th he had five; on the 12th he had four and on the 17th only two. On the 19th he rose to seven only to sink back to five votes. On the morning of June 20th he had no more than five votes, but in the evening of the same day 61 out of the 64 Cardinals pronounced in his favour.⁵ This result was by no means solely due to Louis XIV.'s effective support, as was subsequently claimed by the French whose chief candidate had been D'Elce, whilst Rospigliosi only came in the second place.⁶ The Spaniards, who were unaware of

¹ The above-named are expressly described as *borbonici* in a *note of Alexander VII. from the beginning of 1667 for the eventuality of a conclave. Family Archives at Ariccia.

² *Diario nella sede vacante 1667, *Barb.* 4436 (Vat. Library), with a plan of the conclave.

³ *Conclavi*, III., 40, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 80 *seqq.*

⁵ See the *lists in *Barb.* 4436, p. 46 *seq.*, Vat. Lib.

⁶ HANOTAUX, *Instructions*, 222; cf. GÉRIN, II., 181 *seq.*, who exhaustively and impartially exposes the utter falsehood of the French reports, but even he was not able to ascertain accurately how far Rospigliosi went to meet the French in 1661.

France's support of Rospigliosi, favoured him because of the excellent impression he had made during his nunciature in Madrid.¹ The "flying squadron" saw in the pious and able Cardinal the right man to guide the Church. Flavio Chigi was the main obstacle but he ended by dropping his opposition. The last and decisive negotiations were conducted by Cardinal Azzolini who belonged to the *Squadron volante*,² hence it was an exorbitant boast on the part of the French ambassador when he wrote to Paris that Rospigliosi's election was exclusively due to the favour of Louis XIV., so much so that the King "appointed no more autocratically the head of the merchants' guild of Paris than he had named the Pope on the present occasion".³

Giulio Rospigliosi, who took the name of Clement IX., sprang from an old and honourable family originating from Lombardy but which had settled at Pistoia, in Tuscany.⁴ He was born in that city on January 28th, 1600.⁵ As a youth of seventeen he came to Rome to pursue his studies at the Jesuit College, where the celebrated historian Famiano Strada, was one of his teachers. He subsequently studied at the University of Pisa where he obtained the doctorate of philosophy and theology, and from 1623 to 1625 he taught philosophy there. He was a poet as well as a scholar. On

¹ See XXX., p. 87.

² *Conclavi*, III., 84 seqq., 93; cf. WAHRMUND, 144 seq.; **Diario nella sede vacante*, 1667, loc. cit.

³ GÉRIN, II., 192.

⁴ FABRONIUS, *Vita Clementis IX.* in *Vitae ital.*, II., Pisis, 1778. Also AMEYDEN, *Famiglie Romane*, II., 174; G. BEANI, *Clemente IX. Notizie storiche*, Prato, 1893. For Clement IX.'s arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, *Armorial*, 45.

⁵ See the extract of the Baptismal Register in BEANI, 133. Cf. **Compendio della vita di Clemente IX.* S. P. fatto da Ant. Mattioli archivista dell' ecc^a casa Rospigliosi 1744, Rospigliosi Archives N. 50, where we read: " *Ebbe il nome di Giulio a contemplazione di altro suo antenato di simil nome, stato eccellente nell' armi." The data that follow are taken from this *Compendio*. See also G. CANEVAZZI, *Papa Clemente IX. poeta*, Modena, 1900, 48 seq., 57 seqq.

April 25th, 1632, he became a referendary of both Segnaturas and Secretary to the Congregation of Rites ; on December 24th, 1636, he was made a Canon of St. Mary Major ; an honorary citizen of Rome on April 28th, 1637 ; a Domestic Prelate and Secretary for Briefs to Princes on April 29th, 1641 ; on January 4th, 1643, Canonist and Consultor to the Penitenziaria,¹ and on July 14th, 1644, nuncio in Spain with the title of Archbishop of Tarsus. He had been in Spain on a previous occasion in the suite of the Cardinal Legate Francesco Barberini.²

Besides his other excellent qualities, Urban VIII. and his nephews had attached special value to Rospigliosi's gifts as a poet, in fact it may be said that it was his fine literary formation which opened to him the highly polished Barberini circle. Rospigliosi expounded his lofty conception of poetry in a dissertation on Bracciolini's poem on the election of Urban VIII. In 1629 he wrote some poems on the wedding on Taddeo Barberini and Anna Colonna³ ; he also composed a sonnet in honour of the famous singer, Leonora Baroni, who had been the object of Milton's homage.⁴ For the inauguration of the Barberini theatre in 1634, he wrote his first melodrama, " Sant' Alessio," which was set to music by Stefano Landi. The *mise-en-scène*, of which Barberini had taken charge and the delightful music, made of the representation of this touching

¹ A Brief of July 27, 1643, appointed Rospigliosi " sigillatore della Penitenziaria e vicario della basilica di S. Maria Maggiore " ; cf. **Compendio*, loc. cit.

² Rospigliosi's *nunciature reports in *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 89, 90, 91, A. 92, A. 93, 94, 96, 97, 98, 99, 99 A., 100, 101, 102, 104, 346, 347, 348, etc. ; his **Lettere famigliari* of the period of his nunciature 1644-1653 in Rospigliosi Archives, T. 4 and 5 ; *ibid.*, T. 1-3 his **Lettere famigliari* from Rome, 1630-1643. ADEMOLLO (*Teatri* 84) wrongly places the nomination as nuncio in the year 1646, BILDT (*Conclave*, I.) in 1663.

³ ADEMOLLO, loc. cit., 78 seqq., 86 seqq. ; CANEVAZZI, loc. cit., 57 seq., 59 seqq.

⁴ ADEMOLLO, *La Leonora di Milton e di Clemente IX.*, Milano.

legend an event in the artistic life of Rome.¹ Rospigliosi's other musical dramas—*Santa Teodora*, *San Bonifazio*, *Chi soffre speri*, *Sant' Eustachio*—were equally successful.

The very titles of these and other melodramas show the influence of the Spanish "Comedias de Santos" on the author who successfully kept free from the prevailing mannerisms of the period. These Spanish models were Rospigliosi's standard not only in his sacred dramas, but likewise in his profane ones. In them faith and virtue triumph over unbelief and vice, hence the author was acclaimed by reason of his good influence on the stage in Rome. In some pieces, such as, for instance, *Dal male, il bene*, the scene of which is laid at Madrid, the influence of Calderon is unmistakable.² During his nunciature in Madrid, Rospigliosi wrote the drama, *La comica del cielo*, which was repeatedly performed during the carnival of 1668, in the home of the Rospigliosi, the palazzo Ludovisi [to-day Fiano] in the Corso, when it earned great applause. Bernini was responsible for the scenery, Antonio Maria Abbatini for the music. The piece represents the conversion of a fair Spaniard, Baltesara; it betrays reminiscences from Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, but the plot is based on a Spanish model.³

Rospigliosi successfully conducted the Spanish nunciature for a period of nine years.⁴ His disinterestedness was proved

¹ ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 7 seqq.; CANEVAZZI, 65 seqq.; FRASCHETTI, 261 seq.

² ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 20 seq., 65 seq., 81 seq.; BEANI, 139, 173 seqq.; J. SANESI, *Poesie musicali di G. Rospigliosi* (Nozze-Publ.), Pistoia, 1894; CANEVAZZI, 77 seqq., 86, 96 seqq., 103 seqq., 123 seqq., 136. Cf. ALALEONA, *P. Clemente IX. poeta* in *Bullet. de Soc. filologica Romana*, 1905; SALZA, *Drammi inediti di G. Rospigliosi* in *Riv. music.*, XIV. (1907); FRASCHETTI, 270 seq. Part of Clement IX.'s private library, consisting mostly of printed, beautifully bound works, among them many musical ones, is preserved in the Rospigliosi palace in Rome. Cf. our data, Vol. XXVIII, 352, XXIX, 506; BAUMGARTNER, VI., 509 seq.; Library at Naples, XIII., E. 7, E. 25.

³ ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 99 seqq.; CANEVAZZI, 145 seqq.

⁴ Not eleven, as given by NOVAES (X., 199) and others.

by the fact that he returned poor from that "Prelates' India" as Pallavicino described it.¹ He did not obtain the purple which he so fully deserved, because under Innocent X. he shared the disgrace of his friends, the Barberini. At the death of that Pope the College of Cardinals made him Governor of Rome; in this difficult post he gave splendid proofs of his ability. Alexander VII. greatly valued Rospigliosi's merit as well as his literary talents. He made him Secretary of State. On April 9th, 1657, he was named Cardinal priest of S. Sisto,² to Pistoia's great satisfaction.³

As Secretary of State, Rospigliosi won the good opinion of everyone by reason of his blameless life, his modesty, kindliness and application to duty.⁴ He nevertheless temporarily forfeited the Pope's confidence for having entered into a correspondence with the French court with a view to assuring for himself France's support in the event of a conclave. However, he promptly dropped the French and thus maintained himself in his position.⁵ The issue of the conclave brought it about that for the second time a Secretary of State became Pope: a circumstance that greatly enhanced the prestige of that office.⁶

According to the consistorial acts, Rospigliosi took the name of Clement because he wished to encourage the hopes inspired by his election.⁷ His conception of mildness is sufficiently revealed by the legend of one of his medals:

¹ PALLAVICINO, I., 264. Cf. the report from Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 232, and the **Vita Clementis*, IX., in *Ottob.*, 2481, p. 440, Vat. Lib.

² Cf. Alexander VII.'s **Brief to Pistoia* in BEANI, 159.

³ ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 84.

⁴ P. BASADONNA in BERCHET, II., 269.

⁵ GÉRIN, I., 274 *seqq.*

⁶ RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 737.

⁷ " **Confirmandae spei de se conceptae nomen sibi Clementis IX. imposuit* " (*Acta consist.*, Barb. 2931, Vat. Lib. Hence it is an error to say that he took the name because he was born under Clement VIII., as TERLINDEN (47) does.

Aliis non sibi Clemens: "kind to others, not to self."¹ Another and characteristic proof of the excellent reputation Rospigliosi enjoyed in Rome is the circumstance that naughty Pasquino greeted him with an ode, an exceptional treatment of which none of his predecessors could boast. He praised Rospigliosi's justice and prophesied that his reign would bring back the golden age for the Christian peoples.² Unfortunately, the 67 years' old Pontiff was frail and sickly,³ a fact which is confirmed by his excellent portrait by Maratta.⁴ For this reason he preferred to live in the salubrious Quirinal rather than at the Vatican.⁵ Doubts had been expressed during the conclave as to whether Rospigliosi would be equal to the exertions of the liturgical functions; but during the first year of his pontificate his health was so robust in this respect that he put healthier and stronger Popes in the shade.⁶ The coronation was celebrated on June 26th, 1667, and on July 3rd the Pope took possession of the Lateran.⁷

Until this time every new pontificate had meant a more or less considerable change of officials. Clement IX. would not hear of such a thing. Apart from a few higher posts, he retained most of the officials of his predecessor.⁸ Emilio Altieri became

¹ On Clement IX.'s medals see BEANI, 189 *seq.*

² Havrà il mondo di pace ancor tesoro | Godrà il popol di Cristo un secol d'oro (CHLEDOWSKI, II., 271). The Cardinal of Hesse and John Emmerix bestow great praise on the new Pope in their *reports to Leopold I., dated June 20, 1667 (State Archives, Vienna). See also the **Avviso* of June 25, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ "Essendo gracile di corpo e di complessione delicata, tanto che le accidentali sue indisposizioni di calcolo e di hernia acquosa l'hanno qualche volta indebolito e sconvolto." A. Grimani in BERCHET, II., 328.

⁴ See p. 331.

⁵ BILDT, *Un banchetto al Quirinale nel seicento*, Roma, 1901, 10.

⁶ See the report of the envoys of Lucca in *Studi e docum.*, XXII., 232 *seq.*

⁷ CANCELLIERI, *Possessi*, 275 *seqq.*

⁸ Report of the envoys of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, 234. The Florentine Archbishop, Franc. Nerli, was retained as Secretary of Briefs to Princes; **Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. G. F. Nini also continued

Maestro di Camera, the Jesuit Ambrogio Spinola, his confessor, Pietro Ottoboni was made Datarius¹ and Decio Azzolini was appointed Secretary of State; the two last named belonged to the "flying squadron". Their influence was great in other ways also, inasmuch as they were considered to have been really responsible for the election.² Azzolini was soon joined by a Cardinal nephew in the person of Jacopo Rospigliosi who was raised to the purple on December 12th, 1667. This son of the Pope's brother was acting as internuncio at Brussels at the time of the conclave. On his return he remained under the direction of Azzolini although himself experienced in diplomacy and 38 years of age.³ The real management of State business the Pope reserved to himself.⁴ The revenues assigned to the nephew were modest, and with regard to his other relatives also, the Pope followed the warning given by Cardinal Pallavicino shortly before his death.⁵ He broke with the custom of providing for the nephews at the expense of the State, thereby dealing nepotism a sensible blow.⁶ "The Pope thinks of everybody, except his own family," wrote the Duke of Chaulnes, who saw his hope of influencing the Pope through his nephews go up in smoke.⁷ In this ticklish matter, Clement IX. acted with a tact only equalled by his caution. His relatives in Pistoia, where the election of a fellow citizen had been hailed with enthusiasm,⁸

for a time as *maggiordomo*, in 1669, he was succeeded by B. Rocci; see MORONI, XLI., 268.

¹ **Avviso* of June 25, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.; MORONI, XIX., 138, XLI., 135; QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 332. The "Ruolo di famiglia di Clemente IX.," dated November 1, 1667, in *Cod. J. II.*, 48, Chigi Library.

² Report of the envoys of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, XXII., 233.

³ QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 331; RICHARD in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, XI., 737.

⁴ Report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, 235.

⁵ See p. 314, n. 1.

⁶ BROSCHE, I., 435; CHLEDOWSKI, II., 272.

⁷ GÉRIN, II., 277.

⁸ ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 98 seq., 227 seqq.; BEANI, 49 seqq.

were allowed to come to Rome at the beginning of July 1667,¹ only for the lifetime of the Pope. They were refused the customary title of "Don". Though they were given administrative posts—Clement IX.'s brother, Camillo, was named General of the Church in September 1667, and his son, Tommaso, castellan of Castel S. Angelo²—they nevertheless had to be content with the revenues of these offices. And since the Pope insisted that his relatives should live in a becoming style, it was impossible for them to pile up wealth or to lay the foundation of a new family of nephews at the price of an increase of the public debt.³ If the Rospigliosi, who occupied the Ludovisi palace in the Corso,⁴ ended by entering into the circle of the great families of Rome, it was solely because Camillo's son, Giambattista, the commander of the papal guards, married a wealthy Pallavicino of Genoa. Even this alliance was only reluctantly sanctioned by the Pope, for his original intention had been that after his death the Rospigliosi should go back to Pistoia.⁵

Though Clement IX. yielded on this point, he rigorously insisted on his relatives refraining from meddling with affairs that were not of their competence. The Rospigliosi fully complied with the Pope's lofty intentions. Camillo Rospigliosi lived very quietly and after the death of Lucrezia Cellese, his wife, he devoted himself mainly to piety and works of charity; the only thing he occasionally complained of was that his brother, whom he had always assisted in former days, made him far too small an allowance.⁶ Only in 1669 did he receive a considerable gift from the Pope, but this was taken from the Pope's private property.⁷

A contemporary describes Camillo's character as that of

¹ **Avviso* of July 9, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Avviso* of September 3, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ Report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.*, 233; QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 331 *seq.*; BROSCHE, *loc. cit.*

⁴ **Avviso* of October 1, 1667, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Report of the envoy of Lucca, *loc. cit.* ⁶ *Ibid.*, 236.

⁷ **Donazione di Clemente IX. al suo fratello Camillo di tutta la sua porzione patrimoniale paterna e materna*, dat. Roma,

an old world gentleman. Though he was no good at compliments, he nevertheless treated everyone with great courtesy. For the rest the Pope had restricted his official powers by transferring the office of the Governor of the Borgo to the Governor of Rome, with a view to eliminating complications such as those that had crept in during the last pontificate.¹ Of Camillo's many sons mention has already been made of Cardinal Jacopo and of Tommaso and Giambattista. Vincenzo, the next in age after the Cardinal, received the command of the papal galleys; Felice, who was an ecclesiastic, was only given two abbeys in the Kingdom of Naples which did not yield more than a 1,000 scudi.²

All the Rospigliosi were remarkable for their modest, meek and reserved nature. Their conduct towards the aristocracy is likewise described as most considerate.³ When Tommaso Rospigliosi was carried off by a fever in the summer of 1669,⁴ at the early age of 28, a statue was put up in his honour in the palace of the Conservators in recognition of the services he had rendered to the city.⁵

Monte Cavallo 1669 gennaio 7; with *Chirografo* for the "fidei-commisso Rospigliosi di Pistoia," Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

¹ Report of Lucca envoy, *loc. cit.* The "Constitutio super reformatione iurisdictionis tribunalis Burgi", dated Cal., September, 1667, in *Bandi*, V., 46, Papal Sec. Arch., printed in *Bull.*, XVII., 547 *seqq.*

² QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 332. Vincenzo's portrait by Fred. Voigt, in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, reproduced by TERLINDEN, 240.

³ Report of Lucca envoys, *loc. cit.*, 235. Cf. QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 331 *seq.*

⁴ See the *reports of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated Rome, August 3 and 10, 1669, State Archives, Vienna. Cf. **Avviso* of August 10, 1669, which says that the Pope called upon the sick man incognito, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ According to the **Avviso* of August 17, 1669 (*ibid.*), the Senate decreed the statue chiefly by reason of the interest which Tommaso had taken in the silk and woollen industry. The inscription of the statue, which exists to this day, is in FORCELLA, I., 64. T. Rospigliosi was buried at St. Mary Major; see **Avviso* of August 10, 1669, *loc. cit.*

Clement IX.'s popularity with the Roman people could not have been greater. He quickly won all hearts by an heroic decision, one by which he earned the encomiums of the Venetian ambassador, when he lowered the duty on flour, though a heavy loss of revenue was bound to be the consequence. As Alexander VII. had already thought of this step, Clement IX. saw to it that in the ordinance to this effect the late Pope's name, not his own, should be mentioned.¹ The encouragement given by the Pope to agriculture and the wool and silk industry, his solicitude for the proper administration of justice and the fact that he admitted into his presence even the humblest plaintiff, were felt as a very great blessing. Immediately after his election he had a confessional put up in St. Peter's in which he himself heard confessions.² Clement IX. was by nature extraordinarily inclined to kindness—*concediamo* was his favourite saying³—and his liberality knew no bounds. On the other hand, for his own person he was parsimonious: he would not allow more than 15 baiocchi a day to be spent on his table.⁴ Within a short time he spent the sum of 600,000 scudi on necessitous persons of every description.⁵ Daily thirteen poor persons were fed at the Vatican, the Pope himself waiting upon them.⁶ In November 1667, Clement IX. visited the sick in the hospital of the Lateran, questioned them on their illness, distributed generous alms and gave orders that they should be well looked after. In January 1668, he visited the hospital della Consolazione; on Maundy Thursday he entertained 400 poor pilgrims and on Holy Saturday he heard confessions in St. Peter's for three and a half hours. In September, and again in December,

¹ QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 329; **Avviso* of July 2, 1667, Papal Sec. Arch.; NOVAES, X., 202.

² BENIGNI, 58 *seq.*; NOVAES, X., 223. Cf. " *Compendio della vita di Clemente IX.," Rospigliosi Archives.

³ RAPIN, *Mém.*, III., 396.

⁴ BILDT, *Un banchetto*, 9.

⁵ QUIRINI in BERCHET, II., 328 *seq.*, 333.

⁶ **Avviso* of July 30, 1667, Papal Sec. Archives.

he repeated his visit to the hospital of the Lateran.¹ Despite his age and infirmities he went up the *Scala Santa* on his knees in Advent 1668.² Although in 1669 the physicians forbade him to take part in church functions, because of his gravel, he nevertheless assisted at the function of Palm Sunday, which fatigued him greatly.³ Only a short time before his death he visited the seven principal churches of Rome.⁴

That so cultivated a Pope should have shown favour to scholars, artists and musicians, is not surprising. Thus he gave his patronage to the learned Jesuit Kircher, the archæologist Giovanni Ciampini, the historian of literature Leone Allacci, the astronomer Cassini, and the anatomist Blaise Benginus.⁵ By his orders Giovanni Bona and Michelangelo Ricci founded an Academy for the study of Church history.⁶

Of great consequence for the literary and artistic life of Rome was the return, on November 22nd, 1668, of the highly cultivated Queen Christina, after an absence of two and a half years in Sweden. Clement IX. had been on friendly terms with her whilst still a Cardinal and the Queen had furthered his election through Azzolini and by influencing Louis XIV.⁷

¹ See the **Avviso* of November 12, 1667, January 8, September 29 and December 22, 1668; *ibid.*, and the French reports in GÉRIN, II., 229.

² **Avviso* of December 22, 1668, *loc. cit.*

³ Report of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated April 20, 1669, State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ **Avviso* of November 2, 1669, *loc. cit.*

⁵ BEANI, *Clemente IX.*, 110 *seqq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁷ Information on this point (GRAUERT, II., 213, and especially BILDT, *Christine et le card. Azzolini*, 195 *seq.*, 208 *seq.*, 219 *seq.*) is confirmed by an autograph letter of Clement IX. to Christine, dated June 22, 1667, in which the Pope thanks her for her co-operation in the same terms as the Kings of France and Spain and assures her of his special affection as "eletta dal S. Dio a sì grande et straordinaria maniera di suo servitio, e che con tanta virtù e costanza, dopo haver sacrificati i suoi regni alla vera fede di Christo, mostra anche con tante fatiche e disastrosi viaggi al sua prontezza a sacrificargli la vita e fa risplendere la gloriosa

The Pope wished to show his gratitude for this as well as for the interest Christine had taken in Catholicism in the North.¹ Accordingly, he did all he could in order to surround her return to Rome with the utmost splendour, and as soon as she arrived he received her in an audience which lasted three hours and a quarter.² Later on also, he paid her much honour. At the beginning of December, he called on her in her palace on the Lungara and remained a whole hour. The Queen received the Pope on her knees at the foot of the staircase.³ On December 9th, 1668, he gave a brilliant banquet in her honour at the Quirinal. This entertainment has been perpetuated by an engraving and an aquarelle by Pierre Sévin, a member of the French Academy of painting in Rome, founded by Louis XIV. in 1666.⁴ The ceremonial of the feast was arranged beforehand, down to the smallest detail. The Pope's table stood on a dais surmounted by a baldacchino: in close proximity, on a lower dais, was the Queen's table. The Queen went into the room first and shortly afterwards the Pope came in by the opposite door. After they had greeted each

e degna perseveranza nella sua somma pietà". On September 3, 1667, Clement IX., in answer to her letter informing him of her arrival on August 10, wrote that he had anxiously awaited her from the beginning of his pontificate as her presence was a comfort to him (*Lettere di propria mano*, Arm., 45, t. 41, p. 102, 104, Papal Sec. Arch., printed from a copy in *Bullet. stor. Pistoiese*, I. [1899], 153 seqq.). In the *Lettere*, p. 140^b, *Letter of October 28, 1668: Joy over her speedy arrival.

¹ Cf. p. 69.

² GRAUERT, II., 216. Cf. **Avviso* of November 24, 1668 (Papal Sec. Arch.), and *report of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated November 24, 1668 (State Archives, Vienna), who says of Christine: "Es scheint woll das Ihro die Raisz nichts geschadet, weillen sie faister zurückgekommen als abgereist."

³ **Avviso* of December 8, 1668, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See H. LAPAUZE, *La première liste authentique des pensionnaires de l'Académie de France à Rome 1668 et le premier logis de l'Académie*, in *Le Bulletin de l'art ancien et moderne*, 10 février 1912, 46-98; 17 février 1912, 53-6. "Da documenti dell'Archivio della parrocchia di S. Spirito, con lista dei pensionati 1665-1671."

other, the Maggiordomo was about to hand the Pope his napkin when the Queen herself presented it to him. Instrumental and vocal music enhanced the feast. Clement IX., who never touched wine, drank the Queen's health in red lemonade. The dinner ended with dessert prepared *alla francese*, that is sweet pastry ; so-called *trionfi*, representing for the most part religious subjects, were put on the table in silver baskets and vases. The meal over, another chair was placed near the Pope's table for the Queen, when they entered into a short conversation, for up till then they had sat so far apart that the master of ceremonies, Faber, who stood between them, had to act as intermediary for their mutual courtesies. At the end the two sovereigns withdrew in the same order as they had come in. The Queen had been met by the nephew, Giambattista Rospigliosi and officers of the Swiss Guard, with a numerous escort, and she was conducted back to her palace in the same way.¹ On other occasions also, such as the New Year, Christine was the object of particular attentions on the part of the Pope,² and in 1669, evidently at the instigation of the Secretary of State, Azzolini, the Pope granted her an annual pension of 12,000 scudi.³ The Queen called on the Pope almost every month⁴ ; the latter was one of the few people who knew of her aspirations to the crown of Poland.⁵ Christine showed her gratitude by bestowing a diamond cross on Clement IX.'s sister, and by intervening with De Witt, a former member of the Dutch Council, with a view to restraining the calumnies that were being spread in Holland about the first personages of the Curia.⁶

Conversation between Clement IX. and the gifted Queen

¹ BILDT, *Un banchetto*. To the sources there mentioned must be added an **Avviso* of December 15, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Avviso* of January 5, 1669, *ibid*.

³ BILDT, *Christine et le card. Azzolini*, 199, n. 2.

⁴ Cf. the **Avvisi* of May 18, June 8, August 10 and September 28, 1669, *loc. cit*.

⁵ GRAUERT, II., 218 ; BILDT, *Christine*, 441 ; ANDRÉ, in *Rev. hist.*, 1908.

⁶ GRAUERT, II., 229, 242.

was not confined to ecclesiastical and political questions, the most important of which was the warding off of Turkish aggression, on the contrary, it very much included literary, musical and artistic topics. On the occasion of his visit to the palace on the Lungara, the Pope made a minute inspection of the Queen's famous picture gallery.¹

Like Clement IX.,² his brother Camillo also took a lively interest in art. Up to this time an exhibition of the works of living artists was held every year on the feast of St. Joseph in the porch of the Pantheon, under the auspices of a Guild of artists, the so-called *Virtuosi al Pantheon*, founded under Paul III.³ It was an innovation when Camillo Rospigliosi, on August 29th, 1669, organized an exhibition of pictures by old masters, for which Queen Christine's gallery was particularly drawn upon. On this occasion, Salvatore Rosa managed to get his picture "Saul and the witch of Endor", now in the Louvre, exhibited by the side of Raphael and Titian. The admiration it called forth is deserved, for it is a most effective composition despite its peculiarities.⁴

Whilst still a Cardinal, Clement IX. had had a great deal to do with the painter Carlo Maratta, a pupil of Andrea Sacchi. As Pope he saw him repeatedly and gave him divers proofs of goodwill. Maratta was commissioned to paint the Pope's portrait. The Pope sat for him in the convent of S. Sabina whither he was wont to withdraw during the carnival. During one of these sittings the Pope was taken with

¹ **Avviso* of December 8, 1668, *loc. cit.*

² An **Avviso* of November 12, 1667 (*ibid.*), announces the Pope's visit to the "chiesa di S. Maria in Portico, fabricata in adempimento del voto, che fecero l'anno 1656 la f. m. di P. Alessandro VII. e il popolo Romano per la liberatione dalla peste, e diede una vista al sontuoso ornamento fatto attorno alla miracolosa immagine con architettura del S. Giov. Ant. de Rossi".

³ See our data, Vol. XII., 600.

⁴ CESAREO, *Poesie e lettere di S. Rosa*, II., Napoli, 1892, 129 *seq.*; L. OZZOLA, *Vita e opere di S. Rosa*, Strassburg, 1908, 148 *seq.*; CHLEDOWSKI, II., 438. Cf. above, p. 310, n. 9.

one of the sudden fainting fits to which he was subject. The biographer of the artist praises the tact with which his hero dealt with this delicate situation.¹ Maratta's protrait of Clement IX., now owned by the Pallavicini in Rome, ranks among the classical portraits of Popes. The portrait, for which Maratta drew inspiration from Velasquez' "Innocent X.", is a half length one and shows the Pope seated in a chair lined with carmine velvet and wearing a red cap; a cape of the same colour forms a striking contrast to the white cassock. The Pontiff holds a book in one hand, the other rests on the chair. On the small table in front of the Pope is a bell and a scroll bearing the words: *Per Carlo Maratta*. The contemporaries admired the realism of the portrait which betrays the fatigue of age, though without allowing the beholder to forget the majesty and intelligence of the model. The pale, furrowed, nervous face with the pointed nose, grey beard and the bright, big, vivacious eyes, is superbly rendered.² On the other hand, Clement IX. looks much younger in the no less splendid portrait by Giovanni Battista Gaulli, surnamed Bacciccia, which is seen in the Accademia di S. Luca, in Rome.³

Of all Rome's artists Bernini, an architect as well as a sculptor of genius, was held in highest esteem by Clement IX. Whilst the days of Pietro da Cortona and those of Borromini were drawing to a close,⁴ the master who had served so many

¹ BELLORI, III., 155 *seqq.*

² Excellent reproduction in VENTURI, *Tesori d'arte inediti di Roma*, Roma, 1896. Copies in the Eremitage, Petrograd (IUSTI, *Velasquez*, II., 188), in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, Pistoia (BEANI, 196), and in that of Rome, where there is also a marble bust of Clement IX. and of Card. Rospigliosi and a portrait of the Pope's sister. In the garden house there is a good bronze bust of Clement IX. A very characteristic pastel of the head of Clement IX., attributed to Maratta, is in the *Palais des Arts*, Lyons (P. MARCELL, *Les Musées de France*, 1912, no. 1, p. 17).

³ Reproduction in RICCI, *Gesch. der Kunst in Norditalien*, 303 (*cf.* 305). A small but excellent copy is in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome. *Cf.* THIEME, XIII., 277.

⁴ Borromini died on August 28, 1667, Pietro da Cortona on

Popes was still at the height of his powers. Immediately after his election Clement IX. entrusted to him both the completion of the left wing of the colonnade of St. Peter's and the embellishment of the bridge of St. Angelo. Clement VII. had put up on the bridge the statues of the Princes of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul.¹ For the reception of Charles V. by Paul III. in 1536, Raffael da Montelupo had adorned the bridge with fourteen terracotta figures.² It was now decided to replace these by ten, more than life-size, marble statues of angels holding the instruments of the Passion. It was impossible to conceive a more appropriate decoration than this *Via Crucis* for the monumental bridge which all pilgrims to the shrine of the Prince of the Apostles must cross. It was the christening of a monument of pagan antiquity similar to that of the imperial columns and the obelisks by Sixtus V.

Sixty-seven years old Bernini set to work with youthful ardour. He personally executed two statues, viz. the angel with the crown of thorns and the one with the inscription of the cross.³ However, the Pope was unwilling to see these magnificent works exposed to the injuries of the elements, hence copies by the hand of Paolo Naldini and Giulio Cartari were substituted for them on the bridge and the originals eventually found a place in the choir of S. Andrea delle Fratte.⁴ The remaining giant marble statues were executed from Bernini's designs by Cosimo Fancelli, Antonio Raggi, Domenico Guidi, Ercole Ferrata, Antonio Giorgetti and other pupils of the Master. Even severe critics of these angels in fluttering draperies, grant that, viewed as a whole, and mainly as part of the decorative scheme of a bridge, they produce an excellent effect in the bright sunshine of the

May 16, 1669. For Borromini, cf. *Bollet. d. Svizz. ital.*, IX., 105 seq.

¹ See our data, Vol. X., 358.

² For the decoration of Rome at that time, see Vol. XI., 242.

³ BALDINUCCI, edit. RIEGL, 274.

⁴ Reproductions in FRASCHETTI, 366, 367, and RICCI, *Roma barocca*, 373.

South. The softness which characterizes in particular Bernini's female figures is so strongly marked here that the lines produce something akin to the sensations called forth by music.¹ The Master seems to have had a hand in the carving of the slim figure of the angel with the cross, the work of his son Paolo.²

In July, 1668, the Pope examined the statues in Bernini's studio where the equestrian statue of Constantine, ordered by Alexander VII., was nearing completion.³ On January 12th, 1669, that imposing monument was transferred to St. Peter's where it was destined to adorn the portico.⁴ In 1675 Giotto's mosaic of the Navicella, after many translations and yet another restoration, was finally placed on the inner wall of the porch above the main entrance.⁵

In September 1669, the Pope inspected six of Bernini's ten statues of angels placed on marble pedestals on either side of the bridge of S. Angelo.⁶ On this occasion the bridge

¹ BERGNER, *Barockes Rom.*, 101 ; RICCI, *loc. cit.*, 372.

² FRASCHETTI, 370 *seq.*

³ On Sunday, so we read in an **Avviso* of July 28, 1668, the Pope inspected the "ornamento, che fa fare alli capi e sponde del Ponte S. Angelo di travertini bianchi tramezzati con finestre ferrate, e sopra a pedestalli principali otto angeli grandi, che terranno in mano li misterii della Passione, fatti dal cav. Bernino et altri principali scultori, et al ritorno visitò l'altra chiesa di detta Santa delle monache Domenicane, et prima fu nell'officina del cav. Bernino a vedere la statua, che questo ha fatto del Gran Costantino imperatore da porsi incontro al portico di detta basilica". Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ " *Dalla casa del S. cav. Bernino famoso scultore è stata portata nel Palazzo Vaticano la statua di marmo a cavallo dell'imperatore Constantino magno, ch'egli ha fatto d'ordine di Papa Alessandro VII. da collocarsi a piè della scala Regia di rimpetto al portico della basilica." *Avviso* of January 12, 1669, *loc. cit.*

⁵ G. CASCIOLI, *La Navicella di Giotto a S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Roma, 1916, 20 *seqq.*

⁶ See besides the data from the *Diario* of Cervini in FRASCHETTI, 368, the **Avviso* of September 21, 1669 : On Monday

was given a marble parapet the openings of which are closed by a bronze grating. In his great modesty Clement IX. would not perpetuate the memory of what he had done for the bridge by means of either inscription or coat of arms ; he would allow only quotations from the psalms to be carved on the pedestal of the statues.¹ It was Clement X. who put up the arms of his predecessor and a short inscription ² on the two statues facing the Borgo.

Clement IX. also gave instructions for the completion of the College of the Barnabites ³ and he put up an iron grating for the protection of the porch of the Pantheon.⁴ At S. Sabina he saw to the decoration of the chapel which had been at one time St. Dominic's cell.⁵ To this day an inscription on the Palazzo del Banco di Santo Spirito recalls the fact that the Rospigliosi Pope transferred the Mint to this building in 1667.⁶

the Pope inspected the marble angels on the Ponte di Castello, "che si vanno erigendo sino al numero di 10, d'altezza circa 15 palmi ciascuno, tenenti li misterii della Passione, fatti per ordine di S. S^{tà} d'altretanti scultori per ornamento del medesimo ponte." Papal Sec. Arch.

¹ The inscriptions (not previously published) which Clement X. put up (**Avviso* of March 12, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.), are as follows for the five pairs of statues beginning from the town side : "Tronus meus in columna — Flagellis paratus sum — In aerumna mea dum configitur spina — Respic[e] faciem [Christi] tui — Super vestem meam miserunt sortem — Aspiciant ad me quem crucifixerunt — Regnavit a ligno Deus — Cuius principatus super humerum eius — Potaverunt me aceto — Vulnerasti cor meum."

² FORCELLA, XIII., 55.

³ *Ordinance of February 18, 1668, based on a *Chirografo* of August 14, 1667, in *Editto*, V., 15, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ On Sunday the Pope inspected the "portico di S. Maria del Panteon ornato di cancellate di ferro intrecciate con l'armi di S. S^{tà}". **Avviso* of March 30, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ FORCELLA, VII., 314 ; BERTHIER, *S. Sabine*, Rome, 1912, 53 ; GUIDI, *Borromini*, 105, who does not admit Borromini's collaboration. ⁶ FORCELLA, XIII., 184.

Bernini was likewise employed on various commissions for Pistoia, the Pope's native city. He adorned the tomb of Clement IX.'s parents with their busts and designed the magnificent altar of St. Ignatius which was presented to the Jesuit church there, together with a picture by Pietro da Cortona.¹ The Villa di Spicchio, erected for the Rospigliosi at Lamporecchio, near Pistoia, is based on plans by Bernini.² Recently a terracotta model of a fountain by Bernini was found at Florence. This was to be a gift of Clement IX. to his native city; the model shows dolphins holding a shell, a pair of Tritons blow into horn-shaped shells and the centre is occupied by the arms of the donor.³

For Rome the Pope conceived yet another vast plan which shows how much artists might have expected, had a longer reign been granted to Clement IX. In August 1669, Bernini was commissioned to reconstruct the ruinous *tribuna* of St. Mary Major where Clement IX. wished to have his last resting place. A sketch ⁴ in the Archives of the basilica shows on what imposing lines the reconstruction had been conceived: in fact it was planned as a counterpart of the Sistine and Pauline chapels. The foundation stone was laid in September and work started at once. To meet the cost the Pope put aside the sum of 150,000 scudi ⁵; it was,

¹ BEANI, 9, 57, 133 *seq.*; GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 417. The *deed of donation of four columns of verd-antique from the Villa Giulia for the altar of St. Ignatius at Pistoia, in Rospigliosi Archives, Rome.

² FRASCHETTI, 374; GURLITT, *loc. cit.*, 434.

³ *Kunschronik*, XVIII. (1906-7, No. 8, p. 114. A mutilated fountain related to this sketch is in the Palazzo Antemoro, Via della Panetteria, Rome. An *Editto sopra mantenere nette le fontane fabricate nella piazza de' Barberini a capo le case, dated August 14, 1668, in *Editti*, V., 51, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ Reproduction in FRASCHETTI, 381.

⁵ Together with the reports in FRASCHETTI, 379 *seq.* Cf. also the *Avviso of September 7, 1669: "Si è dato principio a far li fundamenti della fabbrica, che fa fare S. St^a alla basilica di S. Maria Maggiore d'una nuova et magnifica tribuna, che sarà ornata

however, reckoned that this amount would be inadequate. Both the Venetian and the imperial ambassadors were of opinion that the building would require 400,000 scudi.¹ The Rospigliosi made objections for they feared that in the event of the Pope's death the onerous duty of completing the work would be laid on them. The Chapter of St. Mary Major also opposed the plan because it was intended to transfer the old *tribuna* of Sixtus III. to another place, a proceeding that would have endangered the precious mosaics.² The pictorial decoration of the new *tribuna* was to be carried out by Carlo Maratta.³ Clement IX. stuck to his plan in spite of all opposition. In November 1669, he gave orders for a large model in wood,⁴ and only his death, not long after, brought the undertaking to a standstill.

tutta di pietre pretiose et lavorate con portico al di fuori sostenuto da colonne corrispondente alle due sontuose cappelle collaterali de' Pontefici Sisto V. et Paolo V.'" Papal Sec. Arch.

¹ BERCHET, II., 329, and the *report of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated Rome, August 31, 1669, State Archives, Vienna.

² FRASCHETTI, 381. Illustration of the exterior of the old apse of St. Mary Major previous to Clement X.'s restoration, in *Bollet. d'arte*, 1915, 144.

³ BELLORI, *Vite dei pittori*, III., Pisa, 1821, 159.

⁴ FRASCHETTI, 381 *seq.* Hence the statement in *Arch. Rom.*, VIII., 520, that in September, 1669, Rainaldi took Bernini's place, cannot be accurate.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF CLEMENT IX.—JANSENISM AND THE SO-CALLED CLEMENTINE PEACE—MISSIONS IN THE FAR EAST.

(1.)

By order of Clement IX. the visitation of all the Roman churches ordered by Alexander VII. was concluded in the first year of his pontificate.¹ In like manner, in pursuance of an ordinance of his predecessor, he granted to the city of Rome and the Papal States the Office and Mass in honour of Mary's Immaculate Conception.²

On April 15th, 1668, he beatified Blessed Rose of Lima (*obit* 1617) in the sumptuously adorned basilica of St. Peter.³ In view of the fact that Rose had been a Dominican tertiary, the Dominicans organized splendid celebrations of their own at the Minerva, whilst the Spaniards did so at S. Giacomo, owing to her having been a Spanish subject.³ April 28th, 1669, witnessed the canonization of Peter of Alcántara and Mary Magdalen de'Pazzi,⁴ for which preparations had been in progress since December 1668.⁵ The Pope drew attention

¹ *Bull.*, XVII., 572.

² *Ibid.*, 583.

³ **Avvisi* of May 19 and June 16, 1668, *ibid.* Cf. also **Avviso* of September 1, 1668, *ibid.* An inscription on Rose's canonization is seen in S. Sabina; see FORCELLA, VII., 313. Decrees on her cultus in America in STREIT, I., 515 *seq.* Cf. *Bull.*, XVIII., 68, 70, 73, 232.

⁴ *Acta canonizat. S. Petri de Alcántara et S. Mariæ Magd. de Pazzis*, Romæ, 1669; NOVAES, X., 213 *seq.* Bulls of May 11, 1670, *Bull.*, XVIII., 1 *seq.*, ii *seq.* Cf. the *Brief to Leopold I. of May 29, 1669, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ **Avviso* of December 15, 1668, *loc. cit.*

to the significance of these canonizations in an address at the consistory.¹ For the function itself St. Peter's was adorned not only with the pictures of the new Saints and thousands of lights, but likewise with Raphael's tapestries.²

1668 saw the reorganization of the Congregation of Regulars.³ Clement VIII. had provisionally created a special Congregation to deal with questions concerning Indulgences. By a Bull of July 6th, 1669, Clement IX. erected a permanent Congregation whose duty it was to examine and grant Indulgences, to pronounce on the authenticity of relics and to suppress any abuses that might creep in in this particular sphere.⁴ This measure marked the conclusion of the system of permanent Congregations first introduced by Sixtus V.

At this time Rome had a living Saint within its walls in the person of a simple Franciscan Friar, Carlo da Sezze. Born in 1613, Carlo spent his youth as a shepherd in the Campagna. At the age of twenty-two he donned the habit of St. Francis; in 1640 he was sent to the convent near S. Pietro in Montorio and still later to that of S. Francesco a Ripa. Though without higher education, he nevertheless wrote a series of devotional books which ranked among the most popular works of edification of the 17th century. Many persons both from the lower and the upper classes chose him for their spiritual guide; Clement IX. also held him in high esteem and repeatedly sent for him. In many ways Carlo da Sezze recalls Philip Neri; like Philip he cherished a special devotion to the Catacombs of St. Sebastian. When this true image of the Poverello of Assisi, by reason of his simplicity and purity, died on January 6th, 1670, in the convent of S. Francesco a Ripa, the great veneration in which the people had held him, showed itself in moving

¹ **Acta consist.*, April 5, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Avviso* of May 4, 1669, *loc. cit.*

³ *Bull.*, XVII., 654 *seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 805; MORONI, XVI., 216 *seqq.*; BANGEN, 247 *seq.*; *Anal. iuris pontif.*, 1855, 2270; PHILLIPS VI., 659, HINSCHIUS, I., 473 *seq.*

fashion.¹ For a whole generation numerous complaints from secular princes had been reaching Rome concerning abuses in connection with the immunity of churches. On July 5th, 1668, Clement IX. announced his intention of dealing with this matter.² A special Congregation was charged to examine whether, and to what extent, it was possible to alter the dispositions of Gregory XIV.'s Bull on the immunity of churches.³ Cardinals Brancaccio, Gualtieri, Spinola and, though less regularly, Borromeo, took part in the meetings of the Congregation; the Secretary was Giacomo Altoviti, Patriarch of Antioch, and Rocci, Archbishop of Damascus, was likewise called in. At the first session of the Congregation, on September 6th, 1668, it was resolved that Spinola and Rocci, both of whom had been nuncios at Naples, should submit the observations they had made whilst they were in that city, for it was chiefly with the Spanish authorities that conflicts had arisen. Two further sessions were held on July 12th and October 2nd, 1669, but at this time Clement IX.

¹ ANT. MARIA DA VICENZA, *Vita del b. Carlo da Sezze*, Venezia, 1881, 242 *seq.*, 256, 261 *seq.* The earthly remains of Carlo were first buried in the chapel of St. Antony, now dedicated to St. Hyacintha, but in 1711 they found a new resting place near a pillar in the centre of the church. On November 4, 1881, on the occasion of the impending beatification, the grave was opened when some of the bones were found, whereas all else had crumbled into dust. The heart, however, and the reliquary containing it, which had been walled up in the former cell of St. Francis, turned into a chapel, was found incorrupt though shrivelled up. The primitive funeral inscription is in FORCELLA, IV., 417.

² What follows is based on a MS. from the remains of Cardinal Gentili, which I acquired in Rome in 1902: " *Atti della Congregazione particolare deputata dalla santa memoria di Clemente IX. e confermata da N. S. Clemente X. sopra le doglianze de' principi secolari contro l'osservanza della bolla di Gregorio XIV. in materia dell'immunità, libertà e giurisdizione ecclesiastica 1668-71." The collection with its many documents is the work of Giac. Altoviti.

³ See our data, Vol. XXII., 394.

died. That very year, 1669, the Pope had had to complain of grievous injury done to ecclesiastical immunity by the civil authorities in the kingdom of Naples.¹ An eruption of Etna in April 1669, provided the Pope with an occasion to warn the authorities to cease from provoking the divine anger by their ever recurring violations of the rights of the Church.² The warning remained unheeded. In the summer encroachments of such gravity took place at Milan and Naples that the infliction of ecclesiastical penalties was considered in Rome.³ In the course of the year the Pope saw himself compelled to repeat his protest against the continued infringement of the Church's rights in those territories⁴ and things went on in this strain until his death.⁵

Affairs in Portugal also caused Clement IX. much anxiety. On November 23rd, 1667, Alfonso VI., a man of no ability, had been deposed and his place taken by his brother Pedro II. On February 13th, 1668, peace was at length concluded with Spain; this ended a 26 years' war between these two Powers and secured for the ruler of Portugal recognition as legitimate King. This made it possible at long last for the Holy See to put order into the religious situation of that country.⁶ It was high time because, as a result of the vacancy of many

¹ See the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, April 9 and 16, 1669, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

² Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, April 30, 1669, *ibid.*

³ " *Qui si conosce la necessità di venire all'uso delle armi date da Dio alla Chiesa per la necessaria difesa de' suoi diritti." Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of July 6, 1669, *ibid.* Cf. the *Cifra of July 20, 1669, *ibid.*

⁴ Cf. in App. II the *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of August 31, 1669, *ibid.* Further complaints of encroachments in Naples and Milan in the *Cifre of September 14, 15, 17 and 28, and October 26, 1669, *ibid.*

⁵ *Cifra of November 9, 1669, *ibid.*

⁶ On Clement IX.'s efforts for peace and the filling of the Sees, see the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna of June 24, August 29, September 27 and October 4, 1667, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, *loc. cit.*

Sees, a situation of so much danger had developed, that there was reason to fear a schism.¹

The Portuguese revolution and the peace with Spain were a heavy blow for Louis XIV. who, through Mary Frances of Savoy, Alfonso VI.'s wife, had kept Portugal harnessed to his political chariot; so he promptly conceived the plan of marrying Mary Frances to Pedro II., without recourse to the Pope for the necessary dispensations.² By Louis' advice the Queen appealed not to Rome but to the Cathedral Chapter of Lisbon for a declaration of nullity of her marriage on the ground of non-consummation. On April 28th, 1668, a favourable sentence was issued in this sense, but this did not remove the impediment of "public honesty" which forbids marriage with a brother's wife and from which the Pope alone has power to dispense. However, Louis XIV. was determined on keeping the Holy See out of the affair. The Queen's uncle, Cardinal Vendôme, who had been sent to France as papal legate for the Baptism of the Dauphin, was weak enough to exceed his powers by granting the dispensation. Thereupon the wedding took place. However, it was not long before the Queen began to experience scruples as to the validity of the dispensation; accordingly she sent her confessor to Rome, but Louis XIV. put every imaginable obstacle in the latter's way with a view to preventing his departure. The King of France would not allow the Pope to take cognizance of the judgment of Lisbon; in fact he threatened to contest, on Gallican principles, the Pope's right to deal with the matrimonial affairs of princes should Clement IX. refuse to submit to his will.³

But Clement IX. was not to be browbeaten. He insisted on all the documents being submitted for examination

¹ Cf. César d'Estrées's memorial in *Annales de St. Louis*, X. (1905), 360 seq. See also P. COQUELLE, *Hist. du Portugal et de la maison de Bragance*, Paris, 1889.

² GÉRIN, II., 251 seqq. SCHÄFER's account in *Gesch. Portugals*, IV., 630, 634 seq., V., 160 seq., is in part erroneous.

³ GÉRIN, II., 295.

by a Congregation of Cardinals including Rospigliosi, Ottoboni and Azzolini and the celebrated Canonist Fagnani. Subsequently Bona and Brancati were added to them by the Inquisition. The Congregation decided that Vendôme had exceeded his powers. The examination of the validity of the first marriage was most carefully conducted, all legal forms being observed ; the conclusion was that it had been invalid. The Pope confirmed the verdict, dispensed from the impediment of public honesty in the plenitude of his apostolic authority and ratified the new marriage.¹

The conclusion of peace with Spain and the settlement of this matrimonial tangle made it possible for Rome to accept a Portuguese ambassador. Francisco de Sousa, Count del Prado, was nominated but he only reached his post after the Pope's death.²

Though it was not granted to Clement IX. to effect a final settlement of Portuguese difficulties, he had at least the satisfaction of learning that the Patriarch Jacob of Greater Armenia had recanted his errors.³ Archbishop Péréfixe de Beaumont of Paris, who had suppressed various holy days by his own authority, also submitted to the judgment of the Holy See which insisted on the withdrawal of the Archbishop's

¹ **Avviso* of January 5, 1669, State Archives, Vienna ; GÉRIN, II., 296 *seqq.*, who has demonstrated Clement IX.'s perfectly correct attitude in this affair. This disposes of VOLTAIRE's calumny (*Le siècle de Louis XIV.*, c. 10). When ADEMOLLO (*Indipendenza Portoghese*, 79) asserts that Clement IX. had legitimized the Queen's " *passione adultera* ", the fact need not surprise us in so uncritical a writer. Unfortunately a German historian, SCHÄFER (*Gesch. Portugals*, V., 160), has also taken it on himself to affirm that " the See of Rome abandoned its wonted strictness in these matters when it approved and confirmed the dissolution of the marriage and the surprising nuptials with a lightheartedness unheard of in history.

² Below, ch. VI.

³ Cf. the *Brief to Patriarch Jacob, dated August 6, 1667, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec Arch. ; CIACONIUS, IV., 779 ; NOVAES, X., 207.

ordinance.¹ In 1667 Clement IX. erected a special Apostolic Vicariate for North Germany the first titular of which was Valerio Maccioni.² In Upper Germany the Pope divided the Capuchin Province into two,³ and in Bavaria he had the joy of witnessing the restoration of the monasteries which had remained secularized under Maximilian I. A special Congregation had been created to deal with this matter.⁴

When Clement IX. bestowed the red hat on his nephew, Jacopo Rospigliosi, on December 12th, 1667, he at the same time admitted to the Sacred College, out of gratitude to his predecessor, the latter's relative Sigismondo Chigi and the brother of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Leopold de' Medici. In spite of his youth, Sigismondo Chigi, who had been carefully trained by Alexander VII., showed himself worthy of the purple.⁵ Leopold de' Medici, a warm friend of art and learning, became the most outstanding figure among the Medici Cardinals. At Florence he was at the head of the Accademia del Cimento which busied itself mainly with physical research. By contributing hitherto unpublished material, he inspired and promoted the first edition of the collected works of Galileo published at Bologna in 1656; he also furthered the work of the Accademia della Crusca, viz. the preparation of the third edition of the dictionary and the publication of

¹ *Briefs to the Archbishop of Paris, dated July 10 and December 8, 1668, *Epist.*, II.-III., *loc. cit.* Cf. GÉRIN, II., 291, 375 *seq.*

² MEJER, II., 251, 258 *seq.*; F. W. WOKER, *Gesch. der Kath. Kirche und Gemeinde in Hannover und Celle*, Paderborn, 1889, 29; for Maccioni, *ibid.*, 21 *seq.*

³ MENTZ, II., 223.

⁴ RIETZLER, VIII., 547 *seq.*; H. RÄBEL, *Die Restitution der ehemaligen Benediktiner Adelsabtei Weissenohe im Zusammenhang mit der Wiedererrichtung der übrigen oberpfälzischen Klöster* (1669), München, 1904 (Diss.).

⁵ GRIMANI, in BERCHE, II., 351; CIACONIUS, IV., 787; CARDELLA, VII., 189 *seq.* Cf. *Compendioso raggaglio di tutti i cardinali viventi nel pontificato di Clemente X., *Barb.* 4704, Vat. Lib.

texts from the golden age of the Italian language. Leopold gave proof of the greatest keenness as well as discrimination in collecting works of art ; a vast number of pictures, antique statues, coins, gems, inscriptions, sketches were brought together by him. Part of these treasures went into the Uffizi Gallery at his death in 1675, the rest at a later date ; the collection of artists' portraits owes its origin to Leopold. All visitors to this gallery, unique of its kind, will ever remember Foggini's marble statue of the Cardinal with his motto : *Semper rectus, semper idem* (Always straight, always the same). At Rome the Cardinal restored his titular church of SS. Cosmas and Damian.¹

At the very first creation of Cardinals, France and Spain claimed a right to the appointment of so-called crown Cardinals, but the Pope would not hear of such a pretension.² Despite every kind of pressure³ he only met the wishes of these two great Powers on August 5th, 1669, in order to secure their help for the Turkish war. Spain's candidate, Louis Emanuel Portocarrero⁴ was reserved *in petto* for the

¹ Besides CIIACONIUS, IV., 786, and CARDELLA, VII., 188 *seq.*, cf. A. FABRONI, *Elogi d'alcuni ill. Toscani*, I., Pisa, 1784 ; G. PIERACCINI, *La stirpe de' Medici di Cafaggiolo*, II., 103 ; CONTI, *Firenze*, 27 *seqq.*, 30 *seqq.*, and especially REUMONT, *Gesch. Toskanas*, II., 435, 445, 557 *seqq.*, 603. Reumont (560) shows that the dissolution of the Accademia del Cimento, to which Leopold's elevation to the cardinalate gave the last blow, was not due, as has been maintained, to the Holy See's fear of physical research. Gaulli's bust of the Cardinal (*ca.* 1675) is in the Uffizi ; cf. *Riv. d'arte*, 1909, 337.

² GÉRIN, II., 233 *seq.*, 291. In the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna of February 8 and 15, 1667, stress is laid on the Pope's absolute freedom in the nomination of Cardinals ; *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ GÉRIN, II., 363 *seqq.*

⁴ CIIACONIUS, IV., 789 ; CARDELLA, VII., 193 *seq.* Portocarrero (*ob.*, 1709) became Archbishop of Toledo where, so we read in a *report of *ca.* 1686, on the College of Cardinals, " al presente vive tutto applicato alla buona custodia della sua gregge. É generosissimo, pio, galante, cortese, affabile, officioso, di buon'indole e

time being, but France's candidate, Emanuel de la Tour, Duke of Albret, known as Cardinal Bouillon, was proclaimed at once. The celebrated poet Jean de Lafontaine sang the merits of the new Cardinal whose uncle, Marshal Turenne, had recently returned to the bosom of Holy Church.¹ But Paris was not yet satisfied ; on the contrary, the candidature of César d'Estrées was now urged with the utmost insistence, though the latter was as unsuitable a candidate for the purple as was Bouillon. In the case of the latter the Pope had been obliged to yield in view of the war against the Turks, but this time he resolutely declined to carry out an impossible promotion.²

Clement was no less firm with the court of Vienna. Whilst France worked for the candidature of the Duke of Albret and in consequence thereof, Spain urged the admission of the Jesuit Nithard into the Sacred College, the Cardinal of Hesse suggested to Vienna that the Emperor should likewise demand a Cardinal.³ Thereupon the Abbot of Fulda, Margrave

di miti costumi, diletlandosi di conversar con dame, nelle quali ha speso eccedentemente e niente meno che nelle pubbliche elemosine che diffusamente faceva " (Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A, f. 3). Cf. GRIMANI, in BERCHE, II., 355.

¹ F. REYSSIÉ, *Le card. de Bouillon*, 1647-1715, Paris, 1899, 39 seq. On Turenne's conversion, see FLOQUET, *Vie de Bossuet*, III., 196 seq., 263 seq.

² See Clement IX.'s *letter to Louis XIV. of September 24, 1669, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 152^b, Papal Sec. Arch. ; GÉRIN, II., 368 seq. On the motives of Bouillon's elevation we read in the *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of August 5, 1669 : " Non solo N. S. ha havuto riguardo ad impedir la pace de' Venetiani col Turco nella promotione del card. di Buglione, ma ha sperato che impegnandosi il Re Christianissimo nella difesa di Candia, anco per l'avvenire sarebbe ciò di gran sicurezza alla conservazione della pace fra le due corone." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, *loc. cit.*

³ See the *letter of the Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I. of January 19, 1669, State Archives, Vienna. At a later date the Spanish Government desired to accredit Fr. Nithard as its ambassador in Rome, a proposal which Clement IX. rejected on the ground that a religious could not be an ambassador ; see *Cifre

Bernard Gustave of Baden-Durlach was proposed for that honour,¹ but the efforts made on his behalf were in vain. The nuncio in Vienna, Pignatelli, made it plain to the Emperor why it was necessary to postpone the nomination of an imperial Cardinal. It was an act of sheer favour on the part of the Pope if he had taken into consideration the wishes of France and Spain; he had only done so for the sake of Christendom, because the help of those countries was necessary for the war against the Turks; it was hoped that this act of grace would spur on Louis XIV. to more intense military action on behalf of Crete for there was danger of Venice making peace with the Turks, thereby exposing both Italy and the Emperor's own territories to Turkish aggression. As for the act of grace towards Spain, the Pope had found himself compelled to satisfy that Power in the same way as France. The Pope was under obligation, in this his first creation, to safeguard the independence of the Church and to act, not in the Princes' interest, but in his own. What he had done was a pure act of grace and for the reasons stated he could not do the same for the Emperor; also there would be no point in what he had done and France would feel under no obligation.²

Leopold I. described these motives of policy and statecraft as subtleties which were not understood in Germany and he maintained his contention that the Pope could have shown him equal favour. The minister Lobkowitz used far more violent language for he spoke in the most insulting terms to the nuncio and swore that if the Pope refused to nominate the Emperor's candidate, the monarch would certainly join hands with the heretics. Moreover, the nuncio reported,

al Nuntio di Spagna of July 6 and 20, 1669, 823-835, *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVIII., 139 seq., CLIV., 465 seqq.

¹ *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, XX., 293 seq.; RÜBSAM, *Kard. Bernh. Gustav von Baden*, Fulda, 1924.

² LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 817, 824 seq. Cf. an *auto-graph letter of Clement IX. to Leopold I., dated September 7, 1669, with which Levinson was not acquainted, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 151^b, Papal Sec. Arch.

they were thinking of expelling himself and of breaking off relations with the Holy See. It was a remarkable thing, the nuncio wrote, that Lobkowitz and Auersperg, otherwise deadly enemies, should be at one on this point.¹ It soon became evident that Auersperg was the author of these threats for that man of boundless ambition was striving with might and main to secure the red hat for himself, nor was he ashamed formally to court France's intervention on his behalf. In the sequel, the situation became still more acute. The Council of ministers decided to forbid the nuncio to present himself at the Hofburg and to expel him from the hereditary States. If this step was not carried into effect it was mainly because of the need of papal assistance in view of the threatened attack of the Turks. In the end the nuncio succeeded in bringing about a calmer state of mind in Vienna and in getting some appreciation of the Pope's point of view in the matter.² As for Auersperg, fate soon overtook him: when the imperial Resident with the Holy See, Freiherr von Plittersdorff arrived unexpectedly in Vienna on November 5th, 1669, to expose Auersperg's secret connexion with France, the latter was banished from court.³

At a third promotion, November 29th, 1669, shortly before his death, Clement IX. proclaimed Portocarrero and raised seven splendid men to the Senate of the Church,⁴ all of whom had rendered valuable service to the Holy See. After thirty years' work in the Rota the jurist Carlo Cerri had become Dean of that tribunal.⁵ The Genoese Lazzaro Pallavicino,

¹ LEVINSON, I., 817 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 602 *seq.*, 818 *seq.*, 830. Cf. Clement IX.'s *autograph letters to the Emperor and Empress, dated October 17, 1669, to calm them because of Bouillon's elevation (Papal Sec. Arch., *loc. cit.*, pp. 155-6b).

³ *Archiv für Österr. Gesch.*, XX., 299 *seq.*

⁴ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 355 *seq.*; CIIACONIUS, IV., 790 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 197 *seqq.*

⁵ After a stormy youth and after having been married, Cerri had embraced the ecclesiastical state under Urban VIII. " *É di bello aspetto," says the report in the Liechtenstein Archives,

Dean of the Clerics of the Camera, had administered the *Annona* in difficult times. The highly cultivated Florentine Francesco Nerli, Archbishop of his native city, where he had held four synods, had been Secretary for Briefs to Princes first under Innocent X., then under Alexander VII., and lastly under Clement IX.¹ Niccolò Acciajoli, a man of many parts, was also a Florentine; he won universal appreciation as Auditor of the Camera.² Buonaccorso Buonaccorsi, a native of the Marches, was treasurer of the Camera and had accompanied Cardinal Chigi during his legation to France. The Roman Egidio Altieri occupied since 1667 the post of Maestro di Camera to the Pope whom he was himself to succeed.

It may be said that the most outstanding personality among all those named on November 29th, 1669 was the Cistercian Giovanni Bona, a native of Mandovi, who had been General of the reformed branch of his Order in Italy from 1651 to 1654. Alexander VII. called him to Rome, charged him once more with the government of his Order and employed him in various Congregations, especially the Index and the Inquisition. Clement IX. named him a Consultor of the new Congregation of Indulgences and Relics. Equally remarkable as a religious and as a scholar, Bona enriched ascetical, mystical and moral literature, Church

Vienna, quoted above, p. 345, n. 4, "gioviale, loquace, magnanimo et amorevole," quickly moved to anger but easily appeased.

¹ Cf. **Epist. Innocentii X.*, **Epist. Alexandri VII.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

² The author of the above-named *report in the Liechtenstein Archives defends Acciajoli against the unfair accusations of his enemies: "Io l'ho sempre conosciuto per soggetto dignissimo, facile, spedito, giusto, applicato, indefesso, caritativo e pietoso, di costumi incorreggibili, di pensieri vasti e di giustitia immacolata. Ha sufficiente scienza, di gran talenti, di maggior capacità et abilissimo a qualunque gran commando. É dotato di somma prudenza, di uguale acutezza d'ingegno, di gran maturità ne' consigli e nel risolvere. É libero di linguaggio et ingenuo di cuore."

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history and above all liturgical scholarship, with solid works. His Guide to the spiritual exercises was translated into French and Polish. The learned Cistercian even tried his hand at poetry. Among his many still unpublished works, his *Hortus coelestium deliciarum* has recently been made accessible in an excellent edition.¹ Such was the depth of Bona's piety and humility that there has been question of his canonization.²

(2.)

Thanks to Louis XIV.'s Gallicanism, during the reign of Alexander VII. the four Bishops of Alet, Pamiers, Angers and Beauvais, had been able to refuse with impunity, for three whole years, their subscription of the papal formula. The execution of the two Briefs which were at length issued against them, became once more problematic in consequence of the Pope's death. However, after Clement IX.'s elevation, the French Government seemed determined to deal with the matter in good earnest. Its ambassador in Rome, Chaulnes, asked for confirmation of the Briefs against the four Bishops, which was granted by Clement.³ Nor did the new Pope make any difficulty when a request came from Paris for an

¹ *Hortus caelestium deliciarum . . . a D. IOANNE BONA e Monte regali b. Mariae apud Vicum congreg. S. Bernardi ord. Cisterc. abbate*, ed. M. VATTASSO (Roma, 1918), who, on p. xxv seqq., gives an excellent though brief biography of Bona based on MS. documents. Cf. the biographies by BERTOLOTTI (Asti, 1677), A. IGHINA (Mondovì, 1874), and G. B. RESSIA (Mondovì, 1910); I. BONAE, *Epistolas*, Taurini, 1755, Lucae, 1759; *Civ. Catt.*, 1910, II., 568-572; Brief of Pius X. of April 25, 1910, which describes Bona's writings as opportune for those days: "cum praesertim haeresis ianseniana per Ecclesiae ordines late serperet et quacumque virus iniecisset suum, omnem religionis fervorem extingueret."

² F. TONELLI, in *Riv. stor. Benedett.*, V. (1910), 253 seqq., 321 seqq.

³ *Brief of August 23, 1667, in *Excerpta*, 1666, f. 384 (Schill remains).

alteration in the clause of the Briefs forbidding the four Bishops to decline some of their judges.¹ That this concession provided the accused with the means of delaying the proceedings indefinitely did not escape the Pope.² A new Congregation of Cardinals was created for the purpose of dealing with the Jansenist question.³ When the Briefs were at last dispatched on December 23rd, 1667, events had occurred which rendered their execution impossible. The Jansenists considered Clement IX. an opponent of Alexander VII. ⁴; accordingly the four Bishops felt that now was the time to justify their previous conduct to the new Pope.⁵ At bottom their self-complacent apology is nothing but a series of strictures on the Holy See. The disputes that began with Innocent X., they said, would have been forgotten by now had the right means been employed.⁶ The demand that they should acknowledge, by subscribing to the formula, the fact also, was a false step since all theologians agreed that when judging of facts the Church was not infallible. Such a demand could only breed perjury, trouble of conscience, and the persecution of upright men.⁷ With regard to doctrine, they had failed to discover anyone whom they could justly accuse of error ⁸; in other words, according to the four

¹ *Fresh drafting of Briefs, December 23, 1667, *ibid.*, f. 396. On the clause "recusatione et recursu remotis", see GÉRIN, II., 244, n.; RAPIN, III., 425.

² MARESCOTTI, **Relazione* (1668), Bibl. Casanat., Rome, X., vi., 34, f. 154 *seqq.*

³ Composed of Cardinals Ginetti, Ottoboni, Borromeo, Albizzi, Chigi, Piccolomini, Rasponi, Rospigliosi, Azzolini, Celsi. **Excerpta*, f. 422, *loc. cit.*

⁴ [VARET], I., 114.

⁵ Letter of August 28, 1667, in [VARET], I., 391-8. As a matter of fact, Caulet and Pavillon only subscribed to it at the end of September and the other two prelates in October: see DUBRUEL, 222.

⁶ [VARET], I., 114.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 395.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 394.

there was no Jansenism at all in France. Among the remaining Bishops there were many who held the same views as they did with regard to facts. As for the Roman Index, the four treat it in most high-handed fashion : they write as if they had never heard of the prohibition of their pastorals by that Congregation, but merely of a suspicion, and even that only as a vague rumour.¹ The authors of this letter to the Pope sent it to the King, whose attention they drew to the fact that the judicial proceedings which it was intended to take against them could not be reconciled with the Gallican liberties.² The Roman Inquisition decided to leave the letter unanswered.³

The four were not altogether wrong when they spoke of sympathizers among the clergy. With regard to the Bishops' formula of the Assembly of the Clergy, Annat had observed that the difficulty lay not in the signature but in getting a sincere signature.⁴ Rome was aware of this, hence when a request was made for a Brief against the recalcitrant Bishops, the papal officials observed that it would be useless as there were too many people who felt like them.⁵ For the time being these sympathizers remained in the background ; but they were at hand, and the party felt stronger for their presence. At this very time it received a fresh increase of strength owing to the fact that an influential personality had recently put itself at its disposal.

It is a strange fact that the story of a party which, in the first instance, catered only for the most cultivated persons,

¹ *Ibid.*, 397.

² *Ibid.*, 66-8.

³ *On March 8, 1666, *Excerpta*, f. 440. Same decision for the *letter of the nineteen, of April 12, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 472.

⁴ “ *Nous ne sommes pas en peine de faire souscrire le formulaire, il y en a peu qui le refusent. Toute peine est d'obtenir d'eux qu'ils le fassent sincèrement. Car ils se forment une conscience je ne sais quelle, que pour souscrire il n'est point nécessaire de changer de sentiment.” Annat to Fabri, August 22, 1664, *Excerpta*, 1663, f. 514.

⁵ GÉRIN, II., 245.

which spread through clandestine channels and by means of clever subtleties and readily fought its opponents with poisoned weapons, should be to a large extent the work of women's hands. The focal point of the whole movement was a convent of nuns; the new teaching was expounded and advocated in the *salons* of aristocratic ladies.¹ One of the principal manifestos of the sect, Arnauld's book on Communion, was connected with a dispute between two ladies of noble lineage.¹ Angélique Arnauld cannot be separated from Saint-Cyran, by the side of Pascal we see his sister Jacqueline, and even of the unbending Pavillon it was said that he too bowed respectfully to the pronouncement of Mothers Angélique and Agnes Arnauld.²

Since 1657 or thereabout, one of the mainstays of the party was a princess of the royal blood, viz. Anne Geneviève de Bourbon, Duchess of Longueville and sister to the Princes Condé and Conti. After playing a great rôle during the disturbances of the Fronde, which had earned her a kind of banishment from court, she devoted herself at Rouen to a pious life in a Jansenistic sense,³ hence it was not long before she became for the party what she had previously been for the Fronde. Of the subtleties of the doctrine of grace she probably understood but little, but for her mastery in the art of intrigue and for her wonderful gift of captivating everybody by her conversation, Jansenism offered a new and promising field. It was said that her burning zeal did more for the party than all the writings that issued from Port-Royal.⁴ Stimulated by the Duchess, other court ladies took up the defence of the Jansenists after the Queen's death; once more the salons resounded with sighs over the persecution of the saintly nuns of Port-Royal and the no less saintly four Bishops, nor was there any lack of blame of the Archbishop and the Jesuits.⁵ As a princess of the blood the Duchess

¹ Cf. our data, XXIX., 135.

² RAPIN, III., 78.

³ *Ibid.*, 423 *seqq.*, 445 *seqq.*; [VARET], I., 69 *seq.*

⁴ RAPIN, III., 429.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 430 *seq.*

could take it on herself to write to Clement IX. in order to plead with him on behalf of the nuns of Port-Royal, and to enlighten him, in view of her superior knowledge, on the situation in France.¹ She likewise appealed to Cardinal Azzolini,² and when internuncio Rospigliosi passed through the French capital on his way from Brussels to Rome, she saw to it that a memorial drawn up by Arnauld was presented to him.³ Over the Sorbonne too she exercised considerable influence. The fact that, except for a quite insignificant number, the Doctors from the Mendicant Orders were excluded from the sittings, so that the anti-papal party enjoyed a preponderance in that body, is ascribed to the efforts of the Duchess' friends. It was the Doctors of the Duchess' party who suggested to the King that the doctrine of papal infallibility constituted a danger for the State since it gave the Pope the right to depose Kings.⁴

At Rouen the Duchess had won over to Jansenism the majority of the parochial clergy and more than one Bishop.⁵ She now continued her efforts.⁶ It was said⁷ that among those who had come under her influence were the nineteen Bishops who, at the instigation of Archbishop Gondrin of Sens and Bishop Vialart of Châlons, had appealed to the Pope on behalf of their four colleagues.⁸

The letter of the nineteen⁹ was an event of far-reaching

¹ [VARET], I., 72-85.

² *Ibid.*, 86-9.

³ July 31, 1667, *ibid.*, 90-5.

⁴ BARGELLINI, in CAUCHIE, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1903, 51.

⁵ RAPIN, III., 430 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 431.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 432, 439. In Paris the nineteen were described as "les champions de la duchesse de Longueville et les nouveaux Jansénistes de sa façon". *Ibid.*, 440.

⁸ December 1, 1667, in [VARET], I., 388-391; *cf.* 40 *seqq.*

⁹ They were: the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Châlons, Boulogne, Meaux, Angoulême, La Rochelle, Comminges, Couserans, Saint-Pons, Lodève, Vence, Mirepoix, Agen, Saintes, Rennes, Soissons, Amiens, Tulle, Troyes. [VARET] I., 43.

significance. Their number, however, was not large and the signatures of the relatively few Bishops had only been obtained with difficulty as a result of a circular trip by Papin.¹ Even with regard to its contents the letter was not remarkable. After an assurance that the French Bishops would not lag behind anyone in their respect for the Holy See, there follows a eulogy of the virtues of the four recalcitrants coupled with a complete misrepresentation of the real matter at issue. They complain that infallibility was claimed for decisions on facts "such as occur day by day".² The truth was that no one had ever made such a claim; infallibility was only claimed for so-called dogmatic facts, that is for such as are inseparably bound up with a definition of a dogma of the faith.³ But whatever may have been the contents of the letter it was, at any rate, an ominous symptom of the state of mind of the clergy that nineteen Bishops should rise against Rome; moreover they had good reason to assert in their letter that the principles held by Pavillon and his three adherents were also held by not a few Bishops, some of them distinguished ones. This statement was repeated by three of the signatories of the letter in another communication to Rome in which they roundly told one of the Cardinals that the Pope allowed himself to be influenced by party tricks, in opposition to the canons and the rights of Bishops; let the Pope at last be enlightened on the true state of things for, without a doubt, he had been carefully kept in the dark up to now by the intrigues of certain persons.⁴

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 95-114, 119.

² "Decretis, quibus quotidiana nec revelata divinitus facta deciduntur." *Ibid.*, 389.

³ DUBRUEL, 228.

⁴ *The Bishops of Châlons, Angoulême and Rennes, on March 1, 1668, *Excerpta*, f. 448: "S. Pontificis maiestatem adversus canones, adversus omnium episcoporum iura improvide nonnulli ob privatas forsitan utilitates in partes trahere moliuntur." They urge that the Pope be informed of the true state of things which "quorundam hominum artibus semper apud vos studiose, ut patet, hactenus dissimulatum et tectum."

Propaganda was also made in favour of these accusations among wider circles by giving publicity at least to the substance of the letter of the nineteen. The same end was even better served by a circular addressed in the name of the four to the whole French hierarchy and reproduced by the press.¹ This document declared before the public, in as many words, that Pavillon and those who thought like him, would never submit to a papal sentence.² The true core of the dispute, whether, that is, the Pope can decide what is heresy and who is a heretic, the document passed over in silence; instead the papal judicial procedure against the four is attacked with a great show of historical learning. "There is question," it says at the very beginning, "not of the oppression of our persons but of the distortion of the most sacred laws of justice, of an injury to the first principles of natural equity, of the deepest degradation of our common dignity"³ The document treats the Pope as if he were the enemy of the episcopate, against whom it is necessary to be on the defensive. It raises the question whether the episcopate was not doomed if it was unconditionally subjected to the will of him who is the head of all Bishops; it hints that such an act would amount to a claim for the Pope not only of infallibility but of impeccability.⁴ What Bishop, we read, could feel secure in his church if powerful enemies could bring about his deposition merely by accusing him of insufficient regard for the Pope?⁵ If so disastrous a policy were to get a footing within the Church, there would scarcely be a truth which could not be suppressed, not an error that might not be introduced under the influence of powerful

¹ Dated April 25, 1668, but only published in June; cf. [VARET], II., 19-55. Arnauld is the author both of this letter and of the others which the four addressed to the Pope and the King; *ibid.*, 149. Cf. ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXIV., 549 *seqq.*, 148.

² "On nous doit faire un commandement, auquel on sait bien que nous n'obéirons jamais." [VARET], II., 38.

³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 39.

personalities.¹ For the Holy See and its precedence the letter still has an occasional word of recognition²; but by way of compensation it attacks all the more fiercely its advisers, especially the religious, who know how to surprise the Pope and extort from him decrees against the Bishops.³ These people delight in teaching by their deeds what the Roman theologians expound in their books, namely that the Pope is sovereign and absolute Lord of the Church whereas the Bishops are merely his lieutenants to whom he listens or does not listen according to his good pleasure.⁴ The circular is particularly severe on the prohibition, by the Index, of the pastoral letters of the four⁵; "it is well known how things are done in the Congregation of the Index, where four or five religious decide whatever is done by it. Is it a thing to be borne that such people should pretend to act as absolute judges of the ordinances issued by Bishops for the government of their dioceses?" Moderation and silence would be out of place in the face of such injustice for they would only encourage further encroachments; that was why the four Bishops now appealed to their colleagues.⁶

It was after much hesitation, and relying on the King, that Rome had decided to take action against the four Bishops, a step for which there were not many precedents in recent Church history.⁷ After the letter of the nineteen, and even more so after the wholly revolutionary circular of the four, it was impossible not to realize that rigid insistence on the letter of the Briefs would lead for decades to a schism of the most dangerous kind.

Consequently feeling in Rome was favourable to a compromise; it was no less so in France. The King, indeed, was angry with the four for having dared to oppose his will,

¹ *Ibid.*, 42.

² *Ibid.*, 44.

³ *Ibid.*, 35, 40, 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁷ RAPIN, III., 394, 423.

but his three ministers secretly favoured the Jansenists ; moreover, by reason of their Gallicanism, they were against an increase of Rome's prestige as a result of a trial of strength with the four Bishops : lastly they could not but be extremely anxious that the internal tranquillity of the realm should not be troubled by religious strife.¹ Out of regard for the King, the ministers made a great show of interest in the papal commission. When the Archbishop of Sens remarked to Le Tellier that if the King took action against the four, he would have to do so against forty others, as well as against himself, he was told that after the four they would deal with the forty, beginning with the Archbishop of Sens.² When the nineteen wrote a letter to the King in defence of Pavillon and his three adherents,³ they were not allowed to present it⁴ ; a decree of Parliament⁵ forbade its publication by means of the printing press and condemned the " unlawful meetings ", at which it had been drawn up together with the ideas which it advocated. In like manner the Council of State⁶ suppressed the circular of the four to their fellow Bishops. On the other hand, the attack on their right of free assembly roused the Bishops to the utmost, with the result that both the King

¹ Lionne and Le Tellier were influenced by personal motives also (RAPIN, III., 445 *seq.*). Le Tellier was under the influence of his son, the future Archbishop of Rheims, who had just brilliantly terminated his studies (*ibid.*, 450). Cf. the nuncio's *report of January 30, 1665 (Papal Sec. Arch., *Nunziat. di Francia*, 126) : Lionne and Colbert did not wish the Sorbonne to act as it did (against papal infallibility), " ma il petulantissimo abbate Tellier è capo di tutta questa cabala ed il padre che crede che suo figlio sappia più di san Tomaso," supports the Sorbonne in the Council of State. Cf. *ibid.*, *April 16 : Young Le Tellier will soon get a bishopric and will be " molto peggiore " than his friend Gondrin.

² RAPIN, 440 ; *Bargellini on June 19, 1668, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 149.

³ [VARET], L., 44-51.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ March 19, 1668, *ibid.*, 134 *seq.*

⁶ July 4, 1668, *ibid.*, 57 *seq.*

and high officials received a number of protests, some of which were made public, thus increasing the ferment.¹ Gondrin of Sens repeatedly told Le Tellier that if it came to the condemnation of the four, he would allow his head to be chopped off rather than have anything to do with those who would pronounce the sentence.²

For the rest, despite the measures against the four and the nineteen, the Government was not more friendly disposed towards Rome than usually. The Jansenists had had the New Testament translated into French,³ a piece of work which increased the party's prestige almost more than anything else.⁴ Pavillon had published a Ritual for his diocese in which the administration of Penance was treated in close conformity with Arnauld's ideas.⁵ Rome put both books on the Index,⁶ but in France the nuncio did not dare to publish the decree against the Ritual. He had already printed the papal condemnation of the so-called *New Testament of Mons* when a royal prohibition stopped him from dispatching the printed copies.⁷ The Jansenists could describe the condemnation of the above mentioned translation as null and void with complete impunity, whilst in the following year Pavillon's Ritual was publicly eulogized by 29 Bishops.⁸

¹ [VARET], I., 140 *seqq.*, II., 105; Bargellini to Rospigliosi, August 30, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

² [VARET], I., 156.

³ *Ibid.*, 226-250.

⁴ RAPIN, III., 391.

⁵ [PATOUILLET], III., 498 *seqq.*, IV., 45 *seqq.*

⁶ April 9 and 20, 1668, *ibid.* The Archbishop of Paris, who had many imitators, had censured the translation on November 18, 1667, and on April 20, 1668; see RAPIN, III., 397. *Ibid.*, the motives of the censure; prohibition of the translation by the royal council, November 22, 1667, *ibid.*, 399. Clement IX.'s Brief in [DUMAS], III., *Rec.*, 210. Cf. REUSCH, *Index*, II., 669.

⁷ GÉRIN, II., 246, 291, 374.

⁸ [VARET], II., 498 *seq.* Pavillon thought of publicly defending his Ritual in a pastoral letter (*ibid.*, 460-498). He upheld the book; his letters of 1678 on it in E. JOUV, *Les archives du card. Alderano Cybo à Massa*, in *Bullet. du Bibliophile*, 1919, 51.

About this time Marescatti, a very able man, had been chosen in Rome for the post of nuncio in Paris, but Lionne, in view of his peace plans, succeeded in getting him replaced by Niccolò Bargellini, a personality of no weight who, by reason of his naivety and timidity, was no match for the astute French diplomatists.¹ Bargellini entered on office in April 1668.²

The new nuncio's first task should have been, in pursuance of the papal Briefs, to initiate proceedings against the four recalcitrant Bishops. As a matter of fact, when the Archbishop of Toulouse arrived shortly after Whitsunday, to act as chairman of the college of judges,³ Bargellini did his best to fan the latter's none too great eagerness for the business.⁴ The Bishops of Lodève and Soissons, who had begged to be excused, were replaced by two other judges⁵ and the King was induced to utter a few threats against the four⁶; but the Government was not very much in earnest for it was anxious not to provoke an agitation in the country.⁷

¹ Cauchie, who lays stress on Bargellini's good qualities, nevertheless speaks of his "Incommensurable naïveté" and his "tendance à grossir les difficultés" (*Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1902, 975).

² GÉRIN, II., 244 seq.; RAPIN, 446.

³ [VARET], I., 299.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 295-8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14, II., 106. The Bishop of Lodève was replaced by that of Glandève, and after that by that of Séez, whilst the Bishop of Soissons was replaced by that of Evreux. *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, August 3, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁶ *The King "subito mandò a chiamare l'arcidiacono di Tolose e due altri vescovi de' commissarii . . . e ordinò che si procedesse con ogni rigore e sollicitudine contro li quattro vescovi" (Bargellini, June 8, 1668, *ibid. Cifre*). On June 12 the nuncio *writes that the Bishops were furious over the King's action; the latter, according to Bargellini's *dispatches of June 15 and 19, remained firm (Papal Sec. Arch.).

⁷ [Bargellini] *Il Giansenismo estinto*, in DUPIN, III., 188:

Soon there was question only of a peaceful settlement of the disputes and Bargellini allowed himself to be won over to this view though outwardly he continued to show great keenness for the judicial commission.

A few weeks after his arrival in Paris ¹ Bargellini reported that in view of the wide diffusion of Jansenism in so extensive a realm, a great revolution seemed inevitable. He laments the fact that during the dispute with Alexander VII. the Jansenists obtained the suppression of the *Conseil de Conscience* consisting of the King's confessor, the Archbishop of Paris and other staunch supporters of the Holy See. As a result of this measure the nomination of Bishops got into the hands of the ministers and those of aristocratic ladies. At the same time the Jansenists succeeded in obtaining a restriction of the right of voting of the members of religious Orders at the meetings of the Sorbonne; thus the way lay open for unorthodox theses and books. The party was getting more and more formidable owing to the patronage of two ladies, the one the Duchess of Longueville, an adept in every intrigue, and the other the Princess Conti whose excessive eagerness ²

" Il vero desiderio di S. M^{ta} fu che non si venisse alla condannatione dei quattro vescovi, per non far nascer disturbi nel regno." RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, III.², 225), who made use of Bargellini's report from a MS. in the British Museum, overlooked the fact that it has long been in print. An anonymous *report (Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., vi., 24, f. 33) says: " The commission took such a long time in coming together che si vedea chiaramente che non si facea da dovero, scoprendosi ogni dì tra li ministri ed altri personaggi più qualeficati della corte una gran propensione verso i quattro vescovi et una plausibile approvazione di tutte le scritture che davano fuori in loro difesa."

¹ *May 15, 1668; *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, p. 246 seq., Papal Sec. Arch.

² " Per troppa sua bontà." Cf. RAPIN, III., 77: " Cette princesse étoit janséniste de meilleure foy que tous les autres, puisqu'elle donna toutes ses pierreries, qu'on estimoit près de deux cent mille écus, aux pauvres, qui passa pour une des plus belles actions de ce siècle en ce genre."

had caused her to fall into the snares of the Jansenists. In addition to this, Prince Conti had done his best to influence the King in favour of the sectaries. Among the ministers, Le Tellier was under the influence of Roquette, Bishop of Autun and a friend of the Jansenists, Colbert was on terms of close friendship with the Jansenist Bourzeys, whilst Lionne's confidant was Le Camus, also an adherent of the party.¹ "The evil was further increased by those whose office made them the defenders of the Holy See, namely the Bishops. Notwithstanding every pressure on the King and the ministers, nothing is done against Jansenist writings, or it is done so lukewarmly as only to lead to further insubordination. Their pointed sayings are admired and their writings are allowed to circulate. The King seems, indeed, well disposed, but he is surrounded by people in sympathy with Jansenism. Moreover it is not so easy for the nuncio to see the King as it was only ten years ago, on the contrary, he has 'to blow the trumpet' if he wants an audience and when he obtains one, he finds the monarch in a prejudiced mood." Meetings were being held in Cardinal Retz's house at which the Bishop of Autun and the Abbé Le Tellier, the son of the minister, were present: at those meetings the possibility of a compromise in the affair of the four Bishops was discussed.

The Pope caused an answer to be sent to these complaints, together with an expression of his profound grief. The nuncio was told to make the King² and the ministers³ see that the new sect constituted a danger, not alone for religion, but for the State as well; in view of his present power and greatness,

¹ Even Queen Anne said "que les trois ministres avoient chacun leur janséniste: Le Tellier avoit Coquelin, Colbert l'abbé du Bourzeys, de Lionne Gaudon, tous trois, à ce qu'on disoit, favorables au party." RAPIN, III., 193. For Colbert and Bourzeys, *ibid.*, 138; for Colbert's support of Jansenius, *ibid.*, 137.

² *To Bargellini, June 16, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, *Cifre al Nuntio*, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ *To Bargellini, July 9, 1668, *ibid.*

the King should stifle the hydra before it becomes invincible ¹ ; extreme watchfulness was particularly necessary when there was question of filling episcopal sees.²

Meanwhile in June 1668, the frankly rebellious letter of the four Bishops, dated April 25th, 1668, had come to the knowledge of the public. In consequence of pressure on the part of Bargellini, Annat had represented to the King that that document aimed a blow not only at the Holy See, but at the secular power as well, and that it embodied false doctrines.³ Louis XIV. appeared to be aware of this.⁴ However, when the letter reached Rome ⁵ it was realized there that judicial action against the four would lead nowhere and that it was necessary to give fresh instructions to the nuncio.

On July 13th, the Congregation charged to deal with Jansenism decided that the nuncio should insist on the execution of the Briefs against the four, but if they were prepared to subscribe without subterfuge, the Congregation would not oblige them to make any further recantation.⁶

¹ " *Per hora che S. M^{tà} è sì gloriosa e potente, può e deve estinguere quest' Hydra prima ch'ella cresca e segno d'essere insuperabile " ; June 16, 1668, *ibid.*

² " *Se veramente S. M^{tà} preme in estinguere il veleno di questa setta, è necessario somma vigilanza nell'elettione di soggetti per le chiese " ; July 12, 1668, *ibid.*

³ *Bargellini, June 19 and 29, 1668, *ibid.*

⁴ **Id.*, on June 12 and 15, 1668, *ibid.*

⁵ Forwarded by the nuncio *on June 12, 1668, *ibid.*

⁶ " *Omnes dixerunt: quod Nuntius instet pro executione Brevis. Secreto vero moneatur, quodsi episcopi velint subscribere pure et simpliciter, mens S. Congregationis est, ut non compellantur episcopi ad aliam retractationem. Nuntius procuret evitare epistolam omnium episcoporum, quod vero ad epistolam scribendam per quattuor, non exigat, sed mittentur Nuntio formulæ, quibus uti debent, quando scribent SS. Pontifici. Sed non communicet, nisi opportune et quando subscriptio fuerit secuta pure et simpliciter " (Biblioteca Angelica, Roma, S. 3, 1, p. 139, from a MS. of the Holy Office " Jansenio et formulario "). The

A letter in this sense was sent to Bargellini the very next day, but it was also stated, with the utmost clearness, that a recantation would not be insisted upon, on condition that the signature was given "without clauses, simply, sincerely and clearly", that it contained no reservations, interpretations or additions of any kind and such as might be suspected of equivocation or connected with pastoral letters, for in that case the affair would not be ended; on the contrary it would lead to more grievous evils and to a greater lowering of the prestige of the Holy See.¹ For the present Rome would not hear of the four writing to the Pope; if they did the letter must be short so that nothing unseemly could creep into it.² As Lionne, in particular, insisted on their writing, the Secretary of State explained on August 27th, 1668,³ that all that mattered was a sincere subscription of the formula⁴; it was necessary to avoid whatever might diminish the value of the signature.⁵

commission consisted of Cardinals Ginetti, Brancaccio, Ottoboni, Borromeo, Albizzi, Chigi, Piccolomini, Rasponi, Rospigliosi, Azzolini, Celsi and the assessor Casanale (*ibid.*).

¹ " *Se i quattro vescovi vedendo inevitabile la loro condemnatione offerissero di sottoscrivere il formulario, è mente di N. S., che V. S. accetti e faccia che sottoscrivano subito. . . . Avverti però sopra tutto che la sottoscrizione sia pura," etc. " In caso dunque che effettivamente la sottoscrizione sia libera e tale quale si desidera, conviene non accadene (?) per la ragione detta di sopra, che V.S. insisti nella retrattatione." Rospigliosi, July 14, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, Cifre al Nuntio, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

² *Rospigliosi to Bargellini, July 20, 1668, *ibid.* In a *report we read that a letter of this kind was not wanted " per dubbio che in dette lettere non fossero per parlare così circospettamente, che non dassero occasione di dubbitare della sincerità, che si desiderava nella loro sottoscrizione ". Bibl. Casanat., X. vi., 24, f. 34.

³ *Rospigliosi, *loc. cit.*

⁴ " Purity of subscription of the formulario."

⁵ " Che possa distruggere il frutto della sottoscrizione."

Thus, with all its distrust of the four Bishops, Rome was not unwilling to forgo judicial action and to consent to a friendly settlement. But at the very time when the Roman Congregation made known its readiness for gentler measures, detailed negotiations for a compromise had been concluded in France, in fact they had begun before Bargellini's arrival in Paris, only these negotiations were based on very different premisses from the Roman ones which included, as the very first condition of peace, the sincere and unreserved subscription of the formula.

The intermediary of the compromise was Bishop Vialart of Châlons. After Louis XIV. had rejected the letter of the nineteen Bishops, Vialart, as the senior among them, had made personal representations to the King who referred him to Le Tellier. It was not difficult to convince the minister that the whole fault of the Bishop consisted exclusively in an indiscretion, namely that of having published, by means of the press, what others said in unpublished writings. Accordingly, Le Tellier was not averse to a peaceful settlement of the dispute, but he insisted that, since the King had gone so far with the matter, it was the business of the four Bishops to show him an honourable way out of the impasse.¹ To find such an escape was now Vialart's affair. He took counsel, in particular, with Archbishop Gondrin of Sens, who was more intimate with Le Tellier. Gondrin was informed by the latter that they must begin by giving satisfaction to the Pope ; after that the King would calm down of his own accord.²

As soon as Bargellini arrived, Archbishop Gondrin represented to him what honour would accrue to the Pope and to the nuncio himself if they restored peace to the French Church. Bargellini was easily persuaded.³ Gondrin now entered into further negotiations, a preliminary condition of which was that both in Rome and in Paris everything should be kept absolutely secret from the Jesuits, hence also from

¹ [VARET], I., 216 *seq.*

² *Ibid.*, 218.

³ *Ibid.*, 218-222.

the Archbishop of Paris.¹ Gondrin acted shrewdly when he laid down this condition, but the nuncio committed an imprudence in accepting it for Annat, the King's confessor, was better informed on all that concerned Jansenism than almost anyone and he would have been Bargellini's best adviser. Like Gondrin, Vialart also worked on the nuncio both by personal influence and through the Bishop of Laon, the future Cardinal D'Estrées, for he knew that Bargellini had been directed by Rome to seek counsel from the latter.²

Just as these conversations with the nuncio were kept most secret, so was the nuncio kept in ignorance of some other negotiations, the object of which was to induce the leader of the four, Bishop Pavillon, and through him his three adherents, to yield, at least, to some extent. Vialart of Châlons wrote on the subject to Choiseul of Comminges,³ who on June 23rd, 1668, went to confer with Pavillon, together with Caulet of Pamiers. Choiseul explained to the Bishop of Alet that there could be no question of a recantation or a revision of the pastoral letters being made a condition of peace; it would suffice if they subscribed anew to the papal formula, though they might first make a secret declaration qualifying the meaning of their signature. This had been done at Sens and in many other dioceses. Afterwards they could address a letter to the Pope which need contain nothing disagreeable to the Bishops, but only some general assurances of respect and submission.

¹ *Ibid.*, I., 222; [DUMAS], II., 186; RAPIN, III., 454, 475.
 *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, August 21, 1668: "Notwithstanding my close relations with Annat nè esso nè alcuno della Congregazione [S.J.] è consapevole del segreto"; and *on September 7, 1668: "Passando questo affare con somma segretezza tra il Re, li ministri, li vescovi scelti per mezzani et me, non devo parteciparlo a M. arcivescovo di Tolosa nè al P. Annat" (*Nunziat. di Francia, loc. cit.*). As the nuncio *wrote on September 4, 1668, Annat still exhorted to "ardore"; besides the subscription "qualche atto di penitenza publica" was necessary (*ibid.*).

² [VARET], I., 223, 224.

³ May 26, 1668, in [VARET], 65-9.

Pavillon could not understand what purpose would be served by a subscription which merely confirmed what was already in the pastoral letters. He suspected a trap to force him to further concessions. That the reverse might be the case, that it was intended to deceive not him but the Pope, by public declarations of submission and secret reservations, does not seem to have entered his mind at all. Consequently his reply was cautious: besides Caulet of Pamiers, who happened to be present, it was necessary for him to have the views of his two other adherents, the Bishops of Angers and Beauvais; he made his consent subject to the condition that the four Bishops should be allowed to insert what they liked in the preliminary declaration before the subscription as well as in the letter to the Pope, and that the Doctors who had been dismissed from the Sorbonne and the nuns of Port-Royal should be included in the peace.¹ Caulet and the two other Bishops approved the decision of their leader, Pavillon.² It was not so easy to win over Arnauld and the Doctors; they too feared a deception, though not a deception of the Pope, in which they were expected to co-operate.³ Arnauld suggested a theological disputation before the King for which Pavillon should come to Paris,⁴ but Louis XIV. would not hear of it.⁵

When no further objections were to be looked for either from the four Bishops or from Arnauld, the point was to persuade the nuncio to support the compromise. This task was undertaken by the King's minister, Lionne, after consultation with Gondrin. It was not long before weak Bargellini was left without an answer to the arguments of the minister.

Bargellini's reports to Rome at that period are very puzzling. About the middle of July he writes to the Secretary of State ⁶

¹ Relation de ce qui d'est passé entre MM. les évêques d'Alet, de Pamiers et de Commenge," *ibid.*, 64-78.

² *Ibid.*, 86.

³ *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 115, 128 *seq.*

⁵ Pavillon's letter of July 16, 1668, *ibid.*, 135 *seqq.*

⁶ "Fu scritto dal Nuntio a Roma, che se S. S. si contentasse

that if the Pope were to content himself with the submission of the four Bishops and their sincere subscription, Lionne gave some hope of his being able to induce them to take such a step ; that this concession had already been obtained from the four, Lionne had not yet told him. Bargellini also passes on the remark of the minister that it was unnecessary to insist on a formal recantation since the declaration of submission completely disposed of the question of the pastoral letters. For the rest it is in vain that one looks in Bargellini's dispatches in cypher for information on his conversations with Lionne. They are in the main a repetition of the previous lamentations over French conditions. He also lays particular stress¹ on the fact that no one raised a hand in the defence of the Holy See except the Jesuits ; that though these wrote well, they did so in an exaggerated, passionate style ; moreover their exceptional position had the disadvantage of making the whole thing look like a party struggle between Jansenists and Jesuits.² So far the other Orders had not written one page on behalf of the Pope's prerogatives and they but rarely spoke of them as they should ; yet it would be only right if all the Orders united in a courageous defence of religion, both by the spoken and the written word. Since a decree of September 25th, 1663, had excluded the Doctors of the Mendicant Orders from the Sorbonne, anti-Roman publications had become more numerous ; they were being distributed gratis throughout France ; the Jansenists had a fund for the purposes of propaganda for this party and the censors

dell'obedienza de i quattro vescovi, con la sincera sottoscrizione del Formulario, Mons. de Lionne havea gli dato sopra questo punto qualche speranza di poterlo ottenere da loro." In DUPIN. III., 190.

¹ * July 20, 1668, *loc. cit.* (Cifre), partly in CAUCHIE, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1902, 979.

² " *Questi scrivevano bene, ma con qualche ardore eccessivo, ed io, che ho bisogno delle loro penne, non posso dir loro, [non] vorrei che la causa della S. Sede si facesse (come da molto tempo in qua hanno cominciato a dire) di due partiti tra Jansenisti e Gesuiti, perchè le cose s'inasprirebbero maggiormente," *loc. cit.*

favoured them at the expense of their opponents. A new feature of Bargellini's dispatches is the circumstance that he appears to have derived a hope for a happy issue of his mission from his conversations with the minister. He now makes suggestions in Rome as to how the situation might be improved. With regard to the religious, he is of opinion that the Secretary of State should get in touch with their Generals so as to bring about a change. If all the Orders were to unite, the affair would be considered as one concerning everybody and not merely the Jesuits; then the Jansenists and their friends would take alarm; if the Orders had shown some courage before this, the Sorbonne would not have been betrayed into heretical propositions on papal infallibility; if that body changed its attitude, the Orders too would find themselves in a very different position. It is true, he goes on to say, that at the time of Alexander VII., when religion was in peril in France, action on behalf of the Pope was impeded. Nor were the friends of the Holy See adequately rewarded, for in Brittany at least the disposal of benefices had not been restricted by the concordat.

Eight days after this report ¹ Bargellini is full of hope for a happy issue of the affair as the King was determined to make an end of it. He promises to carry out faithfully the instructions received from Rome, except that it seemed to him that it would be better for the prestige of the Holy See if the "sincere subscription" of the four Bishops and their letter to the Pope were to come only after the summons by the papal commission.

Though little can be gathered from Bargellini's cyphered reports concerning the compromise, he had been won over for it and the great thing was to get the ship into port as quickly as possible. Nearly all the Bishops of the papal commission had come together ² and though attempts were made, under a variety of pretexts, to induce its chairman, the Archbishop of Toulouse, to put off the negotiations, the

¹ *July 27, 1668, *ibid.*

² [VARET], II., 146.

opening of the proceedings could not long be delayed. Accordingly Le Tellier proposed to draw up at once in Paris the document by which, as had been agreed upon, the four Bishops were to inform the Pope that they had subscribed to the formula.¹ But this was contrary to the agreement with Pavillon who had made it an express condition that no one, apart from the four, should have anything to do with the tenor of that declaration of obedience.² However, apart from all else, Arnould was at hand in Paris, Arnould who, in point of fact, was the author of Pavillon's latest writings,³ and it needed a skilled pen to draw up a document capable of being interpreted in two different senses. On the one hand it was intended to convince the Pope that the four Bishops had subscribed without additions or reservations, whilst on the other hand the four did not really wish to give such an assurance. It is characteristic of the Jansenists' state of mind and their attitude towards the Holy See, that all the time this unworthy double-dealing was in progress, they multiplied their protestations of their truthfulness and "Christian sincerity".⁴ These Gallicians came pretty near looking upon the Pope as an enemy; to deceive him seemed to them almost a meritorious act.

It was only after lengthy discussions and with due regard to the wishes of the three ministers, that the document was at last drawn up and submitted to the King.⁵ In it Arnould has produced one of his masterpieces: from first to last it is a tissue of ambiguities⁶ and, for the initiated, nothing less than a downright mockery of the Pope.

¹ *Ibid.*, 145.

² *Cf.* above, p. 367.

³ [VARET], II., 149.

⁴ As the Jansenist Varet puts it (II., 147): nothing was to be in the letter "ni qui pût ou offenser le Pape, ou blesser la délicatesse de conscience des IV. évêques . . . ni qu'ils eussent fait rien d'indigne de la sincérité chrétienne [!]."

⁵ *Ibid.*, 150. Text of the letter in [DUMAS], III., *Rec.*, 187.

⁶ This is the opinion of COCHIN, who is friendly to the Jansenists (215): "On est forcé de reconnaître que la lettre au

Not a word is said as to what took place when the latest signature was given, nor about the fact that the preliminary declaration robbed it of all value. All it says, with ambiguous phraseology, is that the four Bishops had acted after the example of "the French Bishops" or, for the words can also be thus construed, "after the example of some French Bishops" with whose sentiments they were in full agreement.¹ It goes without saying that the four who but a short while ago, had spoken of Rome in the most bitter terms, now overflow with assurances of their regard for the Holy See.

pape . . . montre une ambiguïté extrême, une sincérité presque insuffisante. Toutes les questions en'jeu y sont laissées dans une ombre si dense, que le regard le plus habitué aux subtilités théologiques ne saurait voir si les évêques rétractaient ou non leur doctrine. Henri Arnauld trouvait fort heureuse cette obscurité voulue."

¹ "Nam cum in exequenda . . . Constitutione Gallicani episcopi, nobiscum sensibus coniunctissimi, eam disciplinae formam amplexi sunt, quam Sanctitati V. acceptiorem fuisse intelleximus, Nos. . . ." Thus the original dispatched to Rome, the nuncio's register [DUMAS], III., 186 *seqq.*, the *copy of the letter in *Cod.* 60 of the Bibl. of S. Pietro in Vincoli, Rome, f. 375 *seq.*, Bargellini's *letter to Rome, dated November 16, 1668 (see below). The Jansenist printed texts run thus: 'multi gall. episcopi nobiscum licet sensibus coniunctissimi' ([VARET], II., 155), which made it possible to refer the passage to Gondrin and his friends, whose example the four had imitated. However, "multi" occurred only in the first draft and was cancelled at the instance of the nuncio (*cf.* [DUMA], III., 164 *seqq.*). Though he had not seen the words "multi" and "licet", Bargellini, in his letter of November 16, 1668, gives expression to his concern that the four might refer them to "quelli vescovi della Francia che si dice habbino fatto processo verbale". But he continues, "la risposta per la S. Sede è prontissima perchè le sudette parole non si possono mai intendere se non per quello che hanno fatto pubblicamente i vescovi dell'assemblea del clero descritta nel libro intitolato: 'Relations des deliberations du clergé de France' a carte 83, dove consta che tutti segnarono senza alcuna restritione, anche quelli che si dice habbino fatto alcuni particolari nascostamente." Papal Sec. Arch.

In conforming to the example of "others", or "the others", they had attested before the whole Church their love of ecclesiastical unity, the motive of this attestation being the honour of the Apostolic See and the regard in which they held it. The conclusion of the document is a string of protestations of attachment to the Pope, though a skilful turn in the phrasing makes it clear that they are only meant in a Gallican sense and so were of doubtful value. Even the date of the letter, September 1st,¹ was bound to embarrass Rome since the document supposes that the new subscription had already taken place whereas on September 1st none of the synods at which the subscription was given, had as yet been held.

Meanwhile, Bargellini had information that Rome was satisfied with the compromise,² on the supposition, of course, that the four would sign without reservation. Gondrin now submitted to him the text of the letter to the Pope. After he too had asked for a few alterations,³ both he and Gondrin thought that they could indulge the hope that the four would subscribe and that the Pope would also be satisfied⁴; in fact the nuncio went so far as to sign the draft in the name of the Pope, an act of rashness which seemed hardly credible, so that it appeared like a miracle to the Jansenists themselves.⁵ Even Arnould felt he could assure Gondrin that Pavillon would not refuse to assent to the letter to the Pope since it contained nothing contrary to "truth and sincerity".⁶

However, if Arnould really thought that Pavillon would comply without protest, he was mistaken. The Bishops of Angers and Beauvais subscribed at once without difficulty. They even forwarded, either spontaneously or by request—

¹ [DUMAS], III., 180. The copy dispatched to Rome bears the date of September 1, whilst the nuncio's register ascribes it to 15 and Rospigliosi's report to September 26.

² ROSPIGLIOSI, in [DUMAS], II., 188 (*fol.*, H. III.) ; BARGELLINI, in DUPIN, III., 192.

³ *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, October 12, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ [VARET], II., 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, 153 *seq.*

with a view to future possibilities—a blank sheet of paper bearing their signature, on which it was possible to write anything in their name.¹ However, when De Saint-Laurens was dispatched to Pavillon, on August 12th, 1668, he realized that the headstrong Saint of Alet could be tiresome for other people besides his opponents, for whereas the Paris diplomatists had taken immense trouble so as not to touch upon certain topics in the letter, or at least to glide lightly over them, Pavillon insisted that the document should tell the Pope to his face that the four upheld their pastorals which had been put on the Index of forbidden books. In that case there was no need to write and the whole compromise might as well be torn up. But Pavillon was not to be moved. It was of no use for Gondrin to explain, in a covering letter,² that the compromise guaranteed freedom for the “so-called” Jansenists whilst it also dealt a heavy blow to the Jesuits, and that with the great Arnauld’s consent, Gondrin had pledged his word that Pavillon would subscribe. That inflexible man persisted in his demand and, as he had done previously, Caulet of Pamiers stood by him.

Embarrassment was great in Paris. A Bishop in the Pyrenees, a man of no consequence whatever, had suddenly become the Pope of France and a decisive factor in a weighty affair. For a whole month Pavillon held up his friends, and that at a time when the papal commission should have begun its judicial proceedings so that repeated requests for a delay had had to be made to the Archbishop of Toulouse.³ Letter

¹ *Ibid.*, 170, 173.

² August 12, 1668, *ibid.*, 163–167.

³ *Ibid.*, 168, 172, 229. Cf. Bargellini’s *reports to Rome (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.): August 17, 1668: “After taking counsel with Annat and the Archbishop of Toulouse, I have granted a delay of 2 weeks”; on August 30: “The fortnight is over and I made no reply to a demand for a fresh delay”; on September 4: “We must wait another 10 days for the return of the courier”; September 11: “The King is only willing to wait till Saturday at the most”; September 17: “Another full fortnight’s delay is being asked for.”

upon letter was dispatched to Alet ¹ ; when the first negotiator came back without having achieved anything, a second and a third were dispatched.² Twice Choiseul and Caulet journeyed to the little town in the Pyrenees ³ : for a time all seemed in vain, but Pavillon ended by yielding and signing.

The signed document arrived in Paris on September 14th. Gondrin at once passed on the good news to the nuncio and the document was soon in Bargellini's hands ⁴ who, after he had had an audience with the King, described the affair of the four as ended and more than ended.⁵ The commission of Bishops for the trial of the four now no longer served any purpose ; it was accordingly dissolved on the nuncio's own proposal,⁶ though he appears to have felt some scruple at the last moment. He forwarded to Rome not the original letter of the four but a copy, so that the Pope should feel more free to reject it.⁷ In other ways also the weak man began to suspect that he had allowed himself to be led astray. On one occasion, during a discussion with Gondrin and Vialart, he seized a knife and cut the letter from top to bottom ⁸ ;

¹ Arnould, on August 22, 1668, in [VARET], II., 175 (incomplete also in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, I., 621) ; Gondrin, on August 25 and September 3, 1668, in [VARET], II., 181, 225 ; Buzenval, on September 1, 1668, *ibid.*, 216 ; the Canons of Beauvais on August 13, 1668, *ibid.*, 220.

² *Ibid.*, 194 *seq.*, 230, 236.

³ *Ibid.*, 186, 230.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 245, 250 ; [DUMAS], II., 173 *seq.*

⁵ [VARET], II., 255.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 252, 255, 256. On August 26, 1668, *Gondrin had written to him that the Bishops of Angers and Beauvais were "prêts d'exécuter les choses que je lui [to the nuncio] ai promises", and that he hoped the others were similarly disposed (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 412). On August 31, 1668, *Vialart informed him that Caulet was of the same opinion as the other two and that what he had written to him on August 22 "ne me laisse aucun doute qu'il n'exécute ce qu'il faut", and that he hoped for the same from Pavillon (*ibid.*, 416, Schill remains).

⁷ [VARET], II., 258 *seq.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, 259 *seq.*

however, his disquietude vanished under the influence of the soothing assurances of his friends.¹

There now followed the synods of the four Bishops at which they had the formula of Alexander VII. subscribed to by their clergy.² The Bishops of Angers and Beauvais took the precaution, in order to avoid creating a stir, of calling together only a small number of their clergy, and that outside their episcopal cities. Buzenval of Beauvais held his synod on September 14th, at his country seat of Bresle; Henri Arnould held his on the following day at Saumur, at the house of the Oratorians; he only convened sixty clerics, all men on whom he could rely.³ On September 18th, Pavillon of Alet and Caulet of Pamiers acted in like manner in their episcopal cities. The preliminary declaration qualifying the sense of the subscription was the same, word for word, at all the four synods⁴; like the letter to the Pope it had been drafted by a skilled hand in Paris and forwarded to the four Bishops.⁵

The declaration consists of three parts; it condemns the five propositions, upholds the teaching of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, that is, the doctrine of efficacious grace, but as regards the question of fact, the only obligation it acknowledges is that of respectful regard. Henri of Angers added a clause to the declaration, to the effect that the absent secular and regular clergy were to sign the document within a period of two months. This ordinance, however, was not carried into effect.⁶ Buzenval of Beauvais, who had issued a similar ordinance, submitted the formula as well as the declaration of the year before, to the rest of the clergy at his next synod held in July 1669, but he did not insist on their being subscribed to.⁷ As a matter of fact it was hardly possible to

¹ *Ibid.*, 263-6.

² [DUMAS], II., 187 *seqq.*

³ [VARET], II., 184.

⁴ [DUMAS], II., 190, 196.

⁵ [VARET], II., 163. Pavillon contributed at least one sentence of his own [DUMAS], II., 197.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 200.

⁷ *Ibid.*

obtain a general subscription to the formula and the declaration since the latter was to remain secret and was in fact rigorously kept so.¹ Even in 1680, Henri Arnauld did not dare to make it public.²

The synod of Pamiers had a sequel four days later. On September 22nd nine Canons called on the Vicar-General and explained that their Bishop had stated at his synod that, after a fresh examination in Rome, his pastoral had not been censured in any way, nay, that more than forty Bishops and the best brains in the realm had recast it in a new form in which it had to be subscribed to. The preliminary declaration that had been read to them contained the distinction between right and fact ; to their repeated requests that the document should be handed to them in writing, the Bishop had drily replied that he would see whether that was necessary. Except for the first subscriptions, all the others were on loose sheets which consequently could be used in confirmation of anything. For all that the nine Canons had not refused to subscribe, as the Bishop had told them that both the Pope and the King would be greatly pleased if the four Bishops subscribed once more, and ordered their clergy to do the same. Subsequently their conscience began to trouble them because the subscription was against the Pope's will ; for this reason they made their present declaration, which they insisted on being inserted in the minutes.³

The September synod of the Bishop of Angers also received a complement of another kind. In view of the altered situation, Antoine Arnauld expressed a desire to sign the formula, though not in Paris, whose Archbishop, Péréfixe, did not hold the Jansenist view on the distinction of right and fact. This difficulty did not exist with his brother, the Bishop of Angers, but instead there was the circumstance that he himself did not belong to the diocese of Angers. However, a way out of the difficulty was found. Arnauld was given a benefice which

¹ [VARET], II., 277 ; COCHIN, 218 *seq.*

² COCHIN, 223.

³ [DUMAS], II., 202-7.

existed only on paper, having been invented specially for the benefit of Arnauld; as incumbent of this benefice the great Arnauld subscribed to the September synod of Saumur although he had not been at Saumur at all in the month of September.¹ At that synod, for reasons which it is impossible to account for, Bishop Henri had made all the parish priests of Angers sign their names on two copies of his declaration.² Antoine Arnauld's name was inserted in one of these as appears from two copies.³

Arnauld's whole destiny seemed now, all of a sudden, to take a new turn. The days were over when he was forced to flee from one hiding place to another. On October 13th, nuncio Bargellini received him in audience. Arnauld protested that he had signed the formula at Angers through a representative, and Bargellini exhorted him to devote his "golden pen" in future to the service of the Church.⁴ There followed his presentation to the King who urged him to let bygones be bygones.⁵ The most distinguished people now vied with one another in paying homage, in his retreat at the house of the Duchess of Longueville, to a man whom they had previously shunned.⁶

As a matter of fact everything seemed to point to the dawn of a new era, though the attempt to secure Arnauld's readmission as a Doctor of the Sorbonne proved a failure⁷ and his reception by Bargellini let loose a storm of indignation against the nuncio.⁸ But the Jansenist Canons of Beauvais recovered their honours and dignities, and the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs were once more admitted to the Sacraments in February 1669, though they were compelled to surrender two-thirds of the income of both houses to their sisters of the

¹ *Ibid.*, II., 220 *seq.*; COCHIN, 219-222.

² [DUMAS], II., 199.

³ COCHIN, 219.

⁴ [VARET], II., 297 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 314.

⁶ RAPIN, III, 478 *seq.*

⁷ [VARET], 414 *seq.*; CAUCHIE, in *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1903, 50.

⁸ CAUCHIE, *ibid.*, 94.

convent of Port-Royal in Paris who had submitted before them.¹ The nuncio received letters of thanks from the four Bishops,² and for a time so many callers came to congratulate him that he took alarm. In view of the fact that the Generals of the Cassinese Congregation, the French Benedictines and the Bernardines, the Provincials of the Dominicans, Friars Minor, the Augustinians, the Calced and Discalced Carmelites, came to pay him their compliments, he began to fear that Jansenism had perhaps struck deeper roots in the Orders than was generally believed.³

On their part, the men who had negotiated the peace reported to Rome in the same strain as that of the four Bishops' letter to the Pope. These reports pass over in profound silence the one all-important point, whilst they indulge in rhetorical assurances of the obedience of the four prelates who, they write, had done all that could be asked of them. Vialart of Châlons wrote that the affair had been settled to the greater honour of the Holy See; as soon as the four Bishops had realized in what way they might satisfy the Pope, they had shown the utmost readiness to yield, and had complied, with the greatest sincerity, with every measure that made for peace; and the same was to be said of the theologians.⁴

¹ [VARET], II., 416 *seq.* Ordinance of Archbishop Péréfixe of Paris in favour of the nuns of Port-Royal-des-Champs, *ibid.*, 418; [DUMAS], II., 267 *seqq.* Cf. *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, November 23, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch. " *Lodato Dio," the nuncio writes at the end of February, 1669 (*ibid.*), that the nuns have subscribed without reservation—thus is "eradicata questa radice del Jansenismo a gloria del felicissimo pontificato di N. S."

² Buzenval in September 1668, in [DUMAS], II., 208; *joint letter of Pavillon and Caulet, dated September 10, 1668, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 436; Henri Arnould, on September 12, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 437.

³ CAUCHIE, *loc. cit.*, 1902, 890.

⁴ " *Eo tandem perducta res est, ut ex omnium sententia atque consensu cum summo Apost. Sedis honore transigeretur . . . Simul ac illis episcopis oblata est ratio, qua Sanctitati V. fieret satis, nihil fuerit ipsis ad amplectenda sincerissime pacis consilia

Gondrin of Sens, too, protested that everybody had submitted to the Pope, so that it could be truly said: "The earth was quiet before the face of Your Holiness!"¹ D'Estrées of Laon's language was more sober, but at bottom it was equally ambiguous.²

The assurances of the nuncio were calculated to inspire greater confidence in Rome than these rhetorical phrases; his reports led to the conclusion that the four had been sincere when they subscribed to their letter to the Pope,³ and

flexibilis aut promptius (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 456). The letter bears no date. Another *letter of Vialart (undated) to a Cardinal, *ibid.*, 465.

¹ " *Paruere enim sine cunctatione et alacri animo, ut primum mentem Sanctitatis V. propositumque acceperunt, eosque sponte secuti sunt, quotquot erant iisdem difficultatibus implicati theologi, ut vere dicendum sit, terram siluisse in conspectu Sanctitatis Vestrae " (I *Mach.*, I, 3), *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 448. In like manner, *Gondrin to Rospigliosi, September 17, 1668 (*ibid.*, f. 450): The four " se sont portés avec joie à faire tout ce qui leur a été possible pour satisfaire Sa Sainteté et pour lui rendre l'obéissance qu'ils lui doivent . . . ils ont agi en cette occasion avec les sentiments de religion et de soumission ".

² *Letter of September 22, 1668, to the Pope, *ibid.*, f. 467, and in [DUMAS], II., 212 *seqq.*, III. *Rec.*, 189 *seq.*, and to Card. Rospigliosi, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 476, and [DUMAS], II., 214. Cf. [VARET], II., 511 *seqq.*

³ Thus *on August 14, 1668: Yesterday a courier informed the mediating Bishops that all the four had subscribed " senza riserva alcuna "; *on August 28: From Gondrin's letter I gather that two Bishops have subscribed " sinceramente "; *on September 4: Gondrin and Vialart report that Pavillon " s'è indotto a sottoscrivere con ogni sincerità "; *on September 21: when fresh difficulties arose " io risposi che per esser sincerissima la sottoscrizione de' quattro vescovi era necessario fosse senza mandamenti o processi verbali "; *on the same day: the Bishop of Laon has repeatedly assured me of the sincerity of the four and " che il nome e il libro di Jansenio restarà abolito affatto ". *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137 (Cifre del Bargellini), Papal Sec. Arch.

that Bargellini was able to guarantee to Lionne that their subscription of the formula had likewise been given without any reservations.¹ But all these smooth words did not completely satisfy Rome. One reason for this reserve was the circumstance that the nuncio had only forwarded a copy of the letter of the four, and no document was forthcoming that might have served as an unequivocal proof that the four had subscribed. Together with these letters of courtesy there had also come a curious dispatch from Lionne to Cardinal Rospigliosi, which stated that the minister could not believe that Bargellini had overstepped his instructions, but if that was nevertheless the case there was no going back now, since the position of the four Bishops was the same as that of thirty or forty others ; it would not be possible to take action against so many and the judges would unanimously pronounce in their favour. Moreover, the nuncio had agreed to the discharge of the judicial commission ; it would be all but impossible to convene it again ; as it was three or four of the commissaries had hesitated whether or no to accept the office of a judge ; they would certainly refuse to do so now. For the rest, it may be said that Bargellini simply had to consent to the discharge of the commission when things had gone so far. Lionne also made two further submissions, viz. whether it would not be a good thing if the Pope answered the letter of the four, for they might interpret his silence as a sign of displeasure and, secondly, whether it would not be best to

¹ “ *Circa il particolare de’ quattro vescovi nel principio del discorso dissi a M. de Lionne che si desiderava la retrattatione formale de’ mandamenti, ma conoscendo dalla risposta di S. S. che era impossibile ottenerla, mi restrinsi che sottoscrivessero e giurassero il formulario e lo facessero giurare e sottoscrivere al loro clero, ma sopra tutto che le sottoscrizioni fossero *pure, semplici, sincere, schiette* ; che per non perder tempo di mandare a Roma la lettera, che li quattro vescovi devono scrivere a N. S., S. E. facesse sottoscriverli perchè in tanto la havessimo concertata assieme di sodisfattione commune e mandata quando fosse ridotta al segno che conviene.” Bargellini, August 3, 1668, *loc. cit.*

keep the whole affair a profound secret and not to publish the letter of the four, lest there should be another outbreak of controversy.¹

Lionne also laid these arguments before the French ambassador in Rome,² and from what Albizzi told the minister,³ these decided the further course of the affair in Rome. Even if Bargellini had exceeded his instructions—and Lionne hinted at it clearly enough—it was impossible to recall the concessions made by him in Paris in the Pope's name.

The bearer of the declaration of submission of the

¹ " *Gran negotio et maggior di quello che se possa immaginare per la conseguenza si è concluso "; What Piccolomini and Roberti failed to accomplish has been brought about by Bargellini's "patienza" and "dolcezza" with the only "capaci" mezzani. "L'anima del negotio è stata il segreto che si è guardato . . . Io son sicuro che Ms. Nuntio ha troppa prudenza et essatezza per havere deviato un sol punto dalli suoi ordini et instruttioni ; pur quando havesse trascorso in qualche cosa, il partito che ha pigliato fin qua volontariamente, si trova hoggi essere di mera necessità per molte ragioni, delle quali ne addurrò solo due brevemente. . . ." The nuncio had to consent to the dissolution of the commission when the "vescovi mezzani" asked "se i quattro vescovi havendo compito tutto quello che paresse desiderato da loro per parte di S. B^{ne} havessero anco da temere che si potesse ripensar di nuovo al far loro il processo." However, on dismissing the commission, the King would tell them that they would be recalled if their services were required. He submits : 1. "se parerà alla Santità sua con li termini che stimerà più proprii rispondere alla lettera dei quattro vescovi . . . ; 2. se li parerà di tenere segretissimo tutto quello che si è trattato et aggiustato per non dare occasione" to fresh controversial writings. It would be best to say in general terms "che Ms. Nuntio ha aggiustato l'affare a sodisfattione di S. Santità". Lionne to Rospigliosi, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 457.

² GÉRIN, II., 305.

³ *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, October 20, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch. ; E. DE JEAN, *Un prélat indépendant*, 224, n. ; DUBRUEL, in *Bullet. de littérat. ecclés.*, 1918, 387 ; RAPIN, III., 467.

four arrived in the Eternal City on September 25th. The cardinalitial Congregation for Jansenism met for deliberation on the very next day. The letter of the four, they decided, was so worded that the Holy See could accept and acknowledge it without loss of prestige. If the original was in the nuncio's hands, he should forward it ; if not, let him ask Lionne to return it and explain to him that if he himself had dispatched only a copy to Rome, it was solely that the Holy See might have a freer hand. Let him also forward the original of the letters of the four to himself as they would "clearly show the regard of those Bishops for the Holy See and their submission to the orders of the Pope". Moreover, it was the nuncio's business to use his ingenuity with a view to securing proof of the subscription of the four, so that the fact may be established for all time. Until such a document was in their hands it would not be proper for the Pope to reply to the letters of Gondrin and Vialart. But the nuncio should assure these two Bishops of the Pope's goodwill and explain the reason of the delay of the reply. Lastly, Bargellini must keep the secret which Lionne desired.¹

¹ *Quod scribatur Nuntio : Excepisse laeta fronte S. D. N. gratiasque Deo retulisse nuncium de subscriptione formularii executioni demandata per episcopos etc., lectamque fuisse copiam epistolae, qua praedicti quatuor episcopi scripserunt Sanctitati Suae, indicatumque fuisse, eandem ita fuisse conceptam, ut cum dignitate Sedis Ap. possit recipi, illique responsum dari. Verum quia ex epistola Nuntii Ap. non bene percipitur, utrum originale sit apud se vel restituerit, censuere EE. PP., ut eidem Nuntio scribatur, quod quatenus sit penes se, transmittat quam primum, si minus, dicat D^{no} de Lionne, qualiter ipse, ne S. Sedem induceret in aliquam necessitatem et ad cautelam, misisse [*sic* !] copiam et repudiasse originale, verum quia pro comperto habet . . . velit idem D. de Lionne, ut denuo tradatur ipsi Nuntio, in quo industriam suam adhibeat, ut id faciat cum proprii ministerii honore. Idem Nuntius mittat originales epistolas eidem scriptas per quatuor episcopos, cum ex earum tenore clare pateat eorundem episcoporum observantia erga S. Sedem atque resignata obedientia erga mandata S. D. N. Pariter resolutum fuit, ut idem Nuntius

A letter to this effect was then dispatched to the nuncio.¹

Besides these instructions to the nuncio, it was also necessary to answer the letters which had been received. Consequently, on September 28th, the Pope issued a Brief in which he took care, for the moment, to acknowledge not the letter of the four, but Louis XIV.'s covering letter. He expressed his satisfaction at the "obedience and submission" of the four who had "subscribed to the formula, sincerely and without reservation". If there was anything more to do in the affair, the Pope prayed the King to step in and complete the work.² This Brief reached Paris on October 8th; two days later everybody knew of it,³ to the annoyance of the Jansenists, for the Pope's words could only confirm the great public—which knew nothing of the secret declarations—in its opinion

dextre et apposite curet habere actum authenticum subscriptionis formularii, ut de eo in futurum constare valeat. Et quia non videtur convenire, quod S. S. respondeat archiepiscopo Senonensi et episcopo Chalon., qui scripsere. . . . Sanctitati S. atque Eminentissimo Rospigliosi antequam constet de subscriptione per actum authenticum, Nuntius sumpta occasione illos certiores faciat non modo animi et propensae in eos voluntatis Sanctitatis S., verum etiam de causa dilationis. . . . Retz also should be thanked. Tandem quia D. de Lionne summa et singulari sollicitudine petiit ab eodem Nuntio, ut omnia gesta hucusque pro felici exitu huiusmodi negotii alto silentio involverentur, idque fuisse caute praestitum in Galliis, ut optimum consilium solerti atque amanti animo datum cum utilitate et beneficio religionis catholicae coniungatur, et dempta ansa iurgiorum tandem novisque rumoribus et dissensionibus, quae oriri ex malitia hominum possent, sedentur atque comprimantur. Bibl. Angelica, S. 3, 1, from the MS. of the Holy Office, entitled "Jansenio et formulario", Session of September 26, 1668, p. 320.

¹ *September 28, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 61, Papal Sec. Arch.

² [DUMAS], II., 217. "Tanta sane cum laetitia cognovimus in simplici ac pura subscriptione formularii quatuor illorum episcoporum obedientiam et obsequium." *Ibid.*, III., *Rec.*, 191 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, II., 220.

that they had submitted sincerely and without subterfuge. They were even more annoyed by a decree of the Royal Council of October 23rd, 1668. That document stated ¹ that the Pope had been completely satisfied with the "submission" of the four to the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII. and with their personal subscription, as also with their demand of the subscription from their subjects and with their letter to the Pope assuring him of their obedience to the said Constitutions; all this had induced the Pope to forget the past. In pursuance of the Pope's exhortation to use the royal authority in dealing with the disputes "connected with the condemnation of Jansenius's book", the King now commanded the observance of the said Constitutions and forbade the two parties to use the expressions "heretics, Jansenists" as well as the publication of books on the controversy or of offensive remarks about those who had signed the formula. For the Jansenists it was too much that the King's ordinance should speak of the "obedience" of the Bishops. When the Bishops promulgated papal Constitutions, such an action, according to them, was merely a token of approval, not of submission. They were also hurt by the suggestion that there was anything that the Pope could forget and that there should be question of the "condemnation" of Jansenius' book.² For the rest there is reason to suspect that the ministers, who really favoured Jansenism, chose these expressions in order to cover up their share in the deception practised by the four.³ Moreover, the ordinance was issued before the Pope's declaration of his satisfaction with the "obedience" of the four: it was evidently intended to drive him further along the road of concessions.⁴

If it was to achieve its real purpose it was necessary for

¹ *Ibid.*, 224 *seq.*

² [VARET], II., 324 *seqq.*

³ GÉRIN, II., 306.

⁴ To the nuncio Lionne explained that he could not delay any further as otherwise pamphlets against the agreement would have been published. **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 976. *Report of the nuncio on the subject, dated October 26, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 974.

the Government to produce unimpeachable evidence of the submission of the four, such as Rome demanded. This was seemingly an impossible task, for how was Pavillon to be induced to furnish such proof? However, Lionne was a resourceful man; he produced an attestation by Pavillon without a fresh demand of Pavillon: "I have handed the four attestations to the nuncio," he wrote to the King, "for by good fortune we found some blank sheets bearing the signatures of the four Bishops."¹ In other words, he simply wrote the required attestation on the blank sheets and dispatched them to Rome² where, as Rospigliosi wrote to Bargellini, together with the four declarations, information was likewise received that they were not sincere.³ None the less with his latest move Lionne had beaten the Pope for, though people in Rome might well distrust the Saint of Alet and his followers, would it be wise to admit publicly that they suspected some trick behind the signatures of four Catholic Bishops? In the end Rome had to be content with the

¹ "J'ai . . . fourni les quatre certificats au Nonce, s'étant trouvé ici heureusement des blancs signés des quatre évêques." Arch. des affaires étrangères, Paris (*France*, t. 416, f. 122), in DEJEAN, 225 n.; DUBRUEL, in *Bulletin de litt. ecclés.*, 1918, 338.

² The four certificates are in **Excerpta*, f. 835 (Alet), 836 (Angers), 838 (Ponniers), 840 (Beauvais); also in **Cod. Vat.* 7405, f. 24, Vat. Lib. Pavillon's attestation is as follows: "Nous Nicolas évêque d'Aleth certifions à tous qu'il appartiendra que nous avons assemblé notre synode dans notre église cathédrale aujourd'hui [!] mardi 18 sept. 1668 et que dans iceluy nous avons signé et fait signer sincèrement par les ecclésiastiques de notre diocèse le formulaire de foi contenu dans la Constitution de N. S. P. le Pape Alexandre VII. d'heureuse mémoire conformément à la lettre que nous en avons écrit à N. S. P. le Pape." The attestation of the Bishop of Beauvais in [DUMAS], II., 231.

³ " *Che l'atto di sottoscrizione non è stato fedele e sincero, ma con circostanze di gravissimo peso e di pessime conseguenze." Letter of November 6, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.

subscription of the four and to take its sincerity for granted. "The Pope only judges of external actions," Cardinal Rospigliosi observed at a later date.¹

Although Arnauld and other exponents of the strict morality were for ever talking about "Christian uprightness", they nevertheless approved of the trick which Lionne was playing on the Pope with his blank sheets; the only condition they insisted upon was that the conclusion of the four attestations should state that the subscription had taken place in conformity with the letter of the four.²

Lionne was far less free from preoccupation than the Jansenists. If the four only subscribed "in conformity" with their letter, they had not subscribed unconditionally; such phrases might well raise suspicions in Rome. And what would happen if in some future Roman document reference should be made to a subscription by the four of which they themselves were in complete ignorance? It was necessary for him to take his precautions. In a letter to Cardinal Rospigliosi, dated October 12th, he explained that the clause had been necessary, for it represented the only way out and the only bond between the two parties; a subscription without reservation was more than impossible. He then expressed a wish that no one should be allowed to see the four attestations, and that in his Brief the Pope should only speak of a "sincere", but not of an "unconditional" subscription. The fact was that in the person of the Bishop of Alet they had to deal with a wrong-headed man; if they adopted another course than the one suggested by him, they would fall from the frying-pan into the fire and undo in a moment what it had cost so much effort to build up.

¹ "Le cardinal Rospigliosi me répéta . . . que le Pape ne jugeait que des actes extérieurs"; Bourlemont, on January 20, 1669, in COCHIN, 230.

² "Nos Messieurs ne sont point effariés du certificat, pourvu qu'il soit relatif à la Lettre. Mais ils imaginent un tour qu'ils vous diront demain qui ne rend pas la chose plus difficile. Enfin cette affaire ne rompra la paix de leur côte." The Duchess of Longueville to Gondrin [VARET], II., 292 *seq.*

In that case even the King's authority would not stop Pavillon from publishing his letter to the Pope, with its glosses, and from letting loose a flood of manifestos for the purpose of informing the world, in his own peculiar fashion, of the course of events. For the same reason the letter to the King should not be made public either ; above all the forthcoming Brief to the four must on no account allude to the four attestations. At the beginning of his letter, Lionne lightly touches on, or rather disguises, the story of the origin of the four attestations. They had only been secured with the utmost difficulty, he writes. So as not to jeopardize the prestige of the Pope in an affair where success was uncertain, he had advised the nuncio not to deal personally with the Bishops who were acting as mediators ; hence he had taken the matter into his own hands and thrown into the scales not only arguments, but the weight also of the King's name, a step that had perhaps not been useless.¹ In a second letter of the same

¹ “ *La clausola di detto atto autentico relativa alla lettera scritta a S. Santità ci ha dato finalmente il modo da uscire del passo et è stato il solo legame che vi poteva essere per conciliare con soddisfazione ambe le parti ; poichè sicome era impraticabile anzi impossibilissimo di cavarlo assolutamente libero [of clauses] per le considerationi che V. E. comprenderà molto bene, così habbiamo havuto M. Nuntio et io ogni ragione di credere che mentre S. Santità si era degnata di explicarsi che havrebbe havuto la bontà di ricevere detta lettera e di rispondervi favorevolmente, non poteva non esserli anco grata detta clausola remissiva alla medesima lettera . . . Havendo noi da fare con un cervello della tempra del vescovo d'Alet, se in questi due punti ch'io tocco se ne usasse costì altrimenti che secondo il mio in ciò debole parere, caderessimo senza dubbio come si dice dalla padella nella brace, si rovinarebbe in un istante tutto quello che habbiamo edificato con tanta fatica . . . e non facesse [Pavillon] manifesti a diluvio per instruire il mondo a suo modo di come siano passate le cose etc. The Brief to the Bishops need only explain, sicome la Santità Sua è restata sodisfatta e della lettera loro e delle prove effettive e asseverante che hanno dato della loro ubbidienza alle Constitutioni, non nominando specificamente gli atti autentici delle sottoscrizioni per restare più

date Lionne complains of the Jesuits who accused him of having deceived both the nuncio and the Pope.¹

It was, of course, impossible in the long run, to throw a veil over what had happened at the synods of the four. Anonymous letters reached Rome from Pamiers, Alet and Paris, furnishing proof of the insincerity of the four.² Bargellini began to realize that his confidence had been abused and he complained bitterly to Lionne on September 24th and 25th.³ The minister replied that if the preliminary declaration was a secret one, the Church need not judge of what was a secret; forty other Bishops would have acted in exactly the same way, in fact he had dropped a hint to that effect before the event. This was emphatically denied by Bargellini; he had never heard a word of a preliminary declaration or of anything else that might have altered the sincerity of the subscription; in proof he submitted a copy of his letter of June 1st to Rome, and reminded Lionne how often he had repeated that the subscription must be sincere. Lionne replied that it had to come to this, and that Rome had only one alternative, viz. either to leave things as they were or to take proceedings against forty other Bishops.⁴

che si puote nei termini generali, which would cover the Pope's authority, schivando con applicata industria i termini che potessero anche da lontano dar occasione a credere ad altri che habbino fatto più di quello che veramente hanno fatto per la loro ubbidienza alla S. Sede" (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 861). Cf. DEJEAN, 225 n.

¹ **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 862.

² **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 740 seq., 742, 748. The letter of Alet is dated September 18, 1668.

³ *Bargellini to Rospigliosi on September 25, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 339, Papal Sec. Arch.; see App. 7.

⁴ *Loc. cit.* According to Varet (II., 143 seq., 258, 281 seq.) Bargellini had been willing that the four "fissent signer de nouveau sur des Procès-verbaux." That this is inaccurate is proved by this passage and by the whole context. Bargellini was no diplomatist, but neither was he a traitor. Cf. [DUMAS], III., 149-192.

Even Annat, with whom Bargellini had been in consultation up till the beginning of the month, though without letting him into the secret,¹ expressed the hope that in his goodness the Pope would content himself with the submission of the four without inquiring into their secret declarations.²

By October 8th, Bargellini's letter had been decoded in Rome and the Congregation for Jansenism met for a session. The main result of the deliberation was to the effect that the nuncio should be instructed to ascertain tactfully and with the utmost secrecy, whether a protocol had been drawn up on the conduct of the synods and what it contained, in particular whether there was anything in it against the sincerity of the subscription. At the same time the nuncio should be warned to be more circumspect in his speech; he must not speak so openly of what he wrote to Rome, for in this way he would restrict the Pope's freedom of action.³

¹ *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, September 7, 1668 (see above, p. 368).

² *Bargellini to Rospigliosi (*Cifra*), September 25, 1668, *loc. cit.*

³ Ottoboni was of opinion that the nuncio should not trouble at all about the *procès-verbal* of the Synods; on the other hand Borromeo wished him to find out whether the subscription was qualified in any way; Albizzi said that the nuncio should forward a copy of the *procès-verbal*. Omnes tandem dixerunt, scribatur Nuntio, quod curet habere actum subscriptionis factae per quatuor episcopos formulario et quod subscriptio sit sincera et libera, advertendo quod ista verba "sincera et libera" nihil aliud significant, quam quod episcopi non possint apponere restrictionem aliquam, non vero quod teneantur expresse dicere "sincere et libere subscribo". Curet idem Nuntius, ut pateat, quibus opus est, quod ipse non certioraverit S. D. N. de processibus verbalibus factis seu faciendis per dictos quatuor episcopos occasione dictae subscriptionis, imo dicat Domino de Lionne, ipsum non scripsisse inhaerendo suis consiliis et suasionibus. Curet etiam, sed singulari solertia et impenetrabili silentio scire, quid actum fuit in synodis celebratis per quatuor episcopos occasione subscriptionis formularii, et utrum super actis synodalibus formatus fuerit processus verbalis, quid in illis contineatur et utrum aliquid

In pursuance of these instructions three letters, under date of October 11th, were dispatched to the nuncio.¹ The first ² explains that it was not enough that some sort of document should attest that the subscription of the four was sincere. Bargellini must endeavour to get hold of the authentic document with the subscription ; only when it was proved that the signature of the four stood under the papal formula without reservation of any kind, could they feel sure of the four Bishop's sincerity. Let the nuncio exert himself to this end and declare that he had thought it best not to write to Rome concerning a preliminary declaration which may possibly exist. This had been Lionne's advice and, as a matter of fact, nothing beyond their sincere subscription had been demanded of the four ; since credible witnesses attested that this had been given, the Pope must assume that a preliminary declaration either does not exist or that it contains nothing against the sincerity of the subscription. On the other hand, the nuncio must point out to Lionne that he would have to inform the Pope if anything affecting the sincerity of the subscription came to light. The second letter ³ charges him to search, in the greatest secrecy, for the preliminary declaration on the subscription of the four and to ascertain

insertum sit, quod repugnet sinceritati et libertati purae subscriptionis. Et cum aliis notatum fuerit, quod dictus Nuntius facile pandit, quod de iis quae ad eius aures perveniunt, certiores reddit SS^{um} et inde videtur indecora et praeiudicialis tolerantia, quae aliter honeste praetermitti possit et sperni, omnes EE. PP. dixerunt, ut scriberetur Nuntio, qualiter in posterum, ut vigens necessitas non consulat in contrarium, taceat et dissimulet scripsisse ad Urbem, ut tum ipse quam s. Congregatio libere possint deliberare iuxta normam verae prudentiae et ut praesens temporum conditio tulerit. Quod vero ad notulam transmissam per Nuntium atque exaratam de consilio P. Annat S. J., omnes dixerunt, nihil pro nunc respondendum, sed laudandam pietatem dicti Patris. *Bibl. Angelica*, S. 3, 1, p. 360.

¹ See App. 8, Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 64, *ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, f. 65.

two things in particular: first, whether that declaration was embodied in the synodal acts, thereby acquiring public validity, in which case it would not be possible to remain silent on the matter, and, secondly, whether it contained anything against the sincerity of the subscription. The third letter¹ states that it would be a good thing if the nuncio would draw the minister's attention to a few particulars, namely that he had thought it best not to mention the declaration of the four about their subscriptions because the Pope had only decided to act as he had done at the urgent request of the King and because he relied on the authority and the zeal of His Majesty and the minister himself; accordingly His Holiness had judged it best, with regard to the sincerity of the subscription, to rely on the word of the King and the minister and to refrain from further inquiries. In acting in this way the Pope took it for granted that in so important a matter, which equally trenched on the interests and the piety of His Majesty and the Pope's authority, His Holiness had no reason to fear a deception seeing that everybody trusted in the loyalty and the faith of the King and the minister, so that His Majesty's honour was at stake, of which no one would ever be able to say that it had failed His Holiness.

It was impossible to speak more clearly to an all-powerful King. During the ensuing week, Bargellini comforted himself as best he could for his bad luck. On October 19th he speaks of his satisfaction at the submission of the four; even the Jesuits were coming round to the view that the prelates had done their duty. If they had failed to do so, so much the worse for them, for in that case their duplicity would be exposed before the whole world.² A few weeks later the nuncio was worried by the fear that the four might relapse, when they might try to escape from the shame of perjury by pointing to the conduct of some other French Bishops. However, he calmed himself with the thought that one passage in their

¹ **Ibid.*, 137 *seq.*, 66.

² *To Rospigliosi on October 19, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 368.

letter to the Pope to which they might appeal, obviously referred only to the Bishops of the Assembly of the Clergy, who had all subscribed without a preliminary declaration.¹

Rome was less credulous. If the nuncio, the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote,² succeeded in obtaining from the Bishops who had acted as mediators, or from the four themselves, a written assurance such as that which they had so often given by word of mouth, namely that their subscription was unaccompanied by any restricting clause, they would have obtained all that they could wish for. But Bargellini's steps in this direction must not give rise to the suspicion that in Rome they believed in the existence of such declarations. If he failed to get the required attestation, he was to go on as before, unless proof of the existence of such declarations was actually forthcoming.

Meanwhile, it became increasingly evident that there was good reason for throwing a veil over the proceedings at the synods of the four. On October 30th, 1668, Bargellini passes on information concerning the synods which he had obtained from the Jesuits.³ He adds that he cannot guarantee the accuracy of the report but, as a matter of fact, the report was quite correct. On November 1st an Amsterdam newspaper published the information that the four had only subscribed in the spirit of their pastorals and that the Pope had agreed to this.⁴ A few days later the Secretary of State, Cardinal

¹ *To the same, November 16, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 400.

² *October 30, 1668, *ibid.*, f. 69 *seq.* For the words in the letter of the four Bishops: "Episcopi Gallicani nobiscum sensibus coniunctissimi" and the controversy they raised because the Jansenists, in their printed copies, inserted "multi" before "episcopi". Cf. [DUMAS], III., 164 *seqq.* "Multi" stood in the first draft but was removed at the instance of the nuncio. It is also missing in the letter of November 16, quoted in the preceding note and in the copy of the letter in *Cod.* 60 of the Library of S. Pietro, in Vincoli, Rome, f. 37 *seqq.*

³ **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1,000.

⁴ [VARET], II., 378.

Rospigliosi,¹ wrote that he had received the original of the letter of the four together with the authentic acts concerning their subscription, but added that he had been informed that the document about the subscription was not truthful and sincere. So far the Pope had not made up his mind whether or not to believe the information; the nuncio must try and find out what the truth is. The true facts were gradually coming to light. On November 27th the nuncio forwarded the protest of the nine Canons of Pamiers against Caulet's action at his Synod.² On the same day Clement IX. felt so sure of his ground that he sternly requested the French ambassador for further information; in his embarrassment the latter answered that he had no instructions.³ Thereupon the Pope asked Paris for further light; this Lionne supplied after his own fashion. Through Archbishop Harlay of Rouen he persuaded Vialart to attest once more the complete sincerity of the four Bishops. In a long letter of December 5th,⁴ the minister informed Rome of Vialart's attestation, which also bore Arnauld's signature. The latter's name on this document, Bargellini wrote at the same time, had more weight than if all four had signed together, for these would not dare to contradict in any way a man whose writings had been the main support of their activities.⁵

Vialart's declaration reduces itself merely to one more ambiguity. The four Bishops, he began, had acted in perfectly good faith. They had condemned the five propositions with absolute sincerity, without exception or reservation. "With regard to the relation of these propositions to Jansenius'

¹ *To Bargellini on November 6, 1668, *Nunziat. di Francia*, loc. cit., Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1,039. Cf. above, p. 376.

³ GÉRIN, II., 306.

⁴ **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1072; [VARET], II., 402. Cf. Vialart's attestation of December 15, 1674, of the declaration in ARNAULD, *Fantôme du Jansénisme*, chap. 19 (*Œuvres*, XXV., 127); [VARET], II., 403.

⁵ Bargellini on December 4, 1668, in CAUCHIE, *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, 1903, 51.

book, they had exhibited, and had had exhibited to the Holy See, all the regard and all the submission due to it according to the teaching of theologians," etc.¹ To give further weight to these explanations Lionne instructed the French ambassador in Rome to represent to the Pope, on December 14th, that if he rejected the letter of the four and insisted on their trial, he would have between seventy and eighty Bishops against him, and the rest would make common cause with them, were it only because action was being taken against a colleague ; the affair might even lead to a national council.² In a previous letter to Rome, Harlay had described it as a kind of miracle that the Jansenists were allowing themselves to be persuaded to make greater concessions than ever before.³

It was a thorny problem for the cardinalitial Congregation to decide on a course of action. The Pope had to insist on the four Bishops declaring the five propositions to be heretical in Jansenius' sense ; on this point, as Cardinal Rospigliosi expressly stated at a later date, Clement IX. would not yield in the slightest degree. But was it certain, in view of the latest reports from France, that the four maintained Jansenius' orthodoxy ? A number of seemingly straightforward attestations stood in the way of such a supposition, for they appeared to establish beyond a doubt that the prelates had subscribed to Alexander VII.'s formula with complete sincerity. Even though the four might not hold it as a dogma of the faith that Jansenius was a heretic, they nevertheless appeared to give an internal assent to the definition relative to that matter, and could they not be satisfied with that ? Neither

¹ [DUMAS], II., 239 *seqq.*

² GÉRIN, II., 308.

³ " *En effet, jamais le parti des Jansénistes, n'était venu jusque là que c'était une espèce de miracle de les avoir menés aussi avant, etc." (December 5, 1668, *Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1063). The declaration agreed with previous utterances of the four and even with those of the nineteen ([VARET], II., 406 *seq.*). On December 10, 1668, *Gondrin also gave his adhesion to Vialart's attestation (*Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1079 *seq.*).

the infallibility of the Pope in dogmatic facts, nor papal infallibility itself, had been defined as dogmas of the faith.

When, therefore, after reception of Vialart's attestation, the question was put to the Congregation of Cardinals on December 23rd, 1668, whether the four had done their duty, Ginetti and Ottoboni answered in the affirmative. Ottoboni thus substantiated his answer: the sincerity of the subscription was vouched for by a public document, whereas the opposite rested solely on rumours and unreliable writings. Borromeo was of the same opinion; he added that he had maintained from the beginning that with regard to facts the Pope could not command internal acts. These views were sharply opposed by Albizzi; persistent rumours about a notorious fact, he contended, together with the testimony of the Canons of Pamiers, proved that the subscription was only given with reservations; were the Pope to overlook this fact, and were he, in his reply, to tell the four that they had complied with the command of the Holy See, it would be all up with religion and France and papal infallibility; Vialart's declaration was only an attestation of the views of other people, whilst Harlay put his own construction on it. Accordingly, Albizzi's advice was that the Pope should promulgate once more, by means of a new Constitution, the previous judgments of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., the prohibition of the pastorals of the four and other attacks against the Papal Constitutions. Chigi was of opinion that they should try to get hold of the protocols of the Synods and the subscriptions; in any case the Brief in answer to the letter of the four, should emphasize the fact that they had subscribed without addition or reservation. Rasponi agreed that the Brief must put it beyond a doubt that the Pope felt certain of the sincerity of the subscription. Rospigliosi counselled that they should go by the declaration of Vialart and Arnould and Harlay's covering letter; if the four Bishops had acted as those documents stated, they had fully complied with the papal command and more could not be asked of a Catholic Bishop; by comparison with such ample assurances the pastorals, etc., did not count. Azzolini was of

opinion that an answer must be given to the four, and that at an early date, but it must be a cautious one. Celsi still had his misgivings; if, he said, there was no doubt about the sincerity of the four, he would side with his colleagues, but an attestation of the subscription was not the subscription itself, hence they must insist on the Bishops furnishing proof of their signature. Ottoboni and Borromeo objected to this, but Celsi stuck to his opinion though his objections could not alter the final decision; it was unanimously decided, with the sole exception of Albizzi and Celsi, that a reply should be sent.¹

When the Brief to the four, after undergoing many alterations and improvements,² was submitted to the Congregation, Albizzi renewed his objections. The four, he said, assert in their synods that after a thorough examination of their pastorals, Clement IX. had approved these documents and set aside the Constitutions of his predecessors. From various accounts and from the newspapers of Paris, Amsterdam and Brussels, it appeared that they had spread this report throughout Europe. In view of this circumstance it seemed to him that it was not enough for the honour and reputation of the Pope and the prestige of the Church, that they should content themselves with merely answering the letter of the four Bishops. If this answer was dispatched to the nuncio, God alone knew whether, in order to hide the fact that he had been deceived, the latter would not make difficulties to hand it to the four, thereby delaying a matter that ought to be disposed of as soon as possible. If they sent it direct to the four, they would either deny ever having received it, or they would wrap it up in glosses, or misinterpret it, as they had misinterpreted the Pope's intentions. The real remedy was the Constitution advocated by himself; it would comfort the Catholics and prevent lies. In conclusion Albizzi observed: "I beg of you to read the whole of this

¹ See App. 8. As early as November 1, 1668, Albizzi had laid before the Pope "alcune scritture e lettere" concerning the insincerity of the Bishops. Anonymous *report, Bibl. Casanat., X., vi., 24, f. 35.

² Two *drafts *ibid.*, f. 850 and 856; *cf.* 898.

memorandum of mine to the Pope; I shall then feel happy in the thought that I have done my duty, incumbent on me as a Cardinal of Holy Church. And I feel that His Holiness may in a sense, depend on me more than on all the rest, seeing that the whole of the Jansenist business has passed through my hands, from the beginning to its present development, and I cannot suffer that an attempt should be made to persuade the world that this heresy had been destroyed, seeing that in spite of its seeming destruction it appears more vigorous than ever." Like Albizzi, Celsi also was against the dispatch of a papal message to the four; so was Piccolomini, who had not been present at the sitting.¹ However, their opposition was powerless.

Thus the long desired Brief to the four Bishops came finally to be written²; on February 2nd, 1669, it was in the King's hands. In it Clement IX. refrains from too severe expressions concerning the past; he does not even mention Jansenius by name, thus avoiding a discussion of the distinction between fact and right. On the other hand, the four Gallicans are clearly reminded of the obedience they owe to the Pope and that the fatherly benevolence which the Holy See once more bestowed on them, was based on the supposition that their subscription was sincere.³ In other words: if the subscription was not meant seriously, the four would not be able to appeal to the Brief. There is only one passing allusion to the rumours about the Bishops' dishonest game, whilst it is emphatically stated that Clement IX. had never consented to any exception to or restriction of, the Constitutions of his predecessors.⁴ As for the future, the Pope expresses the hope

¹ App. 9.

² January 19, 1669, in [DUMAS], III., *Rec.*, 189.

³ In their letter to Rome we read of the four "cum ingenti obsequii nobis et huic S. Sedi per vos debiti testificatione significabatis vos iuxta præscriptum Literarum Apostolicarum sincere subscripsisse et subscribi fecisse Formulario".

⁴ "Dictorum prædecessorum Nostrorum constitutionibus firmissime inhaerentes nullam circa illud [negotium] exceptionem aut restrictionem admissuri unquam fuissetus," *ibid.*

that the four would persevere in their sincere submission. These same thoughts are even more forcibly expressed, if possible, in the covering letter to Vialart and Gondrin¹ as well as in subsequent communications of the Pope to Louis XIV. and of Rospigliosi to Lionne.²

A letter to the nuncio³ enumerates the motives which inclined the Pope to leniency : they are Vialart's attestation, signed by Arnauld and confirmed by Gondrin, the authentic guarantee by the four of the sincerity of their subscription, the assurance given by Lionne to the nuncio and the testimony of the Archbishop of Rouen and others. All this constituted a proof which, in the Pope's opinion, far outweighed all accounts to the contrary in certain news sheets and private reports concerning the contents of the protocols of the synods. Hence the Pope could, and even had to allow himself to be persuaded, by the King's word, and by so many weighty attestations, of the true and full submission and the sincere subscription of the four Bishops. Let the nuncio familiarize himself with the text of the Brief and be guided by it ; but he need not give it further publicity if by so doing fresh occasion would be given to restless spirits. But whenever necessary let him stress the fact that the reason of the pardon of the four was their complete submission. Only if real duplicity showed itself and lies were spread, to the detriment of the full obedience of which the four had made profession, should the nuncio publish the Brief together with an account of the facts. But on this point he must first come to an understanding with Lionne.⁴

¹ [DUMAS], II., 246.

² Of February 26 and March 5, 1669, in GÉRIN, II., 310. By " sincera e totale obbedienza " the four had deserved the Pope's mildness, says Rospigliosi.

³ *Cf. January 20, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 94, Papal Sec. Arch., see App. 10.

⁴ A *letter of the same date explains to the nuncio why the words " di fede " were not added to the word " formulario " in the Brief. To do so might have led to fresh chicaneries on right and fact (*ibid.*, f. 97). On January 20, 1669, *Rospigliosi

The Brief was hailed in France with the most exuberant praise and extolled as a masterpiece. A letter of thanks of the King to Clement IX. and Cardinal Rospigliosi¹ was followed by the eulogies of the Archbishop of Rouen² and the Bishop of Châlons.³ Lionne had a letter written to Rome which stated that the Brief was the most beautiful of all the documents that had emanated from the Holy See for more than a century⁴ and that the least word in it was a masterpiece.⁵ Bargellini wrote that copies were being made of the Brief which was meeting with universal approval; everybody desired to see it in print.⁶ Clement IX. took advantage of his letter in answer to that of the King to stress once more the fact that his Brief was exclusively based on the supposition of the sincere submission of the four, and that he hoped that in future the King would lend the Pope the support of his royal authority should there be a revival of the old troubles.⁷

Besides all this praise, expressions of anxiety were likewise heard. An anonymous publication⁸ was forwarded to Rome which enumerated ten evil consequences of the compromise. All that had been done up till then with regard to the distinction between right and fact had been thrown to the

also writes that the Pope refused to take notice of a pamphlet on the insincerity of the four, the author of which was said to be Albizzi. But the more publications of this kind appear, the greater the duty of the four, of the mediators, of Lionne and the king, to stress the "sincerità" of the subscription on the basis of which the Pope had declared himself satisfied. *Cifre al Bargellini, Nunziat. di Francia, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.*

¹ *Of February 7 and 8, 1669, *Excerpta*, 1669, f. 25.

² *To Card. Rospigliosi, February 15, 1669, *ibid.*, f. 34.

³ *To the Pope, *ibid.*, f. 91.

⁴ To Bourlemont, February 8, 1669, in GÉRIN, II., 309.

⁵ To Rospigliosi, February 8, 1669, *ibid.*, 310.

⁶ *To Rospigliosi, April 5 and 10, *Nunziat. di Francia, 137, Papal Sec. Arch.*

⁷ *Brief of February 26, 1669, *Excerpta*, 1669, f. 42; GÉRIN, II., 310.

⁸ **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1045.

sneers of the Calvinists ; people said that the authorities of the Church trimmed their sails according to the wind, that infallibility in dogmatic facts was being jettisoned, etc. The Bishop of Evreux¹ prayed the Pope to enlighten the faithful on what had happened, and to give some hint as to what they were to think and to do in so obscure a matter, lest some ill-disposed persons should delude the incautious with a deceptive peace. The Bishop of Lombes informed the Pope that it was generally believed that the mediating Bishops had given an inaccurate account of what had taken place at the synods of the four. He was unwilling to accuse anyone, but the benevolence shown to the returning prodigal should not injure his elder brother who had never left his father's house. But now for the space of about four months the men whose submission and readmission the Pope had desired, conducted themselves as if the judge had pronounced them innocent and victorious against false brethren who had been convicted of calumny.² Bishop Abelly of Rodez also asked for further information on the peace ; it was rumoured, he wrote, that the Pope had approved the conduct of the four, and abrogated the Constitutions of his predecessors, the mere thought of which would be wrong. Accordingly he prayed for a fresh confirmation of the previous Constitutions.³

The three Bishops received laudatory Briefs,⁴ and were

¹ *February 18, 1669 : " Quid actum sit in hac causa et quid deinceps sentiendum et agendum ad sedandos animos in tam obscura ac turbulenta materia, ne subdola pace decipiant incautos maligni quidam homunciones." *Excerpta*, f. 164.

² " *Aliter credi actum esse a quatuor episcopis in synodis, quam a mediatoribus significatum fuerat ; [this is certain] notorietate publica. Ita bene sit minori filio . . . revertenti, ut nihil adversi contingat maiori, qui nunquam a patre discessit . . . A quatuor circiter mensibus sic gesserunt se, quos subditos et reconciliatos vult S. T., quasi sint probati a iudice innocentes et victores adversus falsos fratres de calumnie crimine convictos." *Ibid.*, f. 165 (no date).

³ **Ibid.*, f. 166 (no date).

⁴ *May 21, 1669, *ibid.*, f. 174 *seq.* Cf. the *report in Bibl. Casant., X., vi., 24, f. 40.

referred to the nuncio who was charged to explain¹ that the Jansenist controversies had been decided by Innocent X. and Alexander VII. from whose Constitutions Clement IX. could not and would not deviate.² The four had furnished proof of complete submission, accordingly the Pope had assured them of his goodwill in a Brief, though he would not allow that document to be published, for the Brief did not touch on the Jansenist question as a whole, which had been ended and unalterably decided ; it was merely a special token of goodwill towards the four Bishops.³ The Pope would see to it that the Constitutions were observed, but since they were sufficiently clear he did not deem it necessary to issue a fresh ordinance. As a matter of fact Rome did uphold these Constitutions and refused to yield to Lionne's pressing demands that subscription to Alexander VII.'s formula should no longer be enforced.⁴

The Jansenists did not consider their readmission as a favour. The author of a communication to Rome⁵ complained that they were more arrogant than ever ; according to the reports spread by them in Holland and Flanders and by means of the newspapers, the four had only subscribed in the sense of their pastorals ; the Pope had realized that his predecessors had made a mistake with their Constitutions, and that the so-called Jansenists were right. To describe the whole business they coined the phrase " The Clementine Peace ", as if there were question of a treaty between them and the Pope, as between two powers of equal standing. A medal was even struck for this peace, with the legend :

¹ **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 176 seq.

² " *Dalle quali S.S^{ta} non ha voluto nè potuto recedere nella causa particolare dei quattro vescovi."

³ " *Come quello non tocca la causa publica delle controversie de' Jansenisti già terminata e definita inalterabilmente, ma solo un atto particolare di benignità di S. B^{no} verso i quattro vescovi."

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 311.

⁵ **Excerpta*, 1668, f. 1045.

"Grace and Peace from God," and "In memory of the restoration of concord within the Church".¹

Clement IX. felt greatly hurt both by these rumours, which put him in opposition to his predecessors before all Europe, and by the medal which made of him the restorer of peace and concord. He protested that he had done nothing of the kind ; all he had done was to receive again Bishops who had not as yet subscribed the formula. At first he had been unwilling to receive their letter, although it was full of protestations of submission and sincerity, because he had been informed that they only signed with certain reservations. But when he received from themselves fresh assurances of their loyalty, and testimonies from other Bishops, their friends, he had written to them, but in a way that showed that he had not only no intention of prejudicing in any way the Constitutions of Innocent X. and Alexander VII., but that, on the contrary, he would uphold them even at the cost of his life, for the honour of the Holy See and its infallibility as well as for his own honour ; had he done that with which he was credited he would be unworthy to live.²

After the lapse of a few months Clement IX. was probably in a better position to realize how the Jansenists understood sincerity ; but to publish now a supplementary Constitution, and thereby to raise fresh trouble in France, seemed hardly

¹ *Gratia et pax a Deo-Ob restitutam Ecclesiae concordiam* ([DUMAS] II., 248 *seqq.* ; [VARET] II., 424 *seqq.* ; RAPIN, III., 498 *seqq.*). Reproduction of the medal in ARNAULD, *Œuvres*, XXII., 192. For the inscription in the publications of the Académie des Inscriptions see DUPIN, III., 209 ; [PATOUILLET] III., 220. On May 27, 1669, *Rospigliosi protested to Bargellini against the "scandalosa medaglia" which put the king on a footing of equality with the Pope. "Quel chiamar poi, 'concordia' l'obedienza dei quattro vescovi non è conforme nè al vero nè al dovere alla S. Sede, onde non dovrebbe parlarne in altro modo che di obedienza" (Cifre al Bargellini, *loc. cit.*).

² Bonfils to Lionne, June 4, 1669, in GÉRIN, II., 312 *seq.*

advisable.¹ The obligation to subscribe to the formula of Alexander VII. continued to bind all newly appointed clerics, and there could be no doubt as to the sense in which Rome demanded this subscription. Thus there seemed to be a justifiable hope that the Jansenist ideas would die a natural death.

When a fuller light was at length thrown on the way in which the so-called Clementine Peace had come about, the displeasure of the Holy See revealed itself in the fate of the men who had negotiated it. After the conclusion of peace Barbellini vainly strove to call into being another religious enterprise, viz. an institution for the assistance of convert Protestant preachers.² He was recalled in August 1671, was Vice-Legate at Avignon for a few years, and subsequently lived another twenty-five years without either office or dignities.³ The Jansenists themselves, as well as the French diplomatists, felt nothing but contempt for the weak man.⁴ As early as December 1668, Albizzi had roundly described him as a very silly man.⁵

At the Sorbonne the "Clementine Peace" brought about

¹ RAPIN, III., 502. Bossuet writes: "Comme pourtant la chose était à un point qu'on ne pouvait pas pousser à toute rigueur la signature du Formulaire sans causer de grands désordres et sans faire un schisme, l'Eglise a fait selon sa prudence d'accommoder cette affaire et de supporter par charité et condescendance les scrupules que de saints évêques et des prêtres, d'ailleurs attachés à l'Eglise, ont eus sur le fait. Voilà ce que je crois pouvoir établir par des raisons invincibles." To Marshal De Bellefonds, September 30, 1677, in *Corresp.*, éd Ch. Urbain et E. Levesque, II., Paris, 1909, 51.

² AUG. et CLAUDE COCHIN, *Le grand dessein du Nonce Bargellini et de l'abbé Desisles contre les réformés* (1668); *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Soc. de l'hist. de France*, 1913. Cf. *Bargellini's letter to Rospigliosi, February 26, 1669, *Cifre del Bargellini*, loc. cit.

³ [DUMAS] II., 270; RAPIN, III., 503.

⁴ [VARET] I., 219; GÉRIN, II., 452 seq.

⁵ "Très grand coillon" (to Lionne, December 18, 1668, in CAUCHIE, 1902, 975).

a revulsion of feeling, which had been until then, definitely Gallican. After the Brief of January 19th, 1669, extraordinary manifestations in honour of the Pope were organized.¹ But there were others for whom the turn of things was less pleasing : " If no Jesuit hangs himself it will be a great miracle," wrote Le Tellier's son on hearing of the conclusion of the compromise.² As a matter of fact, the Jesuits became for a time objects of ridicule at court, until the preaching of Bourdaloue in particular restored their prestige.³

As soon as the contents of the papal Brief became known, the King's confessor, Annat, wrote to the monarch, protesting his own and his brethren's complete submission to the Pope.⁴ A papal command to their General, which Lionne had obtained through the nuncio, ordered the Jesuits to leave controversy alone.⁵

Soon after the peace, the influence of the Duchess of Longueville also came to an end. The King viewed the meetings in the house of the old conspiratress with suspicion, and when the nuncio drew his attention to the political danger of these conventicles, Louis XIV. was easily persuaded ; the Duchess was told to retire to her country seat.⁶

¹ *Ibid.*, 1903, 47.

² RAPIN, III., 471.

³ *Ibid.*, 497 *seq.*, 506.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 471.

⁵ Anonymous *report in Bibl. Casanat. X., vi., 24, f. 41. On April 2, 1669, *Rospigliosi writes to Bargellini that the Jesuit Maimbourg must not publish his book, all the more so as people were excited by reason of a letter attributed to the Jesuit Fabri, on the subject of the subscription of the four (*Nunziat. di Francia*, Papal Sec. Arch.). Fabri's letter had been burnt on March 26, 1669, by order of Parliament (SOMMERVOGEL, III., 516). *Rospigliosi does not wish Bargellini to meddle with the matter (to Bargellini, April 30, 1669, *loc. cit.*).

⁶ Nunciature reports of May 3 and 17, and October 22, 1669, in CAUCHIE, *loc. cit.*, 1903, 51 *seqq.* *Bargellini was of opinion that the former Fronde simply masked itself behind Jansenism, that the Cabale received money from Holland and England (*Cifre*

Despite the atmosphere of peace, Arnauld failed to get himself readmitted into the Sorbonne. The King would not allow him to enter there except by the ordinary door, namely by signing the formula like everybody else, and by submitting to the condemnation of his book. Bargellini deemed it a point of honour for the Holy See that the door of the Sorbonne should not be opened to him by some exceptional measure, and that the nuns of Port-Royal should not recover possession of their convent in Paris.¹ The Archbishop of Paris pressed Arnauld to recant, but he replied that there was no need for him to do so since he had written nothing against the Holy See,² and Rome instructed Bargellini³ not to insist on a recantation as the danger of insistence appeared greater than any advantage to be hoped for from it, or from Arnauld's future writings. After the peace, and acting in accordance with the exhortations of the nuncio,⁴ Arnauld had in fact dedicated his pen to the defence of the Catholic faith against the Calvinists. The year 1669 saw the publication of the first volume of a great work, the scope of which was to demonstrate that the Catholic belief in the real presence of

al Bargellini, November 16, 1668, and January 23, 1669, *loc. cit.*). On March 3, 1669, *he wrote that the Cabale now met under pretext of the sermons of the Jansenist Desmares (*cf.* *Bargellini, on May 24, 1669, and *Rospigliosi, on October 22, 1669, *ibid.*). As Bargellini *wrote on May 17, 1669 (*ibid.*), when dealing with the King and the court, he made use for choice of the word "cabale" to designate the Jansenists, "per sepelire affatto quello [nome] de' Jansenisti. . . . Questo nome [cabala] opera meraviglie, perchè ferisce il cuore del Re." Rome also sensed danger in the fact that there was question of translating Choiseul from Comminges to Tournai; there he would be able to do even more for Jansenism as he enjoyed an irreproachable reputation. However, the King stuck to his decision (*Rospigliosi, on September 24 and November 19, 1669, *ibid.*).

¹ *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, May 17, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 628, Papal Sec. Arch.

² *Bargellini, October 16, 1668, *ibid.*

³ *Rospigliosi, on March 23, 1669, *ibid.*, f. 116.

⁴ See above, p. 377.

Christ in the Eucharist was the belief of the whole of Christian antiquity. The first three volumes are by Nicole and Arnauld jointly and Renaudot added two more.¹ Of the first volume Bossuet was able to say that "it was in perfect conformity with the Catholic faith".² Nevertheless Arnauld had not wholly overcome his resentment against Rome,³ but Bargellini was directed to take no notice of it.⁴ Clement IX. refrained from touching on the submission of the four Bishops in the consistory in view of Lionne's wish that the matter should be discussed as little as possible.⁵ Somewhat later, however, Lionne expressed the opinion that one could now speak without any risk, since the Brief was better known in France than in Rome⁶; but the Pope decided that it was too late for mention in the consistory or in any other way; the less said about the affair, the better.⁷

(3.)

The new organization of the missions, which had begun especially under Alexander VII., was carried a stage further

¹ *Perpétuité de la foi catholique touchant l'Eucharistie défendue contre le ministre Claude*. The first germ of the book was a dissertation by Nicole, destined to serve as an introduction to a translation of the Office of the Blessed Sacrament. After an attack by the Protestant preacher Claude, Nicole published in 1664 the so-called small *Perpétuité*, which, as a result of further attacks by Claude, grew into the large work (DEGERT, in *Bull. de littérat. ecclés.*, Toulouse, 1924, 314).

² F. MOURRET, *L'ancien régime*, 395.

³ *Livre*, 7.

⁴ *Rospigliosi, April 2, 1669, *loc. cit.*, f. 120.

⁵ *Rospigliosi to Bargellini, March 25, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137 (Cifre al Bargellini), Papal Sec. Arch.

⁶ *Bargellini to Rospigliosi, May 10, 1669, Cifra del Bargellini, *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Rospigliosi to Bargellini, June 4, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 137, *loc. cit.* For the literature on the Clementine Peace, see CAUCHIE, in *Rev. d'hist et de lit. rel.*, III. (1898), 481-501.

under Clement IX. by means of a great number of ordinances in favour of the Vicars Apostolic in the Far East. One Brief in particular, which was promulgated shortly before the death of Clement IX., is of special importance. Jacques Bourges, the companion of the Vicar Apostolic Lambert, had come to Rome from Siam in the lifetime of Alexander VII. He suggested that all missionaries should be placed under the Vicars Apostolic, that a common seminary for native priests, with rules approved by Rome, should be established, and lastly, that a solution should be found for the difficulties of the missionaries with regard to Church teaching and discipline. He also desired the establishment, in the proximity of the mission fields, of a place of refuge for the heralds of the faith, and especially that the missions should remain in close touch with the Pope, Propaganda, the Seminary in Paris, and that one of the great European Powers should take them under its special protection.¹

Bourges' representations were successful. A Brief of September 13th, 1669,² subjected the missionaries, in a large measure, to the authority of the Vicars Apostolic; they were ordered to submit their faculties to the latter, and were forbidden to use them without their consent. They might be compelled to undertake pastoral work and in their parochial duties they were subject to the Vicars Apostolic who were empowered to divide parishes, to call for the services of members of other Orders, and to settle any disputes that might arise between the religious. They were entitled to hold visitations, to issue decisions on the observance of holy days and on ecclesiastical customs and to publish papal documents and concessions. Vows of obedience made by Catechists to religious were not to tie the hands of the Vicars.³

¹ Kilian Stumpf *Missionis Sinicae* " *Succincta Chronologica relatio et historia Missionis Sinicae, in Europam missa mense oct. 1710, ad a. 1665, Bavarian Reichsarchiv, *Jes. in genere*, fasc. 14, Nr. 281.

² *Ius pontif.* I., 399.

³ The decree contains the answer to questions addressed to Propaganda by Pallu and Lambert, to which the Congregation

Alexander VII.'s pontificate was likewise marked by certain occurrences which led to disputes destined to outlast the lifetime of Clement IX. and Clement X. During the minority of the Emperor Kanghi of China, the regency succeeded in getting the Christian religion condemned and all missionaries banished. On March 20th, 1666, more than twenty of these reached Canton where they were confined in the house of the Jesuits. Most of the prisoners were Jesuits but there were also among them three Dominicans and the Franciscan Antonio a S. Maria. The Jesuits took advantage of their enforced leisure to discuss important missionary problems and they invited the other captive missionaries to join in their deliberations. At first they only discussed certain less difficult matters, as for instance whether in China they might say Mass with the head covered, whether the Chinese who fasted from superstitious motives should be compelled to give up these fasts before Baptism or whether it was enough to substitute another motive, how the form of Baptism should be rendered in Chinese, and so forth. The deliberations were concluded after forty days when the Dominican Sarpetri brought up the question of the worship of Confucius and that of ancestors, a subject that had been avoided until then.

It was not without danger to submit this question to fresh discussion, in fact the danger was greater than they imagined, for the result of Sarpetri's proposal was that the chief opponent of the Chinese rites now took the field. This was none other than the Dominican Domingo Fernandez Navarrete who had gone to the Philippines in 1649 with Morales and who ranks next to the latter as an opponent of the rites. Sarpetri himself sided with the Jesuits on the question of the Chinese rites and his proposals seemed at first to work in favour of the Fathers. The two other Dominicans and Antonio a S. Maria protested indeed, when the meeting passed a resolution on the rites in the sense of the Jesuits, but the aforesaid

had replied on March 22, 1669 (*Collectanea S. Congreg. de Prop. Fide*, n. 178 ; cf. n. 174, 180, 182). On the opposition to the decree, see SCHMIDLIN, 378.

Franciscan and Navarrete agreed that the question should be decided by a majority of votes ; the decision went, of course, in favour of the Jesuits.¹ The document in which this decision, together with forty-one other points, was set down, bore the signature of all the members of the meeting.

However, this did not clinch the matter. Antonio a S. Maria withdrew his signature and both he and the Dominican Felipe Leonardo wrote to the General of the Jesuits to whom the resolutions were forwarded, stating their disagreement on three points. Navarrete sought to prevent the inclusion of the decision on the rites among the rest and asked for a delay in the dispatch of the minutes until he should have had time to explain his difficulties.²

A controversy was started. Navarrete's arguments were combatted by the Jesuits Le Favre and Brancati, whose views were also defended by Sarpetri in several publications. The Jesuits Jacques de Faure and Intorcetta also took up their pens.³ Brancati's arguments are said to have impressed Navarrete ; at any rate on September 29th, 1669, a written agreement was arrived at with the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits, Antonio de Govea, by the terms of which the Dominicans undertook to adopt, on the whole, the same line of conduct as the Jesuits in the question of the rites.⁴

However, it was not long before Navarrete regretted his concessions ; he does not breathe a word about them in his subsequent writings.⁵ On December 9th, 1669, he escaped

¹ With regard to the worship of Confucius and the ancestors, it was resolved to go by the decisions of Alexander VII., " quia fundantur in valde probabili opinione, cui nulla contraria evidentia opponi potest. Qua posita probabilitate non est occludenda ianua salutis innumerabilibus Sinis, qui arcerentur a christiana religione, si prohiberentur ea facere, quae licite ac bona fide facere possunt, et non sine gravissimis incommodis praetermittere cogentur " (BIERMANN, 119, n. 23).

² BIERMANN, 121.

³ *Ibid.*, 121 *seq.*, and *CASTNER, c. 2.

⁴ BIERMANN, 122.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 124 ; *cf.* 123, n. 34.

from the Canton prison without taking leave of his companions, for the guards had been withdrawn long ago, but the prisoners remained together even without coercion because escape might have had unpleasant consequences for the others. In their prisons they were able freely to receive the visits of the Christians and, with proper precautions, it was possible for them, in some measure, to exercise their ministry even outside. Navarrete appealed to Rome: he submitted no less than 119 doubts in connection with Chinese conditions. Two consultors answered the queries in Navarrete's sense, but Propaganda confirmed them neither during Navarrete's sixteen months' stay in Rome nor at any time after his General had called him to Madrid in 1674 to act there as Procurator for the Philippines.

What he had failed to obtain in Rome Navarrete hoped to secure with the publication of a three volume work on China, the second volume of which was to bring the disputes on the Chinese mission to the notice of the world and to prove the Jesuits wrong.¹ This work also did not lead to any action by the Roman authorities, whilst in Spain the second volume was sequestered by the Inquisition even before its completion. In 1677 Navarrete went to the West Indies as Archbishop of those parts and from that time onwards he had nothing more to do with the disputes in China. The few copies of his second volume that were saved became a weapon for the Jansenists and all other enemies of the Jesuits, one they made much use of against the hated Order, for in his work Navarrete does not spare the Fathers of the Society. Whilst in China he had jotted down various incautious remarks made in the course of confidential conversations as soon as they had been uttered, and things of this kind he afterwards exploited against them.² Navarrete failed to induce the Roman Congregation to alter their attitude in

¹ Vol. I.: *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China*, Madrid, 1676, Vol. II.: *Controversias antiguas y modernas de la mision de China*, *ibid.*, 1679. Cf. BIERMANN, XIX., 127.

² *Ibid.*, 127 *seq.*

regard to the question of Chinese rites under Clement X. His colleague, Juan Polanco, had been equally unsuccessful in this respect under Clement IX. In 1661 Polanco was chosen by the Chapter of the Chinese Dominican Province as its representative at the forthcoming General Chapter in Rome. In consequence of a report drawn up by him, the Dominican Provincial Felipe Pardo had given orders for a new examination, at Manila, of the question of the rites on the basis of the books of the Chinese. He went so far as to dispatch a few Christians of Manila to China so that they might judge for themselves of the nature of the *sacrifices* to Confucius,¹ although both in Martini's report ² and in the decree of 1656,³ there is no mention whatever of *sacrifices* to Confucius. The inquiry led to the conclusion that Martini's data did not agree with facts and that one could not go by the concessions of the decree of the Congregation of 1656. Polanco took the minutes to Rome. He obtained a decree confirming the decree of the Congregation of 1645,⁴ but the document secured by him expressly takes it for granted that the decree of 1656 was likewise valid. Both ordinances were to be observed according to circumstances.

Among Clement IX.'s ordinances in connection with the missions special mention must be made of a stringent prohibition forbidding all missionaries to indulge in trade.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 101.

² See above, p. 164 *seqq.*

³ See above, p. 164 *seqq.*

⁴ Decree of November 13, 1669, *Collectanea* 64, n. 189: "Decretum S. C. de Prop. Fide datum sub (die) 12 septembris 1645 [XXX., 203] secundum tunc exposita in dubiis, esse in suo robore, neque per decretum S. C. S. Off. latum sub die 23 martii 1656 [above, 164 *seq.*] fuisse circumscriptum, sed omnino, secundum quaesita, circumstantias et omnia in dictis dubiis expressa, esse servandum, ut iacet; quemadmodum servandum declaravit decretum S. C. S. Off. latum ut supra, die 23 martii 1656 iuxta quaesita, circumstantias et omnia in eis expressa."

⁵ *Bull.* XVII., 798 *seqq.*; *Ius pontif.*, I., 390 *seqq.*, 402 *seqq.* A first prohibition for missionaries to indulge in commerce was

The Pope also appealed to the Shah of Persia to extend his protection to the Catholics¹; he also wrote to the King of Siam for the same purpose.²

published by Pius IV. on October 4, 1563. The Brief provides the Portuguese Government with a handle against clerics infringing the royal trade monopoly with India by abolishing their exemption from secular courts (*privilegium fori*). When Urban VIII. allowed missionaries to journey to India by other routes than through Portugal, and thus removed a Portuguese privilege (Constitution of February 22, 1633, *Ius pontif.*, I., 143), he renewed the prohibition to trade as unseemly for clerics, thus indirectly safeguarding the Portuguese trade monopoly. Clement IX.'s Bull of June 17, 1669, is the first papal document to deal exclusively with the prohibition to trade for the clergy of the whole world. It is so exhaustive that nothing now remains to be added to the subsequent decrees of Benedict XIV., 1741, and Clement XIII., 1759. Cf. TH. GRENTROP, in *Zeitschr. f. Missionswissenschaft.*, XV. (1925), 257 *seqq.* However, missionaries are not forbidden "to trade in order to maintain themselves if there are no other means of supporting their personal existence". But apart from this extremity, it is laid down that "the needs of the mission or any advantage for the spread of the faith are not a sufficient motive for allowing the missionaries to indulge in commerce" (*ibid.*, 268).

¹ *Regi Persarum, dated May 19 and October 13, 1668, and February 13, 1669, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch.

² *Regi Siam, dated August 24, 1669, *ibid.*

CHAPTER III.

CLEMENT IX.'s EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF PEACE BETWEEN FRANCE AND SPAIN AND FOR THE DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKS—THE LOSS OF CRETE—DEATH OF THE POPE.

THE war for the possession of the isle of Crete, the Venetians' last bulwark in the eastern Mediterranean, which had begun in 1645 and had continued with varying fortune, had entered a decisive phase at the time of the elevation of Clement IX. By degrees the Turks had obtained possession of the whole island; only the capital, Candia (to-day Megalo Kastro), situate on the north coast and reckoned one of the strongest fortresses in the world, had remained in the hands of the Venetians. The whole of Christian Europe as well as the Mohammedan world watched a struggle in which the war between the cross and the crescent was concentrated, so that the siege had assumed an importance similar to that of Ptolemais during the crusades or that of Sebastopol in the 19th century. An attack in May 1667, by the Grand Vizier, Ahmed Köprülü, the son of Mohammed Köprülü, with a force of 70,000 men, on the fortress whose seven principal bastions and extensive secondary and outer works were defended by more than 400 cannon, had only yielded small results. However, the Turks had no thought of raising the siege which went on throughout the winter, though with diminished violence.¹

Fully aware of the peril that threatened Christendom from the Crescent, Clement IX. did all he could to ward it off, from the first day of his pontificate. In his anxiety to help Venice on a large scale, he examined at once how an end could be put to the war which Louis XIV. had started in May 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands. On June 21st, 1667, he addressed an autograph letter to the French King in which he urgently begged him to enter into

¹ Cf. HAMMER, III., 618 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 971 *seqq.*

peace negotiations with Spain, seeing that the Turks threatened not only Crete but Dalmatia also. The Pope offered to act as mediator with Spain.¹ On June 21st, he wrote in a similar strain to the Queen-Regent of Spain, Maria Anna, who ruled during the minority of Charles II.² On June 22nd he appealed also to the Emperor Leopold II. for the restoration of peace.³

The Paris nunciature was vacant⁴; accordingly, on June 23rd, the Pope ordered his nephew, Jacopo Rospigliosi, internuncio at Brussels, to repair to Paris for the purpose of working there in favour of the acceptance of the Pope's mediation with a view to an armistice.⁵ In the consistory of July 18th, at which Clement IX. made a moving appeal for the Cardinals' support in the execution of his arduous duties, he was able to announce that the Queen of Spain had accepted his mediation.⁶ Louis XIV. likewise agreed though he declined

¹ GÉRIN, II., 206 *seqq.*, 314, n. 1.

² See *Lettere scritte dalla S^{ta} di Clemente IX. di propria mano, in *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 99, Papal Sec. Arch. On June 21, he writes: " *Haveremmo desiderato, che estinte o sospese le agitationi, che da si gran tempo tengono in armi cotesti regni, si fusse a Noi aperto l'adito di poter con intera sodisfattione di V. M. sgravar la Nostra coscienza col proveder alla necessità di tante anime in estremo bisognose di chi le guidi e conservi all'ovile di Christo. Onde tanto piu sente il cuor Nostro con amarezza, che in vece di goder la quiete da Noi bramata in cotesti regni, insorghino hora in Fiandra nuove cagioni d'inquietudini et di turbolenze." He prays her to work with him for peace.

³ **Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 92, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ M. A. Vibou acted as *chargé d'affaires*; see TERLINDEN, 52.

⁵ See the *Brief to Louis XIV. of June 23, 1667, *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.* the *Brief to the Queen-Mother of Spain, dated July 7, 1667. Cf. *Compendio della vita di Clemente IX.*, in TERLINDEN, 52. Also the *report of John Emmerix to Leopold I., dated Rome, June 23, 1667, State Archives, Vienna.

⁶ See **Acta consist.*, Barb. 2931, Vat. Lib. Of the Cardinals' co-operation, Clement IX. said: " Nunquam navis regitur solo nauclero; Ubi multa consilia, ibi multa salus (*Prov.*, XI., 14)." Cf. also the *Brief to Leopold I., dated July 16, 1667, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

Rome as the place of negotiations and suggested a neutral city, such as Münster had been on a former occasion. Spain could not accept Louis' conditions,¹ consequently on October 4th, Clement IX. made another appeal to the King, at the same time drawing his attention to the fact that the Turks threatened not only the Venetians in Crete but the kingdom of Poland also.² For the seat of the negotiations he now proposed either Cologne or Liège³ and on October 21st he named as his mediator the nuncio in Cologne, Agostino Franciotti, who had at one time been Vice-Legate at Avignon.⁴

If Louis XIV. consented to peace negotiations, it was with the *arrière-pensée* of inducing the Spaniards to lay down their arms, when he would be in a position completely to crush the defenceless.⁵ When the Spanish Government declined both Liège and Cologne, as too near to Paris and too far from Madrid, and demanded that the Congress should be held at Rome, Louis XIV. replied that in the Eternal City

¹ TERLINDEN, 55.

² GÉRIN, II., 314, n. 1.

³ *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, October 5, 1667, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ *Bull.*, XVII., 582. Cf. *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, of October 25, 1667 (*loc. cit.*), praising the "capacità et prudenza" hitherto displayed by Franciotti in his various offices. In the *Brief of October 25, 1667, to Louis XIV., we read: "Pacificationi filiorum instantes, ut prompta persona sit futuro congressui nomine Nostro, fr. August. archiep. Trapezuntis in tractu Rhenano Nunt., qui audito Elect. loci praesto erit, cum pacis tractatui tempus hybernum favet in tam necess. opus curam collaturus. Absque mora plenipotentarios illuc allegare velis, quo pax revocari et rei Christ. ab immani hoste graviter divexatae et pericula maiora pertimescenti subveniri queat" (*Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*). Cf. *ibid.*, the *Brief to Leopold I., dated October 29, 1667. For Franciotti, see REUMONT, in *Zeitschr. des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 1883. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 222. The *Registro di lettere tanto in piano quanto in cifra del card. Azzolini on the peace negotiations, in *Cod. X.*, A. 1, of the Bibl. Altieri, Rome.

⁵ QUIRINI, in BERCHET, II., 334.

the Spaniards would be able to negotiate by themselves alone.¹

Whilst the King of France was delaying the congress,² his ambassador in Venice, the unscrupulous Sieur de Grémonville, won over the Emperor's ambitious and vain minister, Auerspach, with a promise of support for the latter's aspirations to the cardinalate.³ By the advice of this disloyal servant Leopold I., on January 19th, 1668, agreed to the project of an eventual division of the Spanish heritage, by the terms of which Spain, the West Indies, Milan and Sardinia were to fall to the Emperor whilst France should have the Netherlands, Burgundy, Naples and Sicily.⁴ On the following day Louis XIV. informed the Pope—out of filial reverence, as he put it—of his intention to invade the Franche-Comté an act which would render Spain amenable to peace, in accordance with the wishes of His Holiness.⁵ On the very day on which his troops began this predatory attack on a widow and her child, the King of France could still write to Clement IX. of his great longing for the restoration of peace.⁶

Meanwhile the Pope had made a fresh attempt to put an end to the conflict by deciding, on January 14th, 1668, to send out three extraordinary nuncios. Pietro Bargellini, Archbishop of Thebes, was to go to Paris, Federigo Borromeo, Patriarch of Alexandria, to Madrid, and Galeazzo Marescotti, Archbishop of Corinth, to Vienna.⁷ Bargellini reached Paris

¹ GÉRIN, II., 222 *seq.*

² Clement IX. had urged as speedy a meeting as possible ; see *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, of August 30, 1667, *loc. cit.*

³ See above, p. 348.

⁴ KLOPP, Stuart, I., 212 *seq.* ; REDLICH, 188 ; F. SCHEICHL, *J. B. v. Grémonville*, Berlin, 1922.

⁵ GÉRIN, 224.

⁶ TERLINDEN, 59.

⁷ Marescotti was also to be the bearer of the "fascie" for the new-born Archduke ; see *Compendio della vita di Clemente IX., Rospigliosi Archives, Rome. On January 16, 1668, Card. Vendôme

on April 9th ; he found Louis XIV. completely changed. Out of consideration for the Pope, he informed the nuncio, he had consented to an armistice. On April 16th the King wrote in the same strain to Clement IX.¹ In reality, Louis XIV. shrank from the danger which lurked in the triple alliance concluded between Holland, England, and Sweden.² Pursuant to a proposal made on his own initiative by Castel Rodrigo, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, the free city of Aix-la-Chapelle was chosen as the place of negotiation, and the decision communicated to nuncio Marescotti.³ France and Spain also secretly agreed on the terms of peace at Saint-Germain, so that the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle sank to the level of a mere formality. On May 2nd peace was signed ; it abandoned to the King of France his conquests in the Netherlands, but in return he gave up the Franche-Comté ; in the introductory part of the treaty honourable mention is made of the mediation of Clement IX. and his nephew, Rospigliosi.⁴ The Pope's satisfaction at the peace grew still further when on May 31st, the French ambassador, the Duke of Chaulnes, ordered the demolition in Rome of the pyramid whose inscription, ever since the treaty of Pisa, had so offensively proclaimed the triumph of Louis XIV.

was named legate in France, to act as godfather for the Pope at the baptism of the Dauphin ; see **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib. Bargellini was ordinary nuncio ; see the *Brief to Louis XIV., February 11, 1668, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

¹ The *Brief was read at the consistory of April 30, 1668. see *Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* Cf. TERLINDEN, 61 *seq.* ; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturreicherte*, I., 811.

² KLOPP, *Stuart*, I., 219 *seq.*, 223. Cf. MENTZ, I., 144.

³ TERLINDEN, 59. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 223. The *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of July 31, 1668, complains that Castel Rodrigo had shown but little "attentione" to the Holy See and the Pope in the "mediatione della pace" (*Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch.)

⁴ TERLINDEN, 63 *seqq.* Cf. MENTZ, I., 143. The articles of the peace treaty were read at the consistory of May 14, 1668 ; see *Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*

over the Pope.¹ This was the answer to the concessions recently granted by Clement IX. in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy.² In June Chaulnes gave a great display of fireworks, arranged by Bernini, in which the Pope was extolled as a prince of peace.³ The Pope's satisfaction at the termination of the war was all the keener as he now hoped for effective help from the Christian princes, more especially from the hitherto indifferent King of France,⁴ for hard pressed Crete.⁵ He himself had already done all that lay in his power.

In July, 1667, Venice received a present of 30,000 scudi from the Pope, as well as permission to raise troops in the pontifical States, and the Pontiff doubled the number of troops destined for Dalmatia. In October troops and war material were dispatched to the City of the Lagoons.⁶ In November he gave the Republic leave to raise a tenth from all Church property within its territory.⁷ Although the Republic

¹ See XXX., p. 106. Cf. *the report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., May 26, 1668, State Arch., Vienna. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 230 seq. On the other hand, when the pyramid was demolished Chaulnes demanded the removal of an inscription from the column erected in memory of Henry IV.'s absolution, though it contained nothing offensive (cf. our data, XXIII., 134; see LANCIANI, *Pagan Rome*, 37. Benedict XIV. restored the column in 1745 and dedicated it "Deiparae Virgini").

² See the indult of nomination for the Abbeys in the dioceses of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, dated March 23, 1668, in *Bull.*, XVII., 636, and *ibid.*, 6747 seq., the concession of the right of nomination for the diocese of Arras and the new possessions in Belgium, dated April 9, 1668. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 225.

³ GÉRIN, II., 227.

⁴ TERLINDEN, 66 seqq.

⁵ *Brief to Louis XIV., of May 7, 1668, in answer to the King's communication "de pace iam certa et paene perfecta" (*Epist.*, I.), and an autograph *letter of the same day, in *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 109, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁶ ZINKEISEN, IV., 926; TERLINDEN, 76; GÉRIN, II., 311 seq.

⁷ *Bull.*, XVII., 60 seq.

showed itself anything but grateful, and even provoked a conflict on the frontier of Ferrara,¹ Clement IX. continued in his readiness to help all through the following year. The papal fleet was overhauled and placed under the command of Vincenzo Rospigliosi, and 20,000 scudi were put at the disposal of the Republic for the equipment of one regiment.² Not content with all this, the Pope was incessantly urging the Christian Powers to go to the assistance of Venice. After the termination of the war between France and Spain he hoped that his exhortations would fall on better soil.³ With a view to diverting the Turks from Crete and occupying them elsewhere, he sought to influence Russia through Poland,⁴ and the Shah of Persia by directly writing to him.⁵

Towards the end of May 1668, the papal galleys, under Vincenzo Rospigliosi, put to sea in order to effect their junction with the Venetian fleet commanded by Francesco Morosini.⁶ Soon after Abbot Airoidi was sent as special agent to obtain help for Crete from the Italian and German princes.⁷ In a

¹ GÉRIN, II., 318 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 77. For Venice's egoistical policy in the question of the League, see LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberrichte*, I., 580 *seq.* The Elector Schönborn severely blames the ingratitude with which Venice rewarded the Pope's efforts (MENTZ, II., 196).

² GUGLIELMOTTI, *Squadra*, 312 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 85.

³ On May 1, 1668, *Briefs were dispatched to the Cardinal of Aragon, to the Dukes of Lorraine and Savoy and to the Emperor (to the latter also on May 12), and on May 19 to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John. *Epist.*, I., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ See *Brief of February 11, 1668, *ibid.*

⁵ See *Briefs of May 19 and June 9, 1668, to "Rex Persarum", *ibid.*

⁶ **Avviso* of May 30, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. GUGLIELMOTTI, 315 *seq.*; BIGGE, *Guerra*, 32 *seqq.*; Rospigliosi's reports in the periodical *Il Muratori*, Roma, 1892, 123 *seq.*, 181 *seq.*; II., 167 *seqq.*

⁷ See the *Briefs to Card. Harrach and numerous German Bishops and princes, dated June 2, 1668, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.* On the subject of aiding Venice, Clement IX. had already dispatched *Briefs to Genoa, January 21, 1668, to Cardinal Thun

consistory of July 9th, the Pope gave an account of what had been achieved so far, basing his remarks on the reports of Airoidi and the nuncios.¹ Unfortunately results did not correspond to the straits in which the Venetians found themselves when, in the spring of 1668, the Turks began an attack on the two bastions facing the sea.²

The Government of Madrid had promised 50,000 scudi and the dispatch of its galleys based on Naples and Sicily, and possibly those of Catalonia, but it put off the execution of its promise until the autumn. The same happened with the twelve companies promised by Genoa. Tuscany sent four hundred foot soldiers. The Duke of Savoy contributed two regiments, and he allowed Guiron François de Ville, a marshal in the service of Savoy, to assume supreme command of the Venetian auxiliaries destined for Crete. The Governments of Parma, Modena, and Lucca promised to furnish war material.³ Cardinals Barberini and Rospigliosi contributed considerable sums from their private means.⁴ The Emperor, to whom the Pope⁵ and nuncio Pignatelli made the most pressing representations, promised an auxiliary corps of 3,000 men but, as always happened at Vienna, their equipment proceeded exceedingly slowly.⁶ From the German Protestant princes nothing could be obtained for the common cause of Christendom; among the Catholic ones, the Dukes of Brunswick and Lüneburg, whose zeal the Pope had encouraged by granting them various favours, distinguished themselves specially, for they gave 3,300 of their best troops; these, under the command of an experienced captain, Count Josias von Waldeck, were to maintain the reputation of German

and the Duke of Bavaria on May 3, to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights on March 3, 1668, *ibid.*

¹ **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.*, Vat. Lib.

² BIGGE, 44 *seqq.*

³ ZINKEISEN, IV., 967; TERLINDEN, 84 *seqq.*

⁴ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 352, 353.

⁵ *Brief of March 31, 1668, *Epist.*, I., *loc. cit.*

⁶ LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 812.

valour in the distant island. The ecclesiastical Princes of Cologne, Paderborn, Trèves, and Salzburg provided gunpowder. The Teutonic Knights furnished a hundred men. The negotiations with the Duke of Bavaria proved sadly disappointing. In like manner also the vast promises of Duke Charles of Lorraine, on which great hopes had been built in Rome; came almost to nothing in consequence of various untoward circumstances.¹

In view of this situation Clement IX. deemed it a considerable success when Louis XIV. at last began to abandon his equivocal attitude. This was partly due to consideration for public opinion; zeal for the crusade, fanned as it was by preachers such as the youthful Bossuet, began once more to glow in the hearts of the chivalrous French. To this must be added the efforts of nuncio Bargellini, though the latter greatly overestimated his influence.²

In July, 1668, Louis XIV. authorized the Duke De La Feuillade to go to the assistance of the hard-pressed island with a body of volunteers, an act which Clement IX. promptly rewarded with important ecclesiastical privileges.³ These troops, however, were not to take the field under the banner of France but under that of the Knights of Malta because the King of France was unwilling to break openly with the Porte. The corps of volunteers, six hundred strong, which embarked in the last days of September and arrived in Crete at the

¹ Cf. besides **Acta consist.* for July 18, 1668 (*loc. cit.*), and GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 352; ZINKEISEN, IV., 964 seq.; TERLINDEN, 92 seqq. An article in *Allg. Zeitung*, suppl. 152: *Braunschweigische Truppen im Dienste der Republik Venedig*, is based on a contemporary diary. A capitulation between Bavaria and Venice was only concluded on March 13, 1669 (RIETZLER, VII., 64).

² GÉRIN, II., 317 seq.; cf. 192 seqq. for Bargellini's character.

³ "Ius nominandi ad eccl. Tornacensem," August 27, 1668, in *Bull.*, XVII., 702; *ibid.*, 704, for Abbeys in the territory severed from Belgium. Cf. the very warm autograph *letter of thanks to Louis XIV., dated August 26, 1668, *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 115b, Papal Sec. Arch.

beginning of November, considerably raised the spirits of the beleaguered garrison, but by reason of its foolhardiness it accomplished very little. At the beginning of 1669, 200 men returned home; the rest were either disabled or killed.¹ At that time the entire garrison of the fortress numbered no more than 7,000 men, hence energetic support was necessary if a catastrophe was to be prevented.

No one proclaimed this peril more incessantly or more loudly than the Pope. Even before the departure of De la Feuillade's expedition, he had made special efforts and called upon God's help. On August 18th, 1668, Venice was authorized to alienate Church property in aid of the Turkish war,² and, subsequently, to raise a million ducats from suppressed monasteries.³ In a consistory of September 17th the Pope discussed the critical position of Crete and the peril which would threaten Poland in the event of the abdication of King Casimir; he ended by exhorting all to pray.⁴ He had the Blessed Sacrament exposed in all the churches of Rome and distributed generous alms. A plenary Indulgence was proclaimed for all who would take part in a penitential procession from the church of S. Stanislaus to that of S. Mark. Clement IX. personally took part in the function. In the first days of October he visited St. Mary Major and S. Maria della Vittoria where, as in the other churches, the Blessed Sacrament was again exposed.⁵ About mid-October, Vincenzo

¹ GÉRIN, II., 322; ZINKEISEN, IV., 985 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 97 *seq.*, 128 *seq.*

² *Bull.*, XVII., 701.

³ *Ibid.*, 739 *seq.*, 748 *seq.*, 781. Cf. GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 351.

⁴ **Acta consist.*, *loc. cit.* For Poland, whose throne John Casimir had renounced on September 16, 1668, see CHLEDOWSKI, II., 331 *seq.* In a special covering letter of the *Brief of July 21, 1668, the Pope had deprecated such a step (*Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 138*b*, *loc. cit.*).

⁵ **Avvisi* of September 15 and 29, and October 6, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch. The Indulgences in *Bull.*, XVII., 727, 729. Indulgence and prayers were renewed in the following year. The Pope himself

Rospigliosi was back in Rome. He gave an account of the naval campaign to the Pope at Castel Gandolfo where Clement was making a short stay.¹ The enterprise had been prematurely broken off owing to the pretensions of the Knights of Malta and the result was not in proportion to the effort spent on it, but Rospigliosi could at least point to the fact that his presence had prevented the Turkish fleet, for a long time, from landing fresh troops, and to that extent he had been of use to the Venetians.²

Since reports concerning participation in the Turkish War by France sounded favourable, Clement IX. had recourse to every imaginable means to induce Spain also to take part in it. But Madrid was afraid, not without cause, of an attack by France. It was with great difficulty that the Pope obtained from Louis XIV. a promise guaranteeing Spain from such an eventuality for the duration of the Holy War. He ended by obtaining it, as well as a French auxiliary corps of 6,600 men and a fleet of 42 sailing ships and 18 galleys—an important contribution for those days.³ In return, despite grave misgivings, he was forced to admit the Duke D'Albret into the College of Cardinals.⁴

On February 4th, 1669, Clement IX. who, in November, 1668, had given 30,000 scudi for the defence of Ragusa which was also threatened by the Turks,⁵ granted a jubilee for France by means of which no less a sum than 100,000 scudi was raised. As the sums provided by Louis XIV. were equal

visited the principal basilicas at this time, to pray for the safety of Candia; see **Avvisi* of July 21 and 27, and August 3 and 10, 1669, *loc. cit.*

¹ **Avviso* of October 20, 1668, *loc. cit.*

² BIGGE, *Guerra*, 43.

³ TERLINDEN, 136 *seqq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 144 *seqq.*, 149, 165 *seqq.* Spain's promises were not fulfilled; see, *ibid.*, 179 *seqq.*

⁴ See above, p. 346. In his autograph **letter* to Louis XIV., dated August 5, 1669, the Pope stresses the fact that he had had many grave misgivings with regard to D'Albret's elevation. *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 149, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ *Bull.* XVII., 763; TERLINDEN, 158, 160 *seq.*

to the needs of the military expedition, it was decided to spend the money on a great international hospital in Crete.¹

Both the Pope and Bargellini, his nuncio, urged the speeding up of France's armaments,² for the siege of the fortress of Candia, after an almost complete standstill during a rainy winter, had been resumed in the spring of 1669 by Ahmed Köprülü with an immense force of men and material. The situation had become so critical that at the beginning of April a rumour was current in Rome that the fortress had capitulated.³ In these circumstances one could justly ask oneself whether the last minute help of Louis XIV. would arrive in time to avert a supreme disaster. In March, 1669, Vincenzo Rospigliosi was named commander-in-chief of all the forces, both French and Venetian. The whole expedition was to be carried out in the name and under the banner of the Pope, because Louis XIV. was unwilling even now to break off diplomatic relations with the Porte.⁴

At the beginning of May 1669, Clement IX. informed François de Vendôme, Duke of Beaufort, and the Count of Vivonne, that he had made them papal admirals; at the same time he also sent them a magnificent scarlet banner adorned with the image of the Crucified and the inspiring inscription: *Dissipentur omnes inimici ejus*: let all his enemies be scattered.⁵

On May 18th the seven papal galleys sailed from Civitavecchia to Messina from whence they put to sea for

¹ **Avviso* of November 3, 1668, Papal Sec. Arch.

² See the *autograph letter of Clement IX. to Louis XIV., March 22, 1669, in which the Pope states that he would also call upon the other Christian princes though the King of France was powerful enough to deliver Crete without foreign help (*Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 145, *loc. cit.*). *Ibid.*, an autograph *letter to the Queen of Spain, dated March 25, 1669, begging her help for Crete.

³ TERLINDEN, 187 *seq.*, 194; BIGGE, 64.

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 326; TERLINDEN, 171 *seq.*

⁵ *Mém. du voyage de M. le Marquis de Ville*, p.p. D'ALQUIÉ, Amsterdam, 1671, 293. Cf. ZINKEISEN, IV., 987; TERLINDEN, 177 *seqq.*

Crete. On June 15th, together with the ships of the Knights of Malta, they were joined by the thirteen galleys of Count de Vivonne, who had set out from Toulon on May 21st. The eighteen galleys and seventeen troopships under the Duke of Beaufort only sailed on June 6th from the same harbour but, owing to a favourable wind, they made a speedy passage and effected their junction with the Venetian fleet under Taddeo Morosini near the island of Cerigo. On the evening of June 19th both squadrons dropped anchor in the harbour of Candia. To avoid the fire of the Turks, the troops were disembarked in the dead of night on June 20th.¹ The fortress was by then in a terrible condition. Part of it was no more than a heap of ruins, and it was with difficulty that one could get a firm foothold on a terrain covered with wreckage and ploughed up by mines. "The aspect presented by this city was appalling," a French officer wrote, "streets strewn with cannon balls of every calibre, splinters of bombs and grenades; not a church or building whose walls were not riddled with shot and almost turned into ruins; all the houses mere pitiful holes. Everywhere a horrible stench, and wherever one looked, one only saw corpses or wounded and crippled men."²

On June 25th the French carried out with reckless bravery a sortie in which the Duke of Beaufort met a hero's death.³

¹ GUGLIELMOTTI, 327 *seq.*; BIGGE, 60 *seqq.*, 71 *seqq.*; TERLINDEN, 197, 204 *seq.*; G. BRUZZO, *Francesco Morosini nella guerra di Candia e nella conquista della Morea*, Forlì, 1890.

² DARU, *Hist. de Venise*, IV., 616; ZINKEISEN, IV., 991.

³ By the Pope's order (**Avviso* of August 17, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.), the funeral service for Beaufort in Araceli was celebrated with special solemnity. An **Avviso* of September 28, 1669 (*ibid.*), gives the following details: "il sontuosissimo mausoleo designato [dal S. cav. Bernino], circondato da circa 50 gran torcieri d'argento, eretto nel mezzo della chiesa tutta apparata di lugubre, et illuminata al di sopra di torcie, rappresentante uno scoglio coperto di tutte le sorti di armi, con sopra una piramide tutta historiata di varie battaglie et in cima la statua del defonto in piedi con la spada alla destra e le scudo con la croce alla sinistra,

The attempt failed and led to disputes between the French and the Venetians.¹ A similar fate attended nearly every effort for the relief of Candia. On June 29th six ships brought the Bavarian auxiliaries, all of them in a state of prostration owing to the fact that during the crossing, in spite of the great heat, they had been pressed together "like herrings in a barrel". Still more deplorable was the fate of the corps levied by Duke Alessandro Pico della Mirandola with the help of a papal subsidy of 30,000 scudi²; when it arrived on August 25th, sickness had reduced it from 1,500 to 600 men.³ On July 3rd the French, Papal, and Maltese galleys arrived. At a joint war council it was decided to carry out a bombardment of the Turkish siege works in front of the bastion of S. Andrea from the fifty-eight ships which disposed of over 1,100 guns; as soon as a sufficient effect should be produced, a sortie was to drive the enemy from his advanced positions. However, the bombardment had but little effect because the Turks had entrenched themselves from the side of the sea also, and their artillery was able to reply to the ships' fire from sheltered positions. The sortie which had been planned also failed.⁴ The failure of both these enterprises led to fresh disputes between the French and the Venetians. So great was the disagreement that on August 20th the French re-embarked their troops with the exception of 300 men. Modest, gentle Rospigliosi was not the man to prevent such a step.⁵ On August 24th, the Turks made a general assault; it was beaten back, mainly through the bravery of the German auxiliaries. Nevertheless the fortress was no longer tenable, for the garrison was being decimated not only by the projectiles of the Turks, but by the heat of the climate also. Pico della

il tutto posto a oro et chiari e scuri con varie iscrizioni et elogi
alle quattro faccie delle base e piramide in sua lode, siccome
l'oratione funebre, che fece il P. Adami Giesuita.

¹ BIGGE, 64 *seqq.*; TERLINDEN, 220 *seqq.*

² See **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 123, p. 226. Papal Sec. Arch.

³ VALIERO, 737, 739; ZINKEISEN, IV., 994.

⁴ BIGGE, 37 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 88; TERLINDEN, 225 *seqq.*, 229 *seqq.*, 275.

Mirandola's six hundred men could not make up for these losses. The fortifications were pulverized, so that they looked like mole hills, and the withdrawal of the French had produced general discouragement. Accordingly on August 28th, Morosini decided to open negotiations for the surrender of the place. In order not to witness the fall of Candia, Rospigliosi, together with the Maltese and the Savoyards, followed the example of the French. Besides the Venetians only the men from Brunswick and Bavaria held out till the last. A capitulation under honourable conditions was signed on September 6th.¹ The fortress fell after a defence of unparalleled obstinacy; the garrison had beaten off forty-five assaults and made ninety-six sorties. The Venetians exploded more than 1,100 mines, and the besiegers three times that number. About 30,000 Christians and more than 100,000 Turks found their grave in the blood-soaked soil of the ancient isle.² The long struggle, "Venice's Iliad," as Byron calls it, was at an end. In the opinion of military experts the main cause of the disaster is to be looked for in the fact that the Christians did not take sufficient advantage of their superiority at sea.³

The retreat of the French troops was an all the more grievous blow for Clement IX. as Louis XIV., in response to the Pope's repeated exhortations, and in contrast with the inactivity of Spain, had shown some willingness to give further assistance.⁴ It is a wonderful spectacle to see the Pope, who

¹ BIGGE, 91 *seqq.*; TERLINDEN, 239, 283 *seqq.*; ZINKEISEN, IV., 994; RIEZLER, VII., 65.

² HAMMER, III., 635. That in those days irony stopped at nothing is shown by the fact that pasquinades were composed even on the fall of Candia; see **Codicilli della città di Candia*, in Cl. VII., *Cod.*, CCXI. of the Library of St. Mark, Venice; on the other hand, there is a *poem in the Venetian dialect (by Cesare Tebaldi) in honour of Clement IX., because of what he had done for the war against the Turks in Candia, 1668, in *Cod. Ottob.* 2481, p. 444, Vat. Lib.

³ BIGGE, 103 *seq.*

⁴ TERLINDEN, 241 *seqq.*, 244. Urgent request for further help in Clement IX.'s autograph *letters to Louis XIV., dated October 1 and 8, 1669, in *Arm.*, 45, t. 41, p. 153b-154b, Papal Sec. Arch.

heard of the fall of Candia about mid-October, not only not losing heart, but at once making plans for the creation of a league of defence. To this end he created a special Congregation with Rospigliosi as president and consisting of Cardinals Azzolini, Ottoboni, Barberini, Spinola, Chigi, Borromeo, and Imperiali.¹ But on hearing of the fall of Candia, and that the Venetians had concluded an armistice, Louis XIV.'s attitude changed and he put a stop to all his armaments. On December 5th, in spite of the efforts of the Paris nuncio to prevent it, he received in solemn audience a representative of the Sultan ²!

Clement IX. did not live to hear of this incident. On October 25th he visited the seven principal churches, overtaxing his strength in doing so. During the following night he had a slight stroke.³ Even before he was completely recovered he resumed his duties; on November 1st, All Saints' Day, he again visited the seven churches ⁴; on the 16th he gave orders for the setting up of the above-mentioned Congregation ⁵; on the 29th, from his sick bed, he made a

Clement IX. contributed 30,000 scudi in September, 1669, towards the equipment of Marshal De Bellefonds; see **Compendio della vita di Clemente IX.*, Rospigliosi Archives, Rome; **Miscell. di Clemente XI.*, t. 123, p. 226, Papal Sec. Arch.

¹ GÉRIN, II., 388; TERLINDEN, 286, 293 *seqq.* It was thought in Rome that one of the consequences of the fall of Candia would be that Sicily would now be threatened: "Questo pericolo si sarebbe evitato con soli tre mila huomini e forse anco meno, se di Napoli si fossero nel Agosto mandati in Candia." A defensive league was imperative (*Cifra to the Spanish nuncio, November 9, 1669, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 136, Papal Sec. Arch. " *La pace di Venetia col Turco fa che già tutta Europa aspetti l'armi di esso in Ungheria o in Sicilia. L'unica via per divertirvele è una diversione, che si faccia col mezzo de' Cosacchi " (*ibid.*, November 23, 1669).

² TERLINDEN, 297 *seqq.*

³ GÉRIN, II., 388 *seq.*; TERLINDEN, 304; BILDT, *Conclave*, 11 *seq.* Clement IX. had already suffered a similar attack during Vespers on January 5, 1669; see **Vat.* 8414, p. 64b, Vat. Lib.

⁴ **Avviso* of November 2, 1669, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ **Avviso* of November 16, 1669, *ibid.*

creation of Cardinals,¹ but his strength was spent. On December 2nd he received the Last Sacraments and on the 9th, when just short of seventy, he breathed forth his noble soul after an agony of thirty hours.² It was generally felt that grief for the loss of Candia had carried him prematurely to the grave.³

The Pope died in the Quirinal. His body was taken to St. Peter's where it was provisionally laid to rest next to Alexander VII.⁴ Vast numbers of people flocked thither, eager to honour the body as that of a Saint.⁵

Clement IX. wished to rest in front of the *Confessio* of

¹ *Report of the Card. of Hesse, Rome, November 30, 1669. State Archives, Vienna. Cf. above, p. 348.

² GÉRIN, II., 390. Cf. **Avviso* of December 14, 1669: The Pope "sendo stato da un mese e mezzo travagliato da varii accidenti e dolori di pietre et calcoli con febre e debolezza grande, ricevuti con gran divotione e rassegnatione li sacramenti, rese lunedì mattina 3 hore avanti giorno lo spirito [70 years old]; sin all'ultimo dal S. card. Rospigliosi e da molti prelati e religiosi, com'anco negl'ultimi giorni della sua infermità assistito dalla regina di Suetia e da sig. cardinali" Papal Sec. Arch. See also *Relatione della infermità e morte di Clemente IX.*, Roma, 1669.

³ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 353; GÉRIN, II., 387; BERNHARDY, *Venezia e il Turco*, Firenze, 1902, 59; BILDT, *Conclave*, 16.

⁴ **Avviso* of December 14, 1669, *loc. cit.*

⁵ In 1675 the veneration was still so great that there was danger of the coffin being forcibly opened for the purpose of securing relics. Accordingly, the body was secretly removed, on April 26, 1675, to an unknown place (CARTARI, **Memorie*, Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto). The bones were only taken to St. Mary Major in 1680; see the **Ricognizione del cadavere di Clemente IX.*, dated February 9, 1680, according to which the bearded corpse was still clearly recognizable. The tomb was closed under the direction of the architect Matthias de Rubeis, and provided with the following inscription in letters of gold: "Clemens IX. P.M. Liberianae basilicae olim canonicus et vicarius hic iacens eius praesidium quae ianua coeli est, et fidelium preces implorat. Obiit die IX. Dec. A.S., 1669, aetatis 69°, vixit in pont. annos 2, menses 5 et dies 19." Note in Rospigliosi Arch., Rome, T. 26, pp. 322 and 727.

S. Mary Major and only the words : *Hic iacent ossa Clementis IX.* (Here rest the bones of Clement IX.), were to mark the spot. As a token of gratitude, his successor put up a beautiful monument in his honour near the entrance to the basilica, but in compliance with the wishes of the deceased, he contented himself with a short inscription extolling the Pontiff's zeal for the faith, his liberality and his labours for the defence of Christendom. The chief merits of his short pontificate—two years and five months—are thus well summed up.

His unfailing solicitude for the poor and the sick as well as his deep piety, had won for the Pope the veneration of the people of Rome.¹ Inspired though he was by the best intentions as a ruler, Clement IX. was not favoured by good fortune. The peace with the Jansenists did not put an end to the dissensions. The many sacrifices which he made for the war against the Turks, for the Venetians, for Louis XIV., were rewarded with ingratitude ; and in the end all his efforts to save Candia proved in vain.

Nevertheless, the self-sacrificing zeal with which Clement IX., faithful to the traditions of the Holy See and though bent by age and sickness, sought to protect Christendom from the aggression of Islam, constitutes the supreme glory of his pontificate. He undoubtedly ranks among the best Popes, and for that reason, and as a happy omen, his name was chosen by more than one of his successors.

¹ See the **Avvisi* of December 14 and 21, 1669 (Papal Sec. Arch.). In the latter the catafalque erected for the obsequies is thus described : Il gran mausoleo eretto in mezzo in forma di tempio, sostenuto da colonne, tutto illuminato di candelotti, et in mezzo l'urna con sopra il triregno sostenuto da un altissimo piedestallo con 4 eloggi alle sue faccie in lode di S. S., il 1° posto dalla Chiesa cattolica per la pace fatta tra li principi christiani con haverli infiammati alla guerra contro l'inimico commune, il 2° dal popolo Romano per haver eccitate (?) nuove arti a publica utilità, il 3° dalle vedove et orfani piangenti il loro padrone et tutore, et il 4° dal popolo dello Stato ecclesiastico per haver sollevata l'annona et diminuite le gabelle, e ultimamente fece l'oratione funebre il S. Agost. Favoriti.

CHAPTER IV.

CLEMENT X : HIS ELECTION AND PERSONALITY—THE NEW POPE AND CARDINAL PALUZZI—ALTIERI—PATRONAGE OF ART.

THERE exists a surprising wealth of reliable sources for the conclave whose task it was to give a successor to Clement IX. Numerous reports of ambassadors, and accurate lists of the votes, make it possible to follow the electoral proceedings in every detail, even though they were drawn out over a period of more than four months. To this must be added a very peculiar source, namely the correspondence between Cardinal Azzolini and Queen Christine of Sweden. Whilst through his confidant, Zetina, Azzolini kept that clever woman fully informed on all that went on in the conclave, Christine informed her friend of the situation in the city of Rome and acted as intermediary between the ambassadors of France and Spain. Christine's keenness was astonishing ; she frequently wrote as many as three letters a day, often very long ones, and all in her own hand.¹

Of the seventy members of the Sacred College, sixty-five

¹ French accounts in GÉRIN, II., 391 *seqq.*, Italian ones in PETRUCCELLI, III., 224 *seqq.*, the imperial ones, incompletely, in WAHRMUND, 276 *seqq.*, the Venetian ones with numerous other documents, especially the correspondence of Card. Azzolini and Queen Christine in the exceedingly interesting work of Baron DE BILDT : *Christine de Suède et le conclave de Clément X.*, Paris, 1906 (hereafter quoted as BILDT, *Conclave*). See also DE BILDT, *The Conclave of Clement X. (Proceedings of the British Academy)* [Oxford, 1906], and G. SARDI, *Il card. G. B. Spada e il conclave del 1670*, Lucca, 1920, who utilized the Spada family archives at Lucca and supplements De Bildt in many places. SARDI (157 *seqq.*) justly stresses the fact that the conclavists were not always well informed and that their reports cannot stand comparison with the accounts of the party leaders. *Scrutiny lists in *Barb.* 4440, Vat. Lib. and in the Consistorial Archives of

took part in the election, though not all of these were present in Rome when the conclave opened at the Vatican on December 20th, 1669. At the first scrutiny, on December 21st, only fifty-six Cardinals were present ¹; the rest arrived gradually. The grouping of the parties was almost the same as in 1667. The French faction was made up of seven Cardinals, viz. Antonio Barberini, Orsini, Retz, Maidalchini, Mancini, and Bouillon, Renauld d'Este being their leader. The Spanish party was captained by Leopoldo de' Medici; it included, besides himself, six members, viz. Sforza, Raggi, Acquaviva, Pio, Visconti, and the Cardinal of Hesse. Francesco Barberini led the older Cardinals of Urban VIII.'s time, and Flavio Chigi the twenty-four of Alexander VII. The *Squadron volante* numbered twelve members, but its leader, Azzolini, who stood for the independence of individual Cardinals against the wishes of the Powers, could only feel sure of Ottoboni, Imperiali, Gualtieri, Omodei, and Borromeo. The eight Cardinals of the late Pope grouped themselves round the Cardinal nephew, Giulio Rospigliosi. Thus none of the parties commanded the necessary two-thirds' majority of forty-four votes; but Chigi alone, with his followers, was powerful enough to exclude any candidate.²

Since there was no outstanding personality in the Sacred College, the number of *papabili* was very considerable; contemporary reports mention twenty-one,³ including Ginetti,

the Vatican, C. 2943 (see BILDT, 269). Cf. also the **Avvisi* in the Papal Sec. Arch., t. 115, and another collection of *Avvisi* which I discovered in the Archives at Campello, near Spoleto. Plan of the conclave, by G. B. Falda, in Vat. Lib. List of conclavists, *Bull.*, XVIII., 30 *seqq.*

¹ "Praesentes in conclavi 58, aegroti absentes a scrutinio 2" (*Barb.* 4440, *loc. cit.*). DE BILDT (269) must be corrected accordingly. For the dates of the arrival of individual Cardinals, the **Avvisi* in the Papal Sec. Arch. are the best source of information. GUARNACCI's statement (I., 7) that 69 Cardinals took part in the conclave is wrong.

² BILDT, *Conclave*, 29 *seqq.*, 48.

³ *Conclavi*, III., 123 *seqq.*

Carpegna, Gabrielli, Facchinetti, and Brancaccio from among the old Cardinals and Odescalchi and Spada from among those of Innocent X. D'Elce, Celsi, Buonvisi, and Vidoni, who had been created by Alexander VII., and Nerli, Bona, and Alteri who had been named by Clement IX., could also entertain hopes, but all of them, as well as such exemplary Princes of the Church as Spada, Odescalchi, and Bona, had to reckon with strong opposition so that it was extremely doubtful whether any one of them would obtain the tiara.¹

Pietro Vidoni, a former Polish nuncio, seemed to have the best prospects. He was a very able, energetic man, still in the full vigour of his years and acceptable both to the French and the Spaniards. A close friend of the members of the *Squadron volante*, he was the candidate of Azzolini and Christine, but in him, too, the proverb was to be verified: "Who goes into the conclave as Pope comes out a Cardinal." Yet Vidoni's friends observed the utmost caution, in keeping with Azzolini's principle that secrecy and silence are decisive factors in a conclave *pratica*!² Queen Christine, too, endeavoured at first to divert attention from Vidoni as much as possible; when she visited the locale of the conclave previous to its closure, she remarked on coming to Vidoni's cell: "Another who is not *papabile*."³ The decisive factor in the failure of Vidoni's candidature, besides the unwillingness of Medici, was the determined opposition of Chigi who did all in his power to bring about the defeat of Azzolini's candidate.⁴

¹ BILDT, 51 *seqq.*

² "Arcanum taciturnitatis est anima conclavis in negotio alicuius capitis." Cf. *Candidatus papalis dignitatis eiusdemque promotor probe instructus, hoc est* EM. CARD. AZZOLINI *aphorismi politici*, 1670, printed at the beginning of J. F. MAYER'S work: *Commentarius de electione Romani pontificis*, Lipsiae, 1691. To Azzolini are also ascribed: **Regole eruditissime esemplari, necessarie per ogni cardinale per il conclave* (copy bought by me at Rome in 1902). Another *copy with the title: "Aforismi politici del cardinale Azzolino per il conclave del 1667" (Archives at Campello, *Miscell.*).

³ BILDT, 28.

⁴ SARDI, *Spada*, 109.

Soon after the opening of the conclave it became apparent that the Cardinals were split into two camps. On the one side stood Chigi with his followers, reinforced by the Spaniards, and on the other the parties of Barberini, Azzolini and Rospigliosi.¹ The winter of that year was a very severe one and the cold was keenly felt in the badly heated cells,² but no decisive step could be taken before the eagerly awaited arrival of the French.³ On January, 16th, 1670, Retz and Bouillon together with the French ambassador, the Duke of Chaulnes, reached Rome at last. They observed at first complete neutrality,⁴ but when Chigi began to work with increasing ardour for the elevation of D'Elce, Chaulnes made use of his powers and on February 10th pronounced his exclusion by France. After that Medici and Chigi dropped D'Elce's candidature.⁵ A veritable confusion now ensued as there was no chance of any one of the prospective candidates succeeding.⁶ Towards Buonvisi, whom Chigi put forward

¹ BILDT, 77 *seqq.*

² *Report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., January 11, 1670, State Arch., Vienna. One great inconvenience was the circumstance that owing to faulty chimneys the rooms were filled with smoke, especially when there was a *tramontana*; see *the *Avvisi* of December 25, 1669, and January 8, 1670, in the Campello Archives.

³ “*Pare a tutti ogn'ora un anno, che vengano i cardinali Francesi” (*Avviso* of January 8, 1670, Campello Archives).

⁴ “*Galli nihil suam intentionem declarant et videntur captare tempus rei bene gerendae, affectibus tum in unum aliquem inclinantibus,” Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., on February 8, 1670, *loc. cit.*

⁵ BILDT, 119 *seqq.*, 123 *seqq.*

⁶ In a *letter of February 22, 1670, the Card. of Hesse discusses the prospects of the various candidates: of the Chigi party Litta alone remains acceptable but even he has had frictions with the Spaniards at Milan. The Barberini candidates—Francesco Barberini, Ginetti, Brancaccio, and Facchinetti—have but slender prospects. The two *papabili* of the Pamfili party are Spada and Odescalchi. Spada is unpopular with the French by reason of an incident during his governorship. The *papabili* of the

on March 5th, Chaulnes remained passive and the affair failed.¹

Meanwhile Azzolini and the men of the Squadron, as well as Queen Christine, were untiring in their efforts on behalf of Vidoni. The French, too, did their best for Vidoni's election but met with the utmost resistance on the part of the Spaniards whose ambassador, Marchese Astorga, hinted that the Queen Regent had excluded Vidoni.² Odescalchi's candidature fared no better, despite keen support by Spain and Chigi. Although most worthy of the tiara in every respect, and though without an enemy in the Sacred College, it was enough to bring about the failure of his candidature that the French ambassador declared that no Cardinal could be elected who was not in some way under obligation to the King of France. Odescalchi's chances were likewise greatly damaged by the too impetuous support of his candidature by the followers of Chigi in particular. An attempt to bring about the elevation of the Neapolitan Brancaccio was thwarted by the exclusion pronounced on April 11th by Astorga, the Spanish ambassador.³ April 19th, 1670, saw the long awaited arrival of Cardinal Portocarrero and the day after that of an extraordinary courier of the Spanish Government who

Rospigliosi party are Altieri, Nerli, Bonapede (Buonaccorsi ?) "In primum [Alterium] non videntur consensuri neque Barberinus, qui post obitum Urbani huius cardinalis fratrem a pontificatu reiecit, neque Pamphiliani ob privatas simultates tempore Innocentii X., neque Chisiani, propterea quod Alexander VII. eum bonum senem e proceribus Romanis et suae familiae ultimum in promotionibus praeterivit." State Archives, Vienna.

¹ BILDT, *Conclave*, 144 seqq.

² *Ibid.*, 105 seqq., 120 seqq., 131 seq., 137 seqq., 159 seqq.

³ *Ibid.*, 164 seqq., 175, 192 seqq. On the tempestuous intervention of the followers of Chigi on behalf of Odescalchi the Card. of Hesse wrote as follows to Leopold I., March 22, 1670 : " *Haec cursatio velut praematura, sincere an malitiose facta, mihi sane magnopere displicuit " (State Archives, Vienna). Cf. the report of March 29, 1670, in WAHRMUND, 278.

announced that the Queen Regent excluded neither Vidoni nor any other Cardinal; however this disavowal of Astorga could not longer alter the situation.¹ Chigi now broke with the Spaniards and sought the help of the French. At this time, thanks to the skilful intervention of Grimani, the Venetian ambassador, the ambassadors of France and Spain agreed on the election of one of Clement IX.'s Cardinals. On this occasion Chigi obtained a promise from Chaulnes that Vidoni would be excluded. The only remaining question now was which of the Cardinals of the Rospigliosi party should be elected. In a secret meeting on April 28th, Chigi, Chaulnes, and Rospigliosi fixed on Emilio Altieri to whom even Barberini could not object. Thus dawned April 29th.

At the first scrutiny, out of 56 votes only three went to Altieri.² Thereupon Rospigliosi revealed to the members of the *Squadron volante* that Chigi, Medici, and Barberini had fixed on this candidate. Azzolini, completely surprised, sought in vain to obtain at least a delay. An unexpected difficulty arose from the fact that Altieri, with tears in his eyes, earnestly besought the electors not to think of him as he was both too old and unworthy of such a position. They told him that it was not possible to comply with his request and he was led with gentle violence to the Sistine Chapel where the second scrutiny was immediately held.³ They had

¹ BILDT, 212 *seqq.*, 220.

² VATASSO, *Hortus caelest. deliciarum a D. I. Bona*, Roma, 1918, XLVII., note.

³ “*Subito si andò in cella del medesimo Altieri, che cominciando a piangere disse assolutamente che non voleva esser Papa, e chiamati i cardinali Paluzzi e Gabrielli li pregò, che come parenti dovessero far desistere gli altri cardinali dall’esaltarlo. Quanto più il cardinale Altieri ricusava con dir di esser troppo vecchio e non meritevole di tal carica, tanto maggiormente da’ cardinali veniva pregato in modo tale, che tutti quelli ch’erano presenti, tanto cardinali quanto conclavisti, cominciarono a piangere. Durò il contrasto gran tempo, finalmente più sforzato che vinto fu portato su le braccia di Medici, Chigi et altri in cappella senza

not even waited for the arrival of the Cardinals who lived in the city on account of sickness.¹ The scrutiny yielded 21 votes and 35 *accessus*; thus out of 59 electors 56 were for Altieri.² The hour was three o'clock in the afternoon. But it took a whole hour before the elected Pontiff gave his consent. In memory of Clement IX., his benefactor, he took the name of Clement X. Among the first to congratulate him was Queen Christine.³

The extraordinary duration of the conclave, which called forth lively complaints both in Rome and abroad together with a spate of caustic comments,⁴ was due not least to the unblushing interference of the secular power of which the Cardinal of Hesse complained in his report to the Emperor Leopold with a bitterness that was fully justified.⁵ In the

pranzarsi" (*Avviso* of April 30, 1670, Campello Archives). Cf. **Avviso* of May 3, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch; the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., dated April 29, 1670, State Archives, Vienna, and **Diario del conclave*, 1670, in *Barb.* 4672, p. 262b, Vat. I ib.

¹ D'Elce had died on April 12, 1670; Grimaldi, Moncada, and Aragona were absent; Ant. Barberini, Orsini, Ludovisi, Ginetti, Acquaviva, Caracciolo, and Buonaccorsi were staying in the city owing to illness; see BILDT, 222.

² *Barb.* 4440, Vat. Lib.

³ BILDT, 222-3.

⁴ Part of the pasquinades composed during the conclave of Clement X. have been printed; see G. LETI, *L'ambasciata di Romolo a' Romani*, Bruxelles, 1671, and *Li segreti di stato dei principi dell'Europa*, Bologna, 1671. Among MSS. cf.: Florence, Bibl. Nazionale, Cl. VII., n. 886; Rome: Bibl. Corsini, *Cod.* 45 F., 34589; Vat. Lib., *Barb.* 4482, 4492, 4504, p. 198 *seqq.*, 5039.

⁵ "Quorsum tandem haec evadent, nemo facile dixerit; utcumque fiet, deplorandum sane est, in hoc sacrosanctum pontificiae electionis negotium, quod cardinalium dumtaxat esse deberet, laicos sic intromitti, idque ad mera politices trutinam remitti, prorsus ut verendum sit, ne Deus tantam contra Christos suos iniuriam severe vindicet. *Report of April 5, 1670, State Archives, Vienna.

end, however, the decision was not due to the representatives of the Great Powers. When Astorga, the Spanish ambassador, asserted that the new Pope owed his elevation to the Spaniards, he was no less wrong than Chaulnes, the French ambassador, who pretended that Louis XIV. alone had brought about the election. The real victor was Chigi : on that very day, April 29th, Chigi's relative, Cardinal Paluzzi, was proclaimed Cardinal nephew of the octogenarian Pontiff.¹

Emilio Altieri was sprung from an ancient Roman patrician family² and had had an excellent father. A contemporary depicts old Lorenzo Altieri as a man of fiery spirit and imposing aspect, but also of the greatest modesty, as his very looks show. He was likewise distinguished for the purity of his morals and his great piety.³ From Lorenzo's union with Vittoria Delfino, a sister of Gentile Delfino, Bishop of Camerino,⁴ sprang several sons, viz. Giambattista, who became a Cardinal in 1643,⁵ Girolamo, representative of the Knights of Malta in Rome, Marzio, a Knight of the Order of St. James, Francesco, an officer who fought in Germany during the Thirty Years' War and in the war of Castro (*obiit*

¹ Diario del conclave, *Barb.* 4672, p. 268b, Vat. Lib. ; BILDT, *Conclave*, 223-5. Of Azzolini, who stood for the Cardinals' independence of the Powers, BILDT, writes (p. 2) : " Azzolini a perdu la bataille, mais ce sera toujours pour lui un titre d'honneur, d'avoir indiqué la voie à suivre et préparé l'avènement dans la curie Romaine d'une politique exclusivement dévouée aux intérêts de l'Eglise."

² BONANNI, II., 722 ; AMAYDEN, *Famiglie Romane*, ed. Bertini, I., 41 *seq.* For the family arms, see PASINI FRASSONI, 45.

³ Carlo Cartari (**Memorie*), who had known Lorenzo Altieri quite well, writes : " Visse egli fino all'età molto senile, ma con spiriti vigorosi, maestoso nel portamento, accompagnato però da una modestia singolare che fino negli occhi gli lampeggiava, di altrettanto bella canitie nell'esterno ricoperto quanto di una candidezza di costumi, e di una rara pietà a meraviglia dotato, fortunato anche ne' figli." Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto.

⁴ UGHELLI, I., 567.

⁵ See our data, XXIX., 164.

1644), and, lastly, Emilio, born on July 13th, 1590, in Rome where he studied first at the Roman College and afterwards at the University.¹ After obtaining his doctorate in jurisprudence (October 17th, 1611) he worked for a time with Giovan Battista Pamfili, the future Innocent X., then an auditor of the Rota. Although Emilio made a great name for himself as an advocate,² he nevertheless embraced the ecclesiastical state, as his brother Giambattista and other members of his family had done.³ In 1623 he acted as assessor to Giambattista Lancellotti during the latter's nunciature in Poland.⁴ On his return he became Bishop of Camerino, in 1627, in succession to his brother Giambattista. He did much useful work in his diocese, held a synod in 1630 and established the Oratorians at Montecchio.⁵ He enjoyed Urban VIII.'s confidence in a high degree. The Pontiff made him Governor of Loreto and twice, though only for a short time, Governor of the Marches. He also entrusted to him the task of ensuring Ravenna against floods, a task which Altieri carried out successfully by the erection of powerful dykes. The war of Castro prevented him from entering on the duties of an Apostolic Visitor of the whole of the Papal States.⁶ Innocent X. also was at first well disposed towards Altieri and in 1644 he sent him as nuncio to Naples. During the rising against

¹ For what follows *cf.* the authentic data in C. CARTARI, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.*

² V. ARGENTI (*Alteria Sydera*, Macerata, 1625) calls Emilio "advocatus peregrinus".

³ " *Secondando il genio che alla vita clericale lo persuadeva, a questa si applicò," says C. Cartari (*loc. cit.*), " da gli esempi di Mario Altieri, zio paterno [author of *De censuris ecclesiasticis*], dell' accennato Gentile Delfino, zio materno, e del descritto G. B. Altieri suo fratello." According to Cartari he was ordained priest about 1623.

⁴ See our data, XXVII., 141, n. 4.

⁵ UGHELLI, I., 570, who speaks of " Constitutiones synodales a S. D. N. Clemente X. aº 1630 tunc eccl. Camerin. moderante in comitiis synodalibus editae ". They were printed in 1672.

⁶ CARTARI, **Memorie*.

the Spanish domination there Altieri's position became extremely difficult¹; however, he succeeded in maintaining himself in it until 1632 when he, too, did not escape Innocent X.'s displeasure; he accordingly withdrew into his diocese. During this period he suffered a grievous loss by the death of his brother Giambattista in 1654. The latter's position in the Sacred College was such an outstanding one that the prospect of the tiara was repeatedly held out to him.² During the conclave of 1655, Emilio Altieri was commissioned by the College of Cardinals to work for the restoration of peace in Upper Italy. After that Clement VII. recalled him to Rome, named him Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars in 1657, and subsequently a Consultor of the Inquisition, but the purple which he had earned long ago was not bestowed on him. In 1657 Clement IX. made him his Maestro di Camera and at last, on November 29th, 1669, raised him to the cardinalate. He had not received the red hat and the ceremony of the opening and closing of the mouth had not been carried out for him when, almost an octogenarian, he entered the conclave from which he issued as Pope.

Clement X. was of middle height and imposing appearance, but gentle and engaging in his dealings with others.³ "Everybody agrees," wrote Antonio Grimani, the Venetian ambassador, "that his disposition is like that of an Angel; he has a humble heart, is sincere, kind, liberal, and most indulgent; his face betrays the pain he feels when he is obliged to refuse a favour. Up to the present his elevation to the supreme dignity brought with it no change in his simple living, or in the ordering of his household." Grimani singles out for praise the sparing use Clement X. made of

¹ Cf. XXX., p. 82 *seq.*

² For 1644, see MENCIK, 50; for 1648, BERCHET, II., 80, and *ibid.*, 151, for 1651. The Capuchin Seb. Mele da Bitonto, in his **Pensieri sul Pontificato* (dedication dated October 2, 1649), prophesied the tiara to Altieri. (I saw the original MS. in 1906 in the shop of the Roman antiquary Luzziatti.)

³ " *Fu di statura mediocre, d'aspetto maestoso, di matura piacevole " (CARTARI, *Memorie*).

the Church's money, of which he was wont to say he was only the administrator who would one day have to give an account to an all-knowing judge.¹ This serious disposition was allied to sincere piety ; despite his great age Clement X. repeatedly made the tiring pilgrimage to the seven principal churches of Rome.²

Though the Pope was blessed with a strong constitution, it was only too evident that he felt the weight of his years. However, there was nothing to point to his early death ; on the contrary, his condition was such that people prophesied him many years, especially as his forbears had been extraordinarily long-lived.³

The Pope led a very regular life, but one that differed from that of most people. At all seasons he rose two or three hours before dawn, dressed unaided, said his Mass and performed his private devotions ; after that he often gave audience as early as five o'clock in the morning. The result of his early rising was that after taking his principal meal two hours before the evening *Angelus*, he was compelled to go to bed at sunset. When in his later years representations were made to him on his early rising, even in the cold of winter, he observed that he had always done so, and since it served him well he had no intention of giving it up.⁴

The eighty-years'-old Pontiff needed help to enable him to bear the burden of office, consequently, immediately after his election, he chose for this duty Cardinal Paluzzi degli Albertoni

¹ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 356.

² Cf. the **Avvisi* of May 2 and November 14, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.

³ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 356 ; GÉRIN, II., 408 *seq.* The Pope's sister Virginia, a Dominican nun in the convent della Maddalena, near the Quirinal, where she lived a holy life, died on February 21, 1673, aged 71 (CARTARI, **Memorie* ; **Avviso* of February 25, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch.).

⁴ See *CARTARI, *loc. cit.*, who quotes the testimony of Clement X.'s physician. Cf. the **Relatione del conte di Lucerna*, Vat. Lib., and GÉRIN, II., 408 *seq.*

whose nephew, Gaspar, had married Laura Caterina Altieri, a niece of Clement IX. and the sole heiress of the Altieri ¹—a woman as beautiful as she was modest. The Pope bestowed the name of Altieri on both the Cardinal and the niece.² Gaspar was made General of the Church and castellan of Castel S. Angelo; Angelo, his father, who had taken part in the campaign against Crete, was appointed inspector of the galleys.³ Gaspar, on whom depended the continuation of the family, received the Pope's private estate and the Palazzo Altieri, but like Angelo, he had to be satisfied with his post,

¹ In the **Relatione del conte di Lucerna*, *loc. cit.*, Laura is described as beautiful, lively, affable, and modest.

² It was reproached to Clement X. that with the unexpected elevation of Paluzzi to the position of *Cardinale Padrone* and the latter's adoption, he had excluded Card. Gabrielli, "suo naturale nipote." A contemporary offers the following explanation: "Il vero motivo politico di questa novità è nato da ciò che non avendo il fratello del Pontefice lasciato che una figlia herede delle sue facoltà a condizione che chi volesse sposarla per conseguire la sua eredità, dovesse prendere insieme il cognome di casa Altieri, e non essendosi trovato alcuno nella nobiltà Romana che abbia voluto accettare questa heredità con sì fatto peso, la sola casa Paluzzi . . . si accommodò a questa fortuna. Onde sebene il cardinale Paluzzi non appartenesse nulla al Pontefice in quanto alla sua propria persona, gli apparteneva però, molto in vitrù di quella del marchese (ora principe) suo nipote che avendo sposato la nipote di S. B^{ne}, ha sposato insieme tutte le ragioni di casa Altieri. Con qualche ragione adunque ha il papa anteposto Paluzzi a Gabrielli." For the rest Clement X. had compensated Gabrielli for his exclusion from the "ministerio" by various favours, so that "se non contento, può rimaner sodisfatto della presente fortuna". Thus the author of "Nuovo governo di Roma sotto il pontificato di P. Clemente X. con aggiustamento seguito tra li due cardinali nipoti di S. St^a Altieri e Gabrielli", *Barb.* 5435, Vat. Lib. Cf. also **Avviso* of May 3, 1670, State Archives, Vienna, and the **Relatione del conte di Lucerna*, *loc. cit.*

³ **Avviso* of May 10, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch.; GUGLIELMOTTI, 365 *seqq.*; CALISSE, *Storia di Civitavecchia*, 469.

and though the Pope was fond of him, he was not permitted to meddle with other matters.¹

The distribution by Clement X. of offices at court was in keeping with his generous disposition. An excellent and learned Roman, Camillo Massimo, became Maestro di Camera ; on his elevation to the cardinalate he was followed by another Roman, Alessandro Crescenzi, who is described as a strict, truly apostolic man. Bernardino Rocci, an able man and a Roman also, was appointed Maggiordomo.² The Pope retained the confessor he had had before his elevation. As this office had been held by Jesuits under Alexander VII. and Clement IX., many people concluded that the new Pope was not well disposed towards the Society of Jesus. However, such an assumption was groundless, for Clement X. was well acquainted with the merits of the Order and showed his esteem for it by deeds.³

The *Cardinale-padrone*, Paluzzi-Altieri, to whom had been allotted the second place at the Roman court, and to whom were assigned all the honours and dignities of a Cardinal nephew,⁴ soon became the real manager of affairs, so much so that the Secretary of State, Federigo Borromeo, who was succeeded by Francesco Nerli in 1673, had to take the second place ; a similar fate befell the learned Gaspar Carpegna who had been nominated *datarius*.⁵

Paluzzo Paluzzi degli Albertoni, now Altieri, was sprung from an old Roman family whose family chapel may still be seen

¹ *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

² MORONI, XLI., 135, 268. Crescenzi and Rocci became Cardinals in 1675 ; they were succeeded by Antonio Pignatelli and Orazio Mattei. For Crescenzi, see GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 357, and above, Ch. III.

³ *Nuovo governo di Roma, *Barb.* 5435, Vat. Lib.

⁴ **Avviso* of May 3, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch. ; CARDELLA, VII., 168 *seq.*

⁵ *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.* John Walter Sluse of Liège became Secretary of Briefs (eulogy of him in Mocenigo's *letter of October 7, 1673, Vat. Lib. ; GÉRIN, II., 511) ; Mario Spinola was made Secretary of the *Brevia ad principes*.

at the church of Araceli. Alexander VII. made him a Cardinal.¹ He owed his rise to Cardinal Flavio Chigi² who accordingly secured the greatest possible influence.³ Born in 1623, Paluzzi Altieri was in the full vigour of his years, though his dark hair had begun to turn grey.⁴ People admired him for the fact that he paid a daily visit to his aged mother when he never failed to beg her blessing. Of blameless life, extremely talented, extraordinarily hard working, possessed of much skill and great experience in dealing with affairs, he soon became indispensable to the aged Pontiff.⁵ As the memory of the octogenarian often failed him, he frequently promised the same favours to several people, thereby creating confusion.

¹ See p. 132.

² Fl. Chigi had made him an auditor of the Camera ; he also intervened effectively in his elevation to the cardinalate. During the conclave he had obtained an assurance from Altieri that he would make him his *nipote adottivo* ; see *Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

³ *Avviso of May 31, 1670, State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ Relatione del conte di Lucerna, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Impartial pictures of the Cardinal are drawn by A. Grimani, in BERCHET, II., 358, the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna (*loc. cit.*), and the author of the *Report on the Cardinals, ca. 1686, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3. Chaulnes and Bonfils also spoke of him very favourably at first ; see GÉRIN, 409 (but *cf.* 483, on the causes of the Frenchmen's change of opinion). On the other hand, P. Mocenigo (in BERCHET, II., 382) paints him in the darkest colours. BROSCHE (I., 437 *seq.*) has accepted this caricature, although it is clear that Mocenigo, who had had some very violent quarrels with the Cardinal, writes *ab irato* and does not shrink from obvious falsehoods, as, for instance (p. 382), that Clement had never acted as nuncio, or (p. 386) that he hardly ever saw Laura Altieri. *Cf.*, on the other hand, the *Relatione del conte di Lucerna (*loc. cit.*). For the rest, RANKE (III., App. No. 144) has already expressly observed that Mocenigo's remarks about Card. Altieri "are the aftereffects of personal misunderstandings", and that he speaks in a like strain of all other personalities and treats of other matters "in his irritated fashion". *Cf.* also GÉRIN, II., 471.

To prevent this Paluzzi Altieri allowed only a few persons to obtain private audiences, and he took care to ascertain their wishes beforehand.¹ Worse still was the fact that the Cardinal did his best to prevent the aged Pope from being upset by disagreeable reports.²

At first Clement X. refused to lend a hand in the enrichment of the Altieri family,³ thereby giving rise to many complaints on their part.⁴ For a time Cardinal Paluzzi-Altieri disguised his desire to acquire wealth⁵; but he nevertheless eagerly sought his own advantage, as did the other nephews, only he did it less blatantly. For the rest, his position provided him with the opportunity of enriching himself as it were automatically.⁶ As the Pope grew older and his weakness increased, he became less strict with regard to the enrichment of his nephews who received numerous proofs of his goodwill.⁷ The Cardinal made provision for his family by marrying his nieces into aristocratic houses, such as the Colonna and the

¹ **Avviso* forwarded to Leopold I. by the Card. of Hesse on May 10, 1670, State Arch., Vienna.

² GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 358.

³ **Avviso* of July 5, 1670: "mostrandosi il Papa già qualche tempo inesorabile in certe cose, massimamente quando è eccitato da qualcheduno. Onde è certo che il cardinale nipote non ha quella autorità che molti pensano, singolarmente nelle cose dove il Papa tiene qualche scrupolo di coscienza, come sarebbe a dire di slargar la mano a pro de' parenti. Egli liberamente dice e torna a dire che i Paluzzi non gli sono niente, e che se hora gli fusse intiero, non li dichiarerebbe per tal più. E che in tutti i casi vuole salvare l'anima sua e non perderla per arricchirli; haver esso vissuto 80 anni intatto di tali peccati, non volere hora per pochi mesi di pontificato deviare dal dovuto sentiero" (Papal Sec. Arch.).

⁴ **Relatione del conte di Lucerna, loc. cit.*

⁵ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 358.

⁶ Thus the **Relatione del conte di Lucerna, loc. cit.* Cf. also **Nuovo governo di Roma, Barb. 5435, Papal Sec. Arch.*

⁷ " **Index brevium et bullarum Clementis X. ad favorem Alteriorum.*" *Cod.*, I., G. 13, Altieri Archives, Rome.

Orsini.¹ He succeeded in winning the Pope's confidence from the first by coming to the rescue in several public calamities, as, for instance, in December, 1670, on the occasion of a great fire, and again during an inundation of the Tiber.²

These acts of generosity impressed Clement X. all the more as he was extraordinarily solicitous for the welfare of his subjects, though he was unable to lighten the burden of taxation,³ the great liberality of Clement IX. having emptied the treasury. Prolonged discussions took place with a view to discovering means of restricting all superfluous expenditure both in the palace and in the State. Clement X. refused to undertake a fresh reduction of the *Monti*, because such a step would have caused loss to very many families, and to

¹ See the *Report in the Liechtenstein Archives referred to above, p. 444, n. 5. The Pope himself celebrated the nuptials of Ludovica Altieri with the Duke of Gravina, April 9, 1671, as well as those of Tarquinia Altieri with the Duke of Anticoli, June 14, 1676; see Cartari, **Memorie*, Piccolomini Archives, Orvieto, and ADEMOLLO, *Il matrimonio di suor Maria Pulcheria, al secolo Livia Cesarini: Memorie particolari*, Roma, 1883, 22 seqq., 28 seqq. According to the *Avviso of September 30, 1673 (Vat. Lib.), the latter marriage had already been arranged at that date.

² Cartari, **Memorie*, loc. cit. The latter reports that in 1676 the Tiber rose on several occasions and threatened the Strada Flaminia near Ponte Molle: "e talmente ad essa strada erasi il fiume avvicinato che poteva dubitarsi in breve tempo di vederlo giunto. Stimatosi pertanto necessario il rimedio, fu eletta persona forestiera e prattica nelle operazioni delle acque, che nel mese d'aprile diede principio con passonate e con lo scavo della sponda opposta, ma dagli architetti di Roma si stima infruttuosa l'operazione, o sia per dispiacere di non essere stati essi impiegati, o sia, come gli stessi dicono, assai diverso essere l'operare nelle lagune che nel Tevere." In a letter of February 17, 1674 (Vat. Lib.), to A. Contarini, P. Mocenigo speaks of a project of making the Tiber navigable as far as Perugia.

³ An *Avviso of January 3, 1671, speaks of the suppression of the "gabella del quattrino" of the "artisti" in Rome. Papal Sec. Arch.

the pious foundations.¹ But he economized wherever possible. All revenues that used to flow into the Pope's private purse were deposited in the *Monti di Pietà* in order that they might serve the public good.² Clement's efforts in promoting agriculture and in provisioning Rome with grain were universally recognized.³

The understanding way in which the Pope was wont to proceed is shown by the foundation by him of a public bank of payments for the purpose of protecting the small tradesman from the abuses of the so-called system of credit. This measure was occasioned by the bad habit of butchers and fishmongers of unduly putting off paying the wholesale dealers, hence it applied at first only to those two trades, but in the end it was extended to all provision merchants. The vendor was paid at once from this bank whilst the latter, equipped as it was with special powers to that effect, recovered from the debtors the money it had paid out.⁴ The prohibition of dangerous knives,⁵ and of games of chance,⁶ was also a

¹ " *E perchè vedevasi per esperienza che (per la cattiva qualità de' tempi) le spese della Camera sopravanzavano alle rendite della medesima, dopo diverse congregazioni tenutesi per questo affare, non havendo il Pontefice voluto indursi alla reductione de' luoghi de monti, ben considerando il danno che a tante famiglie et in particolare a' luoghi pii ne resultarebbe, si era risoluto di resecare le spese che in qualche parte parevano superflue, e perciò dicevasi che si scemarebbe il numero delle galere pontificie, che si riformarebbe la soldatesca di Roma, e si andava tuttavia pensando ad altre riforme, anzi il cardinale Altieri con molta generosità si esibì pronto a rilasciare in utile della stessa Camera la provisione che come a cardinale soprain-tendente dello Stato ecclesiastico annualmente si pagava (Cartari **Memorie*, loc. cit.)."

² See **Relatione* del conte di Lucerna, loc. cit.

³ BENIGNI, 59. Cf. DE CUPIS, 276 seq.

⁴ RODOCANACHI, *Les corporations ouvrières à Rome depuis la chute de l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1894; GOTTLOB, in *Hist. Jahrb.*, XVI., 132.

⁵ Mentioned by Cartari, **Memorie*, loc. cit.

⁶ **Avviso* of October 10, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.

wholesome measure. The Jews were forbidden to make deposits in the *Monte di Pietà* and great strictness was shown in making them wear their badges.¹ Several ordinances were also issued with a view to stemming the devastation of forests in the Pontifical States.² In 1674 a subsidy was granted for repairs to the canals in Valdichiana³ and like his predecessor, Clement X. sought to promote the wool and silk industry.⁴ A number of measures bear witness to the Pope's humanity ; thus he made provision for the bodily and spiritual welfare of labourers in the Campagna who had fallen ill,⁵ for the burial of persons who died in the hospitals of Rome⁶ and for the spiritual ministration to the sick whilst they were being treated in these institutions.⁷ In 1675 he gave orders for the liberation of some aged galley slaves in the papal fleet.⁸

¹ *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Chirografo of December 5, 1674, *Arm.*, 52, t. 30, p. 151, Papal Sec. Arch. ; cf. *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

⁴ GRIMANI, in BERCHET, II., 366. Permission for the nobility to take up trade in *Bull.*, XVIII., 229. The population of Rome, which in 1667 amounted to 110,489, and to 115,480 in 1670, rose to 127,907 under Clement X. ; see *Studi e docum.*, XII., 180.

⁵ *Edict of June 20, 1672, in *Bandi*, V., 9, p. 1, Papal Sec. Arch., and that of June 5, 1675, in DE CUPIS, 279 *seq.*

⁶ **Decretum* of August 8, 1675, *Bandi*, V., 9, p. 21, *loc. cit.*

⁷ **Decretum* of February 10, 1676, *ibid.*, p. 25.

⁸ To the Treasurer General, July 3, 1675 : *Compatendo Noi la vecchiaia et indispositioni rispett. delli infrascritti schiavi delle Nostre galere, ancorchè Turchi, per li quali si sono ridotti inabili al servitio, habbiamo risoluto di dargli libertà." We order the liberation of Ali di Mustafa di Bona (65 years old), Giuseppe di Maumetto di Natolio (aged 59), Saino d'Asanne di Corone (70), and Musa di Alemana di Salenichi (58 years old) "schiavi tutti nella galera padrona, dandogli la commodità di potersene andare alle loro case per mare e per terra, come a loro più piacerà, senza che paghino cosa alcuna alla Nostra Camera ". We order that measures be taken to this end and these we hereby confirm. *Arm.*, 52, t. 30, p. 234, Papal Sec. Arch.

Notwithstanding the adverse condition of the finances Clement X. was generous in the distribution of alms. Like Clement IX. he daily entertained thirteen poor persons at the Vatican. He annually distributed 39,000 scudi in secret and in addition to this he did his utmost in supporting hospices, colleges, and necessitous convents in Rome. Alms were regularly sent to the Jesuits of Constantinople and Chios, and the Colleges of Cologne, Braunsberg, Vienna, and Prague. Through the Spanish nuncio the Pope annually sent the sum of 400 scudi to the missionaries in Japan, and through the nuncio in Savoy he supported the missionaries in the Alpine districts where the faith was in danger. The sums spent in alms in the year 1672 amounted to 125,946 scudi.¹

Although Clement IX. had declined a monument for himself,² Clement X. had one put up to his benefactor at S. Maria Maggiore, to a design by Carlo Rainaldi. It is almost the exact counterpart, even as regards the coloured marble, of Sixtus V.'s monument of Nicholas IV. which faces it. The seated figure of the deceased, whose hand is raised in blessing, is by Domenico Guidi, whilst the figures of Faith and Charity that flank it, are the work of Cosimo Fancelli and Ercole Ferrata.³

¹ See the *Register of receipts and expenses of the Apostolic Camera for 1672, in Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3, n. 3336. Cf. *Miscell.*, I., of the Altieri Library, Rome. The Pope also supported colleges in Italy. Cartari gives the following inscription from Sant Angelo in Vado: *Clementi X. P. O. M. | cuius paterna liberalitate | Collegium hoc Barberinum | auctum fuit praediis Valentinianis | ac annua perpetua pensione | . . . 1674.

² See above, p. 430.

³ Cartari, **Memorie*, loc. cit. Cf. ESCHER, 104; HEMPEL, 82. Reproduction in Jozzi, *Storia di S. Maria Maggiore*, Roma, 1904, tav. 21. According to Cartari (loc. cit.), the monument was originally "nella sinistra parte della tribuna", where that of Nicholas IV. also stood; subsequently both were moved to the right and the left of the main entrance of the nave.

Clement IX.'s vast plan for the reconstruction of the *tribuna* of St. Mary Major was dropped by his successor as too costly ; in this way the exceedingly risky transfer of the precious mosaics was avoided. Two pieces which had already been removed were put back again. After the ruinous *tribuna* had been made sufficiently safe the Pope, in 1673, instructed Carlo Rainaldi, who had replaced the aged Bernini as official architect, to give to the outside a very plain facing with travertine, to adorn it with statues on top, on the balustrade, and to construct before the outer wall of the apse of the basilica a great flight of steps. As a result of this work the slope of the hill received its present shape.¹

Just as Clement X. lived to see the unveiling of Bernini's statue of Constantine near the Scala Regia,² so was it granted to him to see the completion of the decorations of the bridge of S. Angelo by the addition of four more marble statues carved from the design of Bernini.³ Here the Pope honoured the memory of Clement IX. by putting up an inscription to him together with his arms. In the same way, when the magnificent doorway leading from the left arm of the colonnade into the portico of St. Peter's and the statues on top of the colonnade were completed during his reign, he put up, not his own arms, but those of Alexander VII. and Clement IX.⁴

The Altieri arms only appear on the floor of the portico which Clement X. paved with various kinds of marble.⁵ Giotto's mosaic known as the " Navicella " (Peter's Barque), which had been removed from old St. Peter's under Paul V., was assembled once more by order of Clement X., at the

¹ See above, p. 337. FRASCHETTI, 382 *seqq.* Cf. *Cartari. "Rainaldi's work," writes BRIGGS (*Barockarchitektur*, Berlin, 1914, 21), "displays no extravagance ; everything is in its place and in full harmony both with the papal chapel and its surroundings. It is an excellent example of the best baroque." Cf. HEMPEL, 60 *seqq.*

² See *Cartari's data, *loc. cit.*

³ *Ibid.* Cf. **Avviso* of March 12, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

⁵ FRASCHETTI, 395.

instigation of Cardinal Barberini, after a copy made under Urban VIII.¹ ; it was then put up in the lunette above the central door of the basilica.² For the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament he had a precious tabernacle made by Bernini, in 1674, in the shape of a rotunda for which Bramante's *tempietto* in S. Pietro in Montorio served as a model. Its material is gilt bronze adorned with lapis lazuli ; the figures of the Apostles form a circle around it and the whole is crowned by the figure of Christ with the cross. On either side are seen two kneeling Angels in bronze, on magnificent marble pedestals bearing the arms of the Altieri.³

The Piazza of St. Peter's received a wonderful embellishment under Clement X. Paul V. had had erected there, by Maderna, on the Vatican side, a magnificent fountain throwing up water to a height of fourteen metres. Clement X. resolved to put up a corresponding one on the other side. To this end it was necessary to begin by moving Paul V.'s huge fountain to its present position. It was then discovered that the Acqua Paolina could not provide sufficient water for both fountains, so that it became necessary to enlarge the aqueduct from the lake of Bracciano. The Pope died whilst this work was in progress.⁴

The decoration of the family chapel of the Altieri in S. Maria sopra Minerva was a work of filial piety on the part of the Pope. To this day the visitor sees there the slabs over the tombs of Altieri Corraducci, who died in 1431 at the age of 110 years, and of Angelo Altieri, Bishop of Sutri, who lived to be ninety. Two of the Pope's brothers, Cardinal

¹ This copy is now over the entrance of the Capuchin church, Rome, to which it was presented by Urban VIII.

² See *Cartari.

³ TITI, II ; FRASCHETTI, 394 *seq.* (with App.). The Pope's inspection of the tabernacle is reported by the **Avvisi* of July 7 and September 13, 1674, Papal Sec. Arch. In the Lateran basilica Clement X. had steps erected to the tabernacle containing the heads of the Princes of the Apostles ; see CRESCIMBENI, *Stato della chiesa Lateran.* Roma, 1723, 92.

⁴ *Cartari, *loc. cit.* FRASCHETTI, 396.

Giambattista and Marzio, as well as his father, Lorenzo, are buried there. Clement X. had the chapel sumptuously adorned with decorative work, marbles and paintings, after a design by Cardinal Massimo. For the graves of his father and his brother Giambattista, Cosimo Fancelli executed marble busts. The new high altar was adorned with a picture by Carlo Maratta representing St. Peter presenting to the Mother of God the five Saints canonized by Clement X. The paintings on the soffits are by Baciccia.¹ The total cost came to 12,000 scudi.² On August 12th, 1672, Clement X. inspected the splendidly embellished chapel.³ On the other hand the Pope deliberately never set foot within the family palace, one of the most magnificent and spacious palaces of Rome,⁴ which

¹ TITI, 158 *seq.*; BERTHIER, *L'église de la Minerve*, Rome, 1910, 200 *seq.* Cf. FORCELLA, I., 416, 420, 502; BELLORI, III., 159 *seq.*

² *Cartari.

³ **Avviso* of August 13, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ GURLITT, *Barockstil*, 433. On account of the uncertain state of Clement X.'s health, Card. Altieri pushed the construction as much as possible; see the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., dated April 2, 1672, State Archives, Vienna, and the *letter of P. Mocenigo to Alvise Contarini, dated June 3, 1673, in which he says that work went on day and night: "E finita, la scala maestra che riesce molto lucida et è tanto magnifica maestra e bella, che Roma non ne ha un'altra che l'appareggi. Si perfectionarà presto la prima facciata del palazzo." Cf. a *letter of the same, dated November 4, 1673: "Il palazzo sarà capace per cinque corti, che tanto ne fanno quei signori, compreso quella del sig. cardinale." See also Cartari, **Memorie*, and ADEMOLLO, *Il matrimonio di suor Maria Pulcheria*, 17-19. The above-quoted report of the Card. of Hesse describes the Pope's library (see RANKE, III., App. 196; cf. BLUME, III., 176 *seqq.*), but does not mention the famous staircase (see GURLITT, *loc. cit.*). According to Cartari the cost amounted to 300,000 scudi. Carlo Maratta decorated the ceiling of the principal room with a fresco (see BELLORI, 160 *seqq.*). *Accounts of the paintings in the palace, in Bibl. Altieri, *Miscell.*, I.

Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi erected by command of Cardinal Paluzzi Altieri near the church of the Gesù.¹

¹ “ *È però degno di riflessione che in sei anni di fabrica mai il Pontefice habbia havuto curiosità di vederla.” This was all the more remarkable, Cartari observes (**Memorie, loc. cit.*), as every year, during the Carnival, he attended the Forty Hours' prayers at the Gesù. The construction of a new street near Chiesa Nuova, served to embellish Rome; see **Chirografo al Tesariero* of November 9, 1673, *Arm.*, 52, t. 30, p. 32, Papal Sec. Arch., and FORCELLA, XIII., 90. *Ibid.*, 151, an inscription on restoration work in Castel S. Angelo; CALISSE, 474, inscription on the restoration of the harbour of Civitavecchia.

CHAPTER V.

SUPPORT OF POLAND AGAINST THE TURKS—EMBASSY OF THE TSAR OF RUSSIA IN ROME.

As a young man Clement X. had spent a considerable time in Poland as assessor to nuncio Lancelloti, and in this way he had come to know from personal observation the extraordinarily complicated situation of that country both in the religious and the political sphere. Little could he suspect at that time how much anxiety Poland would give him as Pope; but he fully realized even then the importance of this eastern bulwark of Catholicism and Western civilization against Islam. When he became Pope he referred to the danger threatening from the common foe of Christendom in his very first consistory, on May 16th, 1670.¹

Conditions in Poland had become deplorable. Difficult days had dawned for the kingdom, when after the abdication of John Casimir (September 1668) at a stormy Diet, Michael Wisnowiecki, said to be a prince of the House of the Yagellons, was elected King, contrary to all expectation and against the will of the Senate. Michael was young, sickly, and obstinate, and listened to the advice of only a few persons, chief among them being the Grand-Chancellor of Lithuania, Pac, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Crown Olszowski; on the other hand, he kept at a distance most of the nobles, more especially the Grand Marshal Sobieski whom his victories over the Cossacks and the Tartars had made exceedingly famous. When, therefore, in July 1672, the thirty-eight-years-old Turkish Sultan Mohammed V. advanced against Poland with an army of 100,000 men, he found the Kingdom in the greatest confusion. The fortress of Kamieniec, the key to southern Poland, fell on August 30th. This meant the loss of the

¹ [A. BARTOLINI], *Alcuni atti concistoriali della S^{tà} di Clemente X.*, Roma (Nozze-Publ.), 13.

whole of Podolia ; soon the Turks, reinforced by Cossacks and Tartars, appeared under the walls of Lemberg where Sobieski's bravery alone stopped their advance.¹

When the news of the fall of Kamieniec arrived in Rome in mid-October, it caused a general panic. Clement X., who previous to the Turkish aggression had vainly sought to induce the Emperor to lend help to Poland,² convened a special Congregation by whose advice he took steps with a view to meeting the grievous peril in the East.³ He began by proclaiming a universal Jubilee, the Indulgences of which were promulgated during the same month of October. In November, despite his great age, the Pope personally joined in the procession from S. Maria sopra Minerva to the Polish national church of St. Stanislaus.⁴ On October 20th he wrote to the Emperor that the peril in the East preoccupied him day and night.⁵

Previously to this Clement X. had exhorted the Poles to put an end to their internal divisions.⁶ To promote such a consummation it was resolved, in the last days of October 1673, to dispatch the nuncio of Cologne, Francesco Buonvisi, to Warsaw. A considerable subsidy towards the cost of the war was not forgotten.⁷ At the end of October Briefs were

¹ HAMMER, II., 661 ; ZINKEISEN, V., 70 *seqq.* Cf. **Relazione della presa di Cameniz fatta da' Turchi, da Stefano Gradi per relatione di Mathia Gondola testimonio oculato*, *Barb.* 2594, Papal Sec. Arch.

² THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 590 ; Tscharykow, 25 ; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 93 *seq.*, 112 *seq.*

³ **Cartari*, *loc. cit.*

⁴ **Avvisi* of October 22 and 29, November 12, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ **Brief* of October 20, 1672, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, a similar *Brief* to the Queen-Regent of Spain, on October 20, 1672.

⁶ THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 604.

⁷ T. TRENTA, *Memorie per servire alla storia politica del card. Fr. Buonvisi*, I., Lucca, 1818, 68 *seqq.* ; **Acta consist.*, for November 14, 1672, Papal Sec. Arch. ; THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 608. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 521.

dispatched to all the Catholic Princes pressing them to assist Poland in the struggle against the hereditary enemy.¹ The Emperor's attention in particular was drawn to the fact that Poland's danger constituted a threat to Austria.² Sweden's co-operation, by reason of its political significance and its geographical situation, seemed particularly important; accordingly Clement X. resolved to address a Brief even to the Protestant ruler of that Kingdom, Charles XI.³ This step was probably suggested to the Pope by Queen Christine, who frequently saw the Pontiff.⁴ Christine joined to the Brief

¹ The letters mentioned in the Brief to the King of Poland, dated October 15, 1672 (THEINER, III., 605), to the Catholic Princes, viz. the Emperor and the ecclesiastical and secular princes of Germany, dated October 29, 1672, in **Epist.*, II.-III., *loc. cit.* A Brief of February 5, 1673 (*ibid.*), commended John Philip von Schönborn for the support he had given to Poland.

² *Brief of October 29, 1672, *loc. cit.*

³ Text in THEINER, *loc. cit.*, 607-8.

⁴ Visits of Christine are recorded in the *Avvisi* of March 7, October 10, November 28, 1671, January 20 (thanks for "gran cereo"), May 21, October 1 and 29, December 31, 1672, June 17, August 12, 1673, January 20, July 21, 1674, May 18, June 8, September 21, 1675, January 4, May 2, 1676, Papal Sec. Arch. Christine's life under Clement X., her participation in religious and secular festivities, especially in the theatre and the Carnival, is well described by GRAUERT (II., 229 *seqq.*). Cf. also ADEMOLLO, *Teatri*, 129 *seqq.*; CLEMENTI, 500 *seqq.* There is no proof for CHLEDOWSKI's statement (II., 338) that Christine conducted a secret campaign against Clement X. Christine's greatest rival in Roman society was Mazarin's niece, Maria Mancini, Louis XIV.'s youthful flame, whose beauty is attested by the portraits of Mignard and Netscher in the Colonna gallery. She came to Rome in 1661 as the wife of the Grand-Constable Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, where she broke through the seclusion which still restricted the womenfolk of the great houses. She lived in great style in the palazzo Colonna, where she gathered around her both the ladies of Rome and those from abroad. On May 29, 1672, Madame la Connétable, as she was called, fled from the jealousy of her husband to France, together with her sister Hortense,

a very skilfully worded letter to Charles XI.; she also recommended the matter in most pressing terms through her agent, Marchese del Monte. The latter was to represent to the King of Sweden that once they had subjugated Poland, the Turks would greatly endanger the Swedish possessions of Pomerania and Livonia, dominate the Baltic and attack Sweden itself. Foreseeing that the staunchly Protestant court of Stockholm would object to a correspondence with the Pope, the Queen drew her agent's attention to precedents of similar relations with Rome on the part of non-Catholic Princes, nay, even on the part of the Sultan. However, all her arguments failed to impress Charles XI. In his letter to Christine, the King paid indeed homage to the Pope's zeal and to her own, but gave only vague promises and declared in so many words that he could not deal directly with the Pope.¹

In Rome, from which a first subsidy had been sent to Poland in November 1672,² the development of the situation in that country was being watched with ever growing anxiety. The shameful peace which brainless King Michael had concluded with the Turks on September 18th, 1672, was disapproved, not only by the Pope, but likewise by a very large section of the Polish people. Excitement rose to such a pitch that the Kingdom split into two parties, facing each other like two hostile armies.

Thus the situation was extremely critical when Buonvisi, the extraordinary nuncio, who had previously besought both the Rhenish Electors and Vienna to go to the help of Poland,

Duchesse de Mazarin. Cf. for this adventurous woman, who was the first to introduce in Rome the freer manners of France, REUMONT, III., 2, 805 seq.; L. PEREY, *Une princesse romaine au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1894; *Arch. Rom.*, XX., 95 seqq.; CHLEDOWSKI, II., 341 seqq.

¹ ARCKENHOLTZ, II., 159 seqq.; III., 438 seqq. The return to Rome of Marchese del Monte with a present of Charles XI. for Christine is noted in the **Avviso* of May 27, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch.

² See **Cam. div.*, III., State Archives, Rome.

arrived at Warsaw on January 27th, 1673.¹ He did all that it was in his power to do to prevent the outbreak of civil war, by exhorting both parties to moderation : this he did with a zeal only equalled by his frankness. He showed with much eloquence that internal strife was the Turk's best ally and that unless concord was restored, all the Pope's efforts against the external foe would be barren of result. When the ground was at last ready for a reconciliation, the arrival of a French envoy suddenly put everything in jeopardy ; however, in the end Buonvisi succeeded in winning over to his views the head of the malcontents, Sobieski, and in effecting a reconciliation with the King.² In April 1673, Clement X. put 10,000 florins at Buonvisi's disposal for the Turkish war.³ Such was the Pope's satisfaction with the latter's work that on July 15th, 1673, he appointed him ordinary nuncio to Poland in place of Ranucci.⁴ After the rejection by the Diet of the peace with the Turks, Buonvisi seconded with the utmost zeal the organization of resistance to the dangerous foe. It was high time for a Turkish army was on the march.

Whilst in Rome impending events were being watched with trembling⁵ envoys of the Tsar of Russia and the Shah of Persia arrived in the Eternal City. Two Dominicans were

¹ TRENTA, I., 71 *seqq.*, 81 *seqq.* Cf. " *Diario del viaggio di Mons. Buonvisi da Colonia verso Polonia," in *Cod. R.*, II., 53, Chigi Library.

² TRENTA, I., 98 *seqq.*, 305 *seqq.* Buonvisi's reports are here published in part. Cf. also ZALUSKI, *Epist. hist. famil. Tom. I. Continens acta regum Michaelis et Iannis III., Brunsbergae, 1709* ; FRAKNÓI, *Ungarns Befreiung, 12 seq.*

³ See the nunciature reports in TSCHARYKOW, 72.

⁴ TRENTA, I., 132 *seqq.* ; THEINER, III., 620 ; KARTTUNEN, *Nonciat. Apost.*, 234. For the position of Ranucci and Buonvisi, see P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, dated August 26, 1673, Vat. Lib.

⁵ August, 1673 : *Cartari, *loc. cit.* He writes in April, 1673 : " Per qualche sospetto di legni Turcheschi furono mandati soldati a cavallo alla marina e rinforzati li presidii nei luoghi vicini al mare."

the bearers of the answer of the ruler of Persia to Clement's exhortation to take part in the Turkish war.¹ The answer was in the negative.²

The activity of the Russian envoy in Rome has only been brought to light in recent times, as the result of extensive research.³ Russia's friendly relations with the Turks were broken off when Sultan Mohammed IV. accepted the submission of Doroschenko, the hetman of Little Russia. Tsar Alexis Mikhailowic now felt himself threatened. In 1667, by the armistice of Andrussow, he put an end to the thirteen years' war with Poland, and entered into an alliance with his former enemy, by the terms of which Russia and Poland bound themselves to help each other in the event of a Turkish aggression. Such a case arose when, on July 11th, 1672, the Sultan crossed the Danube with 100,000 men, and made himself master of the fortress of Kamieniec in Podolia. Thereupon the Tsar conceived the plan of a league of all the Princes of Europe against the common enemy. He sent three ambassadors to the West, viz. Ukrainzeff to Stockholm, Copenhagen, and the Hague, Vinius to Paris, London, and Madrid, Paul Menzies von Pitfodels to Berlin, Dresden, Vienna, and Rome.⁴ Menzies was a Scottish Catholic who had been compelled to leave his country because of his faith and who had taken service, first with Poland and in 1621 with Russia. He left Moscow on October 20th, 1672, was given fair words at the secular courts and arrived in Rome on August 18th, 1673. The Pope received him in audience on August 28th,⁵ when he presented the letter of his sovereign.⁶

¹ They were received in audience on Sunday; **Avviso* of September 9, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. **Cartari, loc. cit.*

² **Barb.* 6337, p. 55, Vat. Lib.

³ N. TCHARYKOW (Ministre-Résident de Russie près le Saint-Siège), *Une ambassade russe à Rome au XVII^e siècle: Paul Menzies de Pitfodels* (Extrait du *Cosmos catholicus*), 1901.

⁴ TSCHARYKOW, 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 4, Facsimile of the Russian text; Latin translation in A. THEINER: *Monuments hist. relatifs aux règnes d'Alexis Mikhailovitch, Théodore III. et Pierre le Grand*, Roma, 1859.

In his answer the Pope expressed his joy at the step the Tsar had taken : he himself, he said, had never failed to give both warning and support against the Turkish peril, and for the future also he would not cease to exhort the Christian princes.¹

Meanwhile the situation in the East had undergone further changes. John Sobieski, with the help not only of the Pope, but that also of a subsidy of 20,000 florins contributed by the noble Cardinal Odescalchi,² had raised an army of 50,000 men. This remarkable man, who was not unworthy of the surname of the "Lion of the North", would not await the enemy in his own country, but boldly went forth to meet him. Fortune favoured him. On November 11th, 1673, St. Martin's day, he fell upon the camp of the Turks, which was too widely spread, near the fortress of Chocim on the Dnjestr, and in a murderous battle destroyed nearly the whole of the Turkish army.³ King Michael died at Lemberg the day before this victory, at the early age of 35, the victim of a malignant disease.⁴

Clement X. was informed of Sobieski's victory on December 15th, 1673⁵; he celebrated it with a High Mass at St. Peter's.⁶ At the end of April 1674, he received from the hands of Sobieski's envoy the great banner of green silk taken from the Turks at Chocim; he ordered it to be hung up in St. Peter's, as a token of Christendom's triumph.⁷ With a view

¹ TSCHARYKOW, 18.

² TRENTA, I., 315.

³ HAMMER, III. (1840), 665 seq.; COYER, *Hist. de J. Sobieski*, Paris, 1767, 221 seq.

⁴ TRENTA, I., 134 seqq. The **Avviso* of March 10, 1674 (Papal Sec. Arch.) describes the funeral service for Michael at St. Stanislaus', Rome.

⁵ *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini of December 16, 1673, *loc. cit.*

⁶ **Avviso* of December 23, 1673, *loc. cit.* A similar service was held at St. Stanislaus'; see **Avviso* of January 13, 1674, *loc. cit.*

⁷ **Avviso* of April 28, 1674, *loc. cit.*, and P. Mocenigo's letter of April 28, 1674, *loc. cit.* Sobieski's letter of November 20, 1673, announcing the victory and the dispatch of the banner in THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 622. Cf. also TRENTA, I., 136. Cartari (**Memorie*,

to giving effective help towards the Turkish war, the Pope decided to impose three tenths on the Italian clergy.¹ Unfortunately, the fruits of the victory could not be gathered, as all minds in Poland were busy with the question of the election of a King.² This question was one of the utmost interest for the neighbouring States—Austria, Brandenburg, Sweden, Russia, and even for France. There were no less than sixteen candidates. The Holy See's first concern, as at the time of the interregnum of 1668 and 1669, was that no heretic or schismatic should obtain the crown of the Yagellons, and that the Catholic character of the Polish State should remain unimpaired. Moreover, in view of the Turkish threat, it was imperative that the new King should be a good soldier; all else was of minor importance for the Holy See. Accordingly, in January and April 1674, the Pope exhorted the ecclesiastical and secular Estates of Poland, though only in general terms, to proceed without delay to the election of a prince who was both a good Catholic and a man of spirit.³ On his part, Buonvisi took a similar line of conduct in regard to the requests of the many candidates for the throne at the Diet of Convocation, which opened at Warsaw on January 15th.⁴ At his reception by the electoral Diet, on May 5th, he recommended no particular candidate, but contented himself with exhorting its members to select a sincere Catholic; if this was done he assured Poland of the Pope's continued goodwill and support.⁵ The nuncio had been not a little embarrassed by a letter from Nerli, the papal Secretary

loc. cit.) says that the banner could be seen hanging "sotto la loggia di mezzo nella parte interiore della chiesa". A medal was struck in its honour; see BONANNI, II., 731.

¹ *P. Mocenigo's letters to A. Contarini, March 17 and April 14, 1674, *loc. cit.*

² TRENTA, I., 137 *seqq.*, 143 *seqq.*; HIRSCH, *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 224 *seq.*

³ THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 623 *seqq.*, 626 *seqq.* Cf. **Acta consist.* for February 19, 1674, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ TRENTA, I., 140.

⁵ THEINER, III., 626 *seq*

of State, dated February 3rd, which, in view of the confusion which prevailed at the electoral Diet, put forward the candidature of the papal nephew, Gaspar Altieri. However, Rome promptly dropped the plan as soon as the nuncio explained, with complete frankness, the impossibility of such a candidature.¹

Buonvisi exerted himself to the utmost, with a view to preventing either the Calvinist Elector of Brandenburg or one of his sons from securing the crown of Poland. He spared neither exhortations to the Bishops nor promises of subsidies for the Turkish war, nor even the threat that in the event of a Protestant being elected, the Pope would break off diplomatic relations. For all that, in view of the uncertainty of the Polish character, he felt none too sure of success,² hence it was a great relief for him when at last, through the unexpected election of Sobieski on May 20th, 1674, the danger of a non-Catholic King was eliminated.³ Clement X. had a *Te Deum* sung in thanksgiving in the chapel of the Quirinal⁴; but the hope expressed in his letter of congratulations⁵ that the illustrious hero of so many battles would prosecute the Turkish war with energy, was not to be immediately realized, owing to a lack of the necessary forces; in fact in the summer of 1674, Sobieski was even compelled to withdraw his troops from the Ukraine in order to cover Lemberg against a fresh attack by the Turks. On August 24th a battle was fought near this last bulwark of the Empire, which ended in an unexpected victory for Sobieski.⁶ Two months earlier Clement X. had

¹ TRENTA, I., 147 *seqq.*, 322 *seqq.*

² HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XI., 334 *seq.*

³ TRENTA, I., 326-331; THEINER, *Monuments*, 84 *seqq.*; HIRSCH, *loc. cit.*, 249 *seq.*

⁴ **Avviso* of June 23, 1674, Papal Sec. Arch.; *cf.* *the report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., June 23, 1674, State Archives, Vienna.

⁵ TRENTA, I., 342.

⁶ COYER, *loc. cit.*, 288 *seq.*; ZINKEISEN, V., 77. Buonvisi was transferred to Vienna at this time; see TRENTA, I., 163 *seqq.*

dispatched a further subsidy to Poland.¹ As the war continued he sanctioned, in May, 1676, the imposition of a tax on the Polish clergy,² but he did not live to see the issue of the struggle.

Francesco Martellio was appointed in his place on September 15, 1675; see THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 635.

¹ Cf. *Cam. div.*, III., State Archives, Rome.

² THEINER, *Mon. Pol.*, III., 638.

CHAPTER VI.

CLEMENT X.'S ACTIVITY WITHIN THE CHURCH—THE JUBILEE OF 1675—CREATIONS OF CARDINALS—DISPUTES WITH LOUIS XIV—DEATH OF THE POPE.

(1.)

AMONG the many encroachments in the sphere of papal authority which Louis XIV. permitted himself, was an ordinance of the Council of State of March 1669, by which the French Crown arrogated to itself the right to pronounce in purely ecclesiastical controversies between the Bishops and the Regulars. The protests against this innovation, which the Holy See caused to be made through the nuncio, remained unheeded by the King of France.¹ The affair was not yet settled at the time of Clement X.'s death. This was done by his successor in his celebrated Constitution of June 21st, 1670, which laid down rules, in force even at this day, about preaching and the administration of the Sacrament of Penance by Regulars. Before they can be allowed to preach publicly in a church belonging to their Order, Regulars must present themselves to the Ordinary of the place and obtain his blessing: outside the churches of their Order, in addition to the authorization of their Superior, Regulars must have the express permission of the Ordinary concerned before they may enter the pulpit, but no Bishop may issue a general prohibition forbidding Regulars to preach in their churches. Regulars receive from their own Superior, both jurisdiction and approval for the administration of the Sacrament of Penance in respect of their own brethren and all persons, even seculars, in the service of the monastery or who have food and lodging there, that is quite independently of the Bishops. But for other persons a religious must not only be approved by his

¹ GÉRIN, II., 380 *seq.*

Superior, but likewise by the Bishop in whose diocese he is to hear confessions. Difficulties about the privileges of Regulars must be submitted, not to the metropolitan, but to the Popè.¹ Whilst these ordinances were put in practice by all countries, a parliamentary decree of September 12th, 1672, forbade their application in France.²

The Pope had likewise to deal with the protests of the secular princes, more especially with those of the Spanish Government, against Gregory XIV.'s decrees regulating the right of asylum. Clement X. had become accurately acquainted with these questions during the pontificate of his predecessor, both as Bishop of Camerino and as Secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars. He ordered the continuation of the deliberations on the subject by the special Congregation set up by Clement IX. for the purpose.³ However, the suggestions made by it at the end of 1671, with a view to a settlement of the disputes with the Spanish authorities at Milan and Naples, were not approved. At Milan the pretensions of the Duke of Osuna grew steadily, and Cardinal Litta had to protest against injuries to his dignity,⁴ and at Naples also there was a recrudescence of disputes.⁵ At Milan

¹ *Bull.*, XVIII., 55 seqq. Cf. *Dict. de théol.*, III., 95 seqq.

² GÉRIN, II., 477.

³ Sitzings took place on September 24 and December 17, 1670, February 13, March 19, April 8, 19, and 30, July 9, October 5, November 6 and 18, December 3, 7, and 27, 1671. On December 28, 1671, Card. Altieri informed the Pope of the outcome of the deliberations. The Pontiff decided to lay certain proposals before the Spanish Government through nuncio Marescotti. Thus end the " *Atti della congregazione particolare deputata dalla s. m. di Clemente IX. e confermata da N. S. Clemente X. sopra le doglianze de' principi secolari contro l'osservanza della bolla di Gregorio XIV. in materia della immunità, libertà e giurisdizione ecclesiastica, 1668 al 1671 ". MS. in my possession.

⁴ *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, January 16, April 23, July 2, August 13, November 5, 1672, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁵ *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, December 3, 1672, *ibid.*

the situation had become intolerable ; complaints about it mark the entire pontificate of Clement X.¹ This circumstance by itself alone shows how unfair it was to represent the Pope as unduly partial to the Spaniards.² Madrid was anything but satisfied with Clement X. ; on the contrary, complaints were heard that no favours could be got from Rome. According to Mocenigo the Spanish Government was particularly irritated by the refusal of the permission, urgently demanded on more than one occasion, of raising a tenth from the clergy in America. In the secular sphere also numerous conflicts arose between Madrid and Rome. Thus the Viceroys of Naples alleged that escaped bandits found a refuge in the Papal States. On the occasion of a rising at Messina the Spaniards complained that out of consideration for France, the Pope did not lend a hand in the suppression of the rebellion.³ On the other hand, Rome was very dissatisfied with Spain's attitude on the Turkish question.⁴

With no secular Power was Clement X. on better terms than with the Emperor, whose deep piety was much appreciated in Rome. It was, however, impossible to overlook Leopold's lack of energy and consequent dependence on his ministers, as well as Vienna's habitual dilatoriness. The result was that even a nuncio of Albrizzi's energy failed to obtain satisfaction in cases of manifest interference by the Government in ecclesiastical affairs.⁵ The German clergy also had their grievances, especially in respect of the way in which the Concordat was carried out ; the three ecclesiastical Electors complained of these infringements to the Pope in 1673 in a

¹ *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, February 11, April 22, 1673, February 10, September 8 and 22, 1674, March 9, 1675, *ibid.* Cf. also *the Brief to King Charles of Spain, January 5, 1676, *Epist.*, IV.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

² This opinion is strongly held by the anonymous author of " *Nuovo governo di Roma sotto P. Clemente X. ", *Barb.* LIX., 57.

³ MOCENIGO, in BERCHET, II., 390.

⁴ See above, p. 423.

⁵ LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 47 seq.

special memorial.¹ The Curia was not wholly satisfied with the attitude of the Electors during the war in Holland, were it only because it considered the defence of Poland against the Turkish aggression as very much more important.² In Portugal orderly conditions were at last replacing a long-drawn confusion. A Portuguese ambassador was once more appointed, and he arrived in Rome during the lifetime of Clement IX. He was Francisco de Sousa, Count of Sousa, who did homage to the new Pope on May 22nd, 1670.³ Thereupon the Lisbon nunciature also received a new occupant. Francesco Ravizza was appointed to the post on August 12th, 1670; he was also the bearer of the Bulls of confirmation of the Bishops and other prelates whose names had been submitted by the Regent. Peace was thus initiated, but even so there was no lack of difficulties in the sphere of ecclesiastical policy.⁴

With a view to the observance of discipline in the Italian convents of nuns Clement X. tightened the regulations concerning the enclosure.⁵ These were carried through in Rome by Carpegna, the splendid Cardinal Vicar.⁶

Clement X. undertook a number of beatifications and canonizations.⁷ On April 12th, 1671, after the prescribed

¹ GAERTNER, *Corp. iur. eccl.*, II., 322.

² MENTZ, II., 199.

³ **Acta consist.*, Vat. Lib. The Pope's *address in *Epist. ad princ.*, I., p. 16, *ibid.* Cf. also ADEMOLLO, *Indipendenza Portoghese*, 80 seq.

⁴ SCHÄFER, V., 162. Cf. ADEMOLLO, *loc. cit.*, 82.

⁵ *Bull.* XVIII., 606 seq.

⁶ Cartari, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.* On Gaspare Carpegna and his reforming activities there are many *documents in the Archives of the Roman Vicariate. Cf. DE SANTI, *Quarant' hore* (1919), 312 seqq. Carpegna (see MORONI, X., 101) owned a rich library and a valuable collection of coins; see MONTERCHI, *Scelta di medaglioni più rari nella biblioteca del card. G. Carpegna*, Roma, 1679 (Lat. Amstelodami, 1685).

⁷ "Decoro suo è la gloria de' santi" he had engraved on one of his medals; cf. E. ARISTO, *Memorie sulla vita di Clemente X.*, Roma, 1863, 27.

preliminaries had been carried out,¹ the canonization took place in St. Peter's of Cajetan of Tiena, the founder of the Theatines ; Francis Borgia, General of the Jesuits ; Philip Benizi, a reformer of the Servites ; Louis Beltram, a relative of St. Vincent Ferrer ; and of Rose of Lima.² In the person of the latter South America was given its first Saint.

On May 5th, 1672, St. Peter's witnessed the reading of the Brief of beatification of Pius V.,³ after which his picture was unveiled above the altar of the Chair and the *Te Deum* sung. The basilica was richly adorned with hangings made under Alexander VII. and Clement IX. The picture of Pius V., seen in the act of beholding in a vision the battle of Lepanto, was by Lazzaro Baldi, whilst the music for the occasion was directed by the famous conductor Onorato Benevoli.⁴

In 1675, there were further beatifications ; in April that of John of the Cross ; in July that of Francis Solano ; in November that of the Martyrs of Gorkum.⁵ By a Brief of January 22nd, 1671, Clement X. approved the cult of Ludovica

¹ *Acta consist.* for March 3 and 16, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch.

² **Avviso* of April 18, 1671, Papal Sec. Arch. ; NOVAES, X., 234 seqq. ; *Bull.* XVIII., 187 seqq., 215 seqq. *Ibid.*, I seqq., II seqq. the decrees for the canonization of Peter of Alcantara and Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi (these were not published by Clement X.).

³ April 27, *Bull.* XVIII., 304. See **Avviso* of May 7, 1672, *loc. cit.* The **Avviso* of May 28, 1672, says : " Nella basilica di S. Maria Maggiore nella gran cappella del Pontefice Sisto V. sotto il bellissimo deposito e statua di marmo del beato Papa Pio V., che li fece fare il detto Pontefice Sisto, si è fatta una piccola cappella sotterranea, nel cui altare vi si è posta la cassa di piombo con il suo santo corpo per celebrarsi in avvenire la messa."

⁴ Cartari, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ **Avvisi* of April 27, July 6, November 30, 1675, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Bull.* XVIII., 526, 528, 600 ; *Cartari, *loc. cit.* ; NOVAES, X., 252 seq. Cf. MEUFFELS, *Les Martyrs de Gorcom*, Paris, 1908, 182. NOVAES, X., 249 seqq., on the canonization by simple decree of St. Bruno, founder of the Carthusians, *ibid.*, 244 seqq., and 247 seqq., on his work on behalf of other Beati. Cf. also FORCELLA, VI., 366.

Albertoni (*obit* 1533) whose tomb in S. Francesco a Ripa was adorned by Cardinal Paluzzo Altieri with the Beata's statue of a profound religious inspiration.¹

A decree of July 30th, 1672, laid down detailed directions concerning the removal of relics from the Catacombs, which were to be exposed to public veneration only after examination by the Cardinal Vicar. Severe penalties were laid down against those who gave new names to relics, or who demanded money for the execution of documents of authentication.²

Already in the days of Clement VIII. a small house had been founded opposite S. Giovanni de' Fiorentini for the reception of such converts to the Catholic faith as became destitute in consequence of their conversion. Prompted by the splendid Oratorian Mariano Soccino, Clement X. acquired a palace in the Ripetta to house the institution which was also suitably endowed by him. At a later date the establishment was transferred to the neighbourhood of the church of S. Maria delle Grazie, not far from the Porta Angelica.³

Clement IX. had sought to obtain the extradition of the adventurer Francesco Borri, a physician and alchemist who was also accused of heresy⁴; this his successor secured at length. In August 1670, the wretched man was confined in

¹ FRASCHETTI, 396 *seqq.* At Rome I saw in private hands an " *Istoria della b. Ludovica Albertoni descritta da P. F. F. Gennaro de Malta d'Hero Napolet. Min. Ref., dedicata al cardinale Paluzzi Altieri 1671 ". In print, but extremely scarce (the only copy in Rome is in the library of the convent of Tor de' Specchi), is the *Vita della b. Lud. Albertoni scritta da FR. GIOV. PAOLO . . . predicatore dei Min. Rif. e procuratore nella causa della sua canonizzazione*, Roma, 1672.

² NOVAES, X., 246 *seqq.*

³ *Bull.* XVIII., 545 *seqq.*; MORONI, L., 15 *seq.*; NOVAES, X., 254 *seqq.* The foundation of the capital for the new house of converts, especially those of German nationality, was the property of Card. Rasponi who, on the advice of the Card. of Hesse, left it by will for this purpose; see the report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., December 7, 1675, State Archives, Vienna.

⁴ See above, p. 127, n. 3.

the dungeon of the Roman Inquisition.¹ His trial was concluded two years later ; he abjured his errors in the Minerva and was condemned to imprisonment for life.²

It was a particular satisfaction to Clement X. that he was able to celebrate the jubilee of 1675. On Christmas Eve 1674, he opened the Holy Door. Queen Christine and other princesses, as well as some German princes, were present at the function.³ On this occasion the Romans saw for the first time the rich tabernacle in the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, executed after the designs of Bernini and said to have cost 40,000 scudi.⁴ The Pope likewise bestowed on the church of the Prince of the Apostles a magnificent carpet which is used to this day on solemn occasions.

In consequence of the troubled situation the number of pilgrims was somewhat lessened, but even so it was considerable ; thus, the German national hospice of the Anima took care of over 10,000,⁵ and the celebrated Archconfraternity of Trinità de' Pellegrini provided for 280,496 strangers.⁶ Laura Caterina Altieri contributed largely to the necessary funds, as did the treasurer Giovanni Francesco

¹ **Avviso* of August 16, 1670, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. FR. COLONNA, *Fr. Massimo* (1911), 30 ; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 7 seq., 89 seq.

² **Avviso* of October 1, 1672, *loc. cit.* When the Duke D'Estrées fell sick Borri was allowed to treat him ; see a letter of P. Mocenigo, July 6, 1675, in GÉRIN, II., 609. Card. Nerli also received medical treatment at the hands of Borri ; cf. *letter of Mocenigo, dated July 20, 1675, Vat. Lib. This happened repeatedly at a subsequent period ; see ADEMOLLO, in *Fanfulla della Domenica*, 1880, No. 24 ; *id.*, *Il matrimonio di suor Maria Pulcheria*, 167 ; FR. COLONNA, *Fr. Massimo*, 43 seq. ; *ibid.*, 44, for Borri's death (1695).

³ **Avviso* of December 29, 1674, *loc. cit.* Cf. MANNI, 211 seqq.

⁴ Cartari, **Memorie*, *loc. cit.* Cf. F. M. PHAEBEUS, *De origine et progressu solemnitatis anni iubilaei, Romae*, 1675.

⁵ SCHMIDLIN, 465. An **Avviso* of March 23, 1675 (Papal Sec. Arch.), announces the arrival of Prince Charles Ernest of Hesse for the jubilee.

⁶ MANNI, 214. Cf. **Avviso* of April 6, 1675, *loc. cit.*

Giannetti, who entertained more than 2,000 pilgrims at his own expense.¹ Queen Christine also made generous contributions and in Holy Week she washed the feet of thirteen women pilgrims in the building of the Archconfraternity.² On September 18th, Clement X. repaired to Trinità de' Pellegrini to wash the feet of twelve pilgrims.³ An inscription in the entrance hall, near his bust by Bernini, recalls the memory of the rich alms which the Pope bestowed on the institution.⁴

If in the course of the jubilee year the Pope was only able to bless the people on seven different occasions, and to visit the seven churches only five times,⁵ the explanation was the bad state of his health. The eighty-five-years-old man was tortured by gout and catarrh. For all that during the octave of the feast of the Rosary he took part in the function at S. Maria sopra Minerva, when he himself led the recitation of the Rosary, to the great edification of the vast congregation.⁶ Gladly would he have done more. "At this time," he observed to one of the prelates, "when we should like to be an eagle, our state of health impedes us more than ever."⁷ Among the Cardinals, Francesco Barberini's piety was particularly remarked.⁸

In the processions of the Confraternities, many of which came from outside Rome, one saw, as on former occasions, a

¹ *Cartari, *loc. cit.*; MANNI, 214.

² " *Si trattenne tre hore, lavò li piedi a tredici pellegrine, a ciascuna delle quali donò un doblone da sei scudi, e di più fece dare un testone a ciascuno pellegrino che giungeranno al numero di 1700; donò alla confraternità 200 doble e vi lasciò la biancaria della quale si era servita calcolando che il donativo ascendesse a mille e dugento scudi compreso quello de' pellegrini " (Cartari, *loc. cit.*).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ FORCELLA, VII., 215.

⁵ **Avvisi* of 1675, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. Cartari, *loc. cit.*

⁶ **Avviso* of October 19, 1675, *loc. cit.*

⁷ *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

number of symbolical representations.¹ The Spaniards' traditional celebration of the Resurrection in their national church in the Piazza Navona, at which Queen Christine was also present, is said to have been particularly splendid.² Various churches in Rome were restored and embellished during the jubilee year,³ and that of Gesù e Maria in the Corso was consecrated on January 28th.⁴ In the course of the restoration of the high altar in the Pantheon a metal casket was found containing the bones of Saints which Boniface IV. had placed in it on the occasion of the consecration of the church in 606.⁵ Advantage was also taken of the jubilee year to revoke the permission granted in 1671 by Cardinal Altieri to hold bull-fights in the Colosseum. A large cross was erected within the immense structure in which, as was generally believed, many Martyrs had suffered. Clement X. also put up frescoes representing the martyrdom of some of the heroes of the faith.⁶

One of the most responsible duties of the Head of the Church is the choice of new Cardinals. At that period selection was rendered extraordinarily difficult owing to the jealousies of the secular Powers and their struggle to secure so strong a representation in the Sacred College that to grant it would have been tantamount to abdicating. The young King of

¹ **Avvisi* of April 13 and 20, 1675, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

² **Avviso* of April 27, 1675, *loc. cit.* Cf. *Cartari, *loc. cit.*

³ *Cartari, *loc. cit.* For Rainaldi's altar in S. Lorenzo in Lucina, see HEMPEL, *Rainaldi*, 76 *seq.* When S. Giuliano de' Belgi was restored the statue of the Patron Saint was put up on the façade; see reproduction in *Catholicon*, I. (1899).

⁴ HEMPEL, 68 *seqq.*

⁵ **Avviso* of March 9, 1675, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. the *note by Bartol. Nappini in *Vat.* 9200, p. 255, *Vat. Lib.* Rome received several new churches under Clement X. The **Avviso* of September 27, 1670 (*loc. cit.*), says: On Sunday Cardinal Barberini consecrated "la nuova chiesa che fece fabricare da' fondamenti della Santissima Incarnazione del Verbo Divino delle Carmelitane scalze di S. Maria Maddalena de Pazzi."

⁶ COLAGROSSI, *L'anfiteatro Flavio*, Firenze, 1913, 214 *seqq.*

France especially sought to increase his influence in Rome, through Cardinals wholly devoted to his person ; to this end he very skilfully managed to get his efforts seconded by letters of recommendation from the friendly rulers of Poland and Portugal.

The election of Clement X. was hardly over before the French renewed their pressing demands for the red hat for César d'Estrées, Bishop of Laon, whilst the Emperor Leopold promoted the candidature of the Margrave Bernard Gustavus of Baden-Durlach, Prince Abbot of Fulda.¹

All the courts, especially that of Paris, were exceedingly annoyed when Clement X., in his first creation of Cardinals, on December 20th, 1670, only considered the three men who had rendered substantial services to the Holy See. These were the Secretary of State, Federigo Borromeo, a Milanese who had been nuncio in Madrid under Clement IX. ; the Maestro di Camera, Canullo Massimo, who had also been nuncio in Madrid ; and the *Datarius*, Gaspar Carpegna.²

The Powers, above all France, did not relax their efforts because of this initial failure ; on the contrary they redoubled them. On Lionne's advice, Louis XIV. dispatched César d'Estrées to Rome as envoy extraordinary, so as to enable him to forward his elevation in person.³ The pressure of France was such that the Pope was at last compelled to yield. All Europe was amazed at the success that had hitherto marked the young King's undertakings, and appeared as it were spellbound by the conviction of his irresistible might. A

¹ GÉRIN, II., 412 *seqq.*, 414 *seqq.* ; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 107, 109 *seq.*

² GUARNACCI, I., 11 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, VII., 203 *seqq.* A contemporary describes F. Borromeo as “ *di natura nobile, generoso, disinvolto, di maniera dolce e magnanima. Sarebbe buon Papa et è uno de' confidenti di S. Stà ”. Of Massimo he says : “ *Soggetto di gran meriti e di molta modestia e cortesia, habile per esser Papa, amico delle virtù, amato da' Romani, stimato nella corte ” (Compendioso ragguaglio di tutti i cardinali viventi nel pontificato di Clemente X., *Barb.* 4704, Vat. Lib.).

³ GÉRIN, II., 439 *seqq.*

letter in code from the papal Secretary of State to the Spanish nuncio, dated August 1st, 1671, shows that this state of mind prevailed even in the highest circles in Rome.¹ D'Estrées was promised that the Pope would admit him into the Sacred College, together with the Abbot of Fulda, at the next creation; but already France was demanding that Poland should also be given satisfaction by the elevation of Pierre de Bonsy, Archbishop of Toulouse.² The Cabinet of Madrid, on its part, also forcibly insisted on its claims being met at the next promotion. Weary of so much pressure, the Pope named D'Estrées and the Abbot of Fulda Cardinals *in petto* at a consistory of August 24th, 1671.³ D'Estrées's arrogance now became intolerable. He let a fortnight go by before presenting himself at the Quirinal; and when he did so at last, it was, as he himself writes, not to express his thanks, but in order to give the Pope an opportunity to explain himself on the subject of the promotion. As Clement X., in view of the negotiations with Spain, was obliged to put off the publication of D'Estrées's nomination, the latter had the effrontery to express to the Pope his astonishment that more consideration should have been shown to weak Spain than to a prince who disposed of an army of 200,000 men and a powerful fleet!⁴

¹ " *Le fortune della Francia, le forze unite, gli eserciti pronti, gli acquisti fatti hanno cagionato lo spavento in tutta Europa, e vorrebbero gli Spagnoli che solo il Papa resistesse alle permissioni divine, opponendosi alla felicità di quella nazione, unicamente capace hora di soccorrere alla depressa christianità. Solea dire Clemente IX. che il maggior servitio, il quale potesse farsi alla monarchia di Spagna, era di obligarsi la Francia per haver in essa un capitale di gratitudine, di cui potesse usarsi in beneficio della monarchia medesima." *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, pp. 13b-14, Papal Sec. Arch.

² GÉRIN, II., 439.

³ GUARNACCI, I., 25 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 208 *seqq.* Cf. A. RÜBSAM, *Kard. Bernhard Gustav, Markgraf von Baden-Durlach, Fürstabt von Fulda*, 1671-7, Fulda, 1923. As a Benedictine, Margrave Gustav Adolf took the name of Bernhard Gustav.

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 444 *seqq.*

Discussions on the cardinalitial promotions with the Cabinets of Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, continued throughout the autumn and winter. In consequence of the furious mutual jealousy of these Powers it was exceedingly difficult, in fact it was almost impossible, to find a solution that would satisfy everybody. Threats, in part quite brutal ones, were not wanting on the part of both Spanish¹ and French Governments.²

In a consistory of February 22nd, 1672, Clement X., who had already guaranteed D'Estrées's elevation by a Brief of September 21st, 1671,³ announced the following decision: of the two reserved *in petto* on August 24th, 1671, the Prince Abbot of Fulda was proclaimed, whilst the other continued *in petto*; at the same time the following were raised to the cardinalate and published at once: Pierre de Bonsy, Archbishop of Toulouse, the Dominican Vincenzo Maria Orsini; a third Cardinal was reserved *in petto*.⁴ It was an open secret that the latter was none other than the Jesuit Eberhard Nidhard, a native of Mühlviertel,⁵ who, as confessor to the Queen of Spain, became Inquisitor-General and first minister in 1666, and in 1671, was named Archbishop of Edessa to enable him to become Spanish ambassador in Rome.⁶ This appointment was intended as a compensation for the fact that Nidhard had been obliged to yield to his opponents in Spain. Nidhard had been the Emperor's candidate for the cardinalate

¹ *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, August 29, September 12, 1671, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

² GÉRIN, II., 446 *seqq.*

³ *Ibid.*, 448.

⁴ **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.; GUARNACCI, I., 30 *seqq.*; CARDELLA, VII., 211 *seqq.* Cf. the *Briefs to Bonsy and the Prince Abbot of Fulda, February 21 and 28, 1672, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, the *Brief to Orsini of March 1, 1672, pressing him to accept the cardinalate.

⁵ For E. Nidhard, see SOTWEL, 441 *seqq.*; CRÉTINEAU-JOLY, IV³, 108 *seqq.*; *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XCVIII. (1887), 139-154.

⁶ *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna of November 7 and 21, 1671, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

already in 1669 ; at the present moment his publication was still dependent on the issue of the negotiations with the Spanish Cabinet.

Although Clement X. had considered all the great Catholic Powers, none of them were wholly satisfied. Spain's bitter complaints were particularly unjustified, since each branch of the House of Habsburg had been given a Cardinal.¹

When the Duke D'Estrées, César's brother, came to Rome as Louis XIV's ambassador, Francesco Nerli took up the post of nuncio in Paris.² On May 16th, Cardinals D'Estrées and Nidhard, until then reserved *in petto*, were proclaimed ; the former was ordered to remain in Rome as French Crown Cardinal.³

It grieved Clement X., who cherished grateful memories of his predecessor, that he had been compelled to give precedence to the candidates of the Powers over Felice Rospigliosi. He now made good that omission by raising the latter to the purple on January 16th, 1773.⁴ On June 12th, of the same year, there took place, to the surprise even of the majority of the Sacred College,⁵ the creation of five new Cardinals, one of whom was reserved *in petto*.⁶ They were all

¹ See the justification of the promotion in the *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, 139, of February 24 and April 23, 1672 (*loc. cit.*). In the first we read : " È stranissimo . . . che gli Spagnuoli si figurino di poter dar legge e por confini alla indipendente libertà del Papa nelle promozioni."

² GÉRIN, II., 460 *seq.*

³ **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch. ; GÉRIN, II., 465. In a *Brief of May 16, 1672, Clement X. announces the nomination of D'Estrées to the Kings of France and Portugal, and that of Nidhard to the Queen-Regent of Spain. *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ See P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, January 26, 1673, Vat. Lib. ; GUARNACCI, I., 46 ; CARDELLA, VII., 219.

⁵ See *P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, June 17, 1673, *loc. cit.*

⁶ General notices on the career of the nominees in GUARNACCI, I., 49 *seqq.* ; CARDELLA, VII., 220 *seqq.* (the creation is here erroneously assigned to June 13).

Italians and men of such outstanding merit that the choice met with general approval.¹ Francesco Nerli, nuncio at Warsaw [1670-71] and in Paris [1672-73], had become Secretary of State on the death of Federigo Borromeo.² Conscientious and of angelic innocence, as a contemporary writes, he was feared by reason of his strictness.³ The Genoese Girolamo Gastaldi had earned a great reputation as Alexander VII.'s General Commissary at the time of the plague in Rome,⁴ and he retained it as Clement X.'s treasurer. His name is known to all pilgrims to Rome through the two circular churches at the entrance to the Corso which he built at his own expense,⁵ a fact which inscriptions on the gables proclaim to posterity.⁶ The memory of Girolamo Casanata is kept equally fresh in the Eternal City by the magnificent library in the Dominican convent of S. Maria sopra Minerva, which bears his name. Its beginnings go back to Cardinal Torquemada and Giovanni Maria Castellani, Gregory XV.'s physician. A marble statue of Cardinal Casanata by Le Gros still adorns the great hall of the library, erected by Carlo Fontana. Casanata attached to his foundation a yearly income for the purchase of books, a theological school and two

¹ See *P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, June 17, 1673, *loc. cit.* Mocenigo mentions the illumination of the palace of St. Mark, of which he says that it surpassed anything hitherto attempted in this line.

² F. Borromeo died on February 19, 1673, at the early age of 56, whereupon Altieri took over the Secretariate of State also (**Avviso* of February 25, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch.; *letters of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, February 16, 18, 25, 1673, Vat. Lib.) until Nerli's return from France, (see Cartari, **Memorie. loc. cit.*). Nerli's gratitude appears in the unmeasured praise of Clement X. in an inscription of 1677, in S. Basilio (see FORCELLA, XII., 120).

³ Cf. **Scrittura politica sopra il conclave con la descrizione di tutti i cardinali* of 1686, Liechtenstein Archives, Vienna, A., f. 3.

⁴ On the plague, *cf.* p. 34.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 307.

⁶ FRASCHETTI, 399 *seqq.*

chairs for public lectures on the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas.¹ He was one of Clement X.'s old friends, and had rendered him great services at the time of his disgrace under Clement IX.² Pietro Basadonna was named out of consideration for the Republic of St. Mark. He was a scholarly man and had represented his native city in Rome under Alexander VII. The fifth of the new Cardinals, Federigo Baldeschi Colonna, was reserved *in petto*, and only proclaimed on December 17th, 1674.³ He was related to the Pope, had acted as nuncio in Switzerland from 1665 to 1668, and distinguished himself as Secretary of Propaganda and Assessor of the Inquisition.

Though France had been adequately considered in the previous creations, Louis XIV. raised further pretensions. He wanted the Pope to name a Frenchman, Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Marseilles, as Polish Crown-Cardinal, and a German, Wilhelm von Fürstenberg, as French Crown-Cardinal!⁴ The Duke D'Estrées, supported by his brother the Cardinal, supported this scheme with the utmost eagerness. The Pope was being incessantly asked for extraordinary audiences, on the plea that urgent dispatches from the French Government required an immediate reply. This happened, for instance, on May 21st, 1675, when D'Estrées spoke with great violence of his dispute with Cardinal Altieri, and stressed the vast military resources of his King. He particularly pointed to the French fleet sent to the support of Messina, which had risen against the Spanish⁵; the fleet happened to lie at anchor at Civitavecchia. The Pope referred the ambassador to the mediator chosen by himself for the settlement of the dispute, and added: "For a long time you have been speaking, not of

¹ *Mon. ord. Praed. hist.*, XIII., 335; BLUME, III., 126 *seqq.*; BERTHIER, *L'église de la Minerve*, 401 *seqq.* M. D'ANGELO, *Il card. Girolamo Casanata*, 1620-1700, Roma, 1923.

² See the **Scrittura politica*, quoted above, p. 477, n. 3.

³ **Acta consist.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 558 *seqq.*, 561 *seqq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 583. On the rising at Messina, see F. GUARDONE, *Storia della rivoluzione di Messina contro la Spagna* (1671-1680), Palermo, 1906.

the affairs of your King, but of your own ; we know that this is not his Majesty's intention, and we shall inform him accordingly." The ambassador now besought the Pope to refrain from doing so, after which he turned the conversation to Forbin's nomination, when he once more poured forth the most violent accusations against Cardinal Altieri. Clement X., anxious to put an end to this painful altercation, rang his bell, an act which the ambassador sought to prevent by seizing the Pope's hand. Meanwhile the *Coppiere* had entered the room. D'Estrées told him in a superior tone that he had further information to submit to the Pope. There now ensued a scene almost unparalleled in the history of diplomacy. D'Estrées accused the Pope of having broken his word in connection with the nomination of Cardinals. Clement X. wished to put an end to the audience but D'Estrées refused to go, and repeated his previous accusations in even more violent terms ; as the Pope, after ringing his bell three times, was about to rise, D'Estrées laid his hands on the chest of the eighty-five-year-old man and forced him back into his chair. The incensed Pontiff exclaimed " You are excommunicated ! " and put an end to the audience.¹

¹ See an authentic account of the audience in the report in cypher, dispatched to the French nuncio, Spada, by Altieri, on May 22, 1675, for submission to Louis XIV., printed by GÉRIN, II., 585, n. 3. The Card. of Hesse's *report to Leopold I., dated May 25, 1675, agrees in substance with this account. The final scene is thus described by the Cardinal of Hesse : " Obligò [D'Estrées] il Papa non solo a sonar la terza volta il campanello, ma a muoversi dalla sedia, al che l'ambasciatore s'oppose con altro atto più irreverente del primo, anzi inimaginabile, havendo alzate, stese e portate le sue mani verso la S^{ta} Sua per impedirglielo, et all' hora N. S. con senso di savio biasimo dell'atto medesimo gli disse ch'egli era scomunicato per la violenza, che usava alla persona della S^{ta} Sua. Questo è il racconto storico del successo, le cui particolarità parrebbero incredibili, se così precisamente, si come le ho descritte, non mi fossero state riferite dalla viva voce di N. S." Mocenigo's account of the audience in his *letter of June 1, 1675 (*loc. cit.*), to A. Contarini is based on rumours.

This incident, which caused an enormous sensation all over Rome, by no means intimidated the aged Pontiff; on the contrary, Clement X. accepted the challenge and hastened the projected nomination of Cardinals, at which France's candidates were passed over. A consistory was held on May 27th, 1675, at which six Cardinals were created. They were four Romans, viz. Galeazzo Marescotti, Alessandro Crescenzi, Bernardino Rocci, and Fabrizio Spada; furthermore, the Neapolitan Mario Alberizzi, and an Englishman, viz. Philip Thomas Howard.¹

Galeazzo Marescotti, assessor of the Inquisition under Alexander VII., nuncio in Poland from 1668-1670, and in Spain from 1670 to 1675, was distinguished for many excellent qualities, especially for his great devotion to the Holy See, so that a contemporary could say of him that he had a heart of bronze for the defence of the papacy.²

Fabrizio Spada had filled the nunciature of Turin from 1672-74, and that of Paris from 1674-75. He was learned and liberal and his piety was such that there were those who reproached him with eccentricity.³ Great also was the piety of the Somaschan Alessandro Crescenzi, first nuncio in Turin from 1646-1652, and after that, Bishop of Bitonto, where he practically gave all he possessed to the poor. Clement X. made him his Maestro di Camera.⁴ Bernardino Rocci held the

¹ On the nominees, cf. GUARNACCI, I., 71 seqq.; CARDELLA, 230 seqq.; GÉRIN, II., 595 seqq.

² Cf. **Scrittura politica*, quoted on p. 477, n. 3. Marescotti's papers were unfortunately scattered. The largest portion went into the Corvisieri Library, Rome, which was sold by auction in 1901 (see *Biblioteca Corvisieri*, II., 31 seqq., 413 seqq., 425 seqq., 453 seqq.). A MS. dealing with the Polish nunciature at Hiersemann's (Leipzig), Catalogue 477 (1920), No. 67. For Marescotti's Polish nunciature cf. also CIAMPI, I., 55 seqq., 317 seqq. There is a marble bust of the Cardinal in the Palazzo Ruspoli, Rome. Cf. LITTA, 43.

³ " *Dotto, arguto, generoso, caritativo et officioso . . . assai propenso alla divotione, in che tal volta ha usato qualche semplicità per li modi improprii, che prattica di spirituale," *Scrittura politica*, loc. cit.

⁴ Cf. above, 443.

nunciature of Naples from 1661 to 1668 ; he was Maggiordomo to Clement IX. and Clement X.¹

Mario Alberizzi had been secretary to two Congregations under Alexander VII., viz. to Propaganda and to the Congregations of Bishops and Regulars. From 1671 to 1675 he was nuncio with the Emperor.² In addition to great piety he was distinguished for wide learning : his select library he left to Propaganda.

Philip Thomas Howard, a son of Henry, Duke of Norfolk, and accordingly described as Cardinal Norfolk, had entered the Dominican Order at an early age. He had sacrificed the whole of his patrimony for the spiritual needs of his countrymen in Flanders. In 1662 he returned to England to act as chaplain to Catherine of Portugal, Charles II.'s Queen, and as Vicar Apostolic he spent himself in the service of his persecuted fellow Catholics until he, too, was banished from the country in 1674.³

Not only Cardinal D'Estrées but all the other Cardinals of French sympathies refused to call on the new Cardinals, and avoided all intercourse with them. Such was the Duc D'Estrées's excitement and annoyance that he was taken seriously ill. Clement X. returned good for evil by giving proof of sincere concern for the Duke. It took D'Estrées eight months to recover ; during that time business was transacted by his brother, the Cardinal.⁴ Louis XIV. refused to accept the

¹ See above, p. 443.

² LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 498 seqq.

³ TOURON, *Hist. des hommes illustres de l'ordre de St. Dominique*, Paris, 1743-49, V., 698 seqq., and the monograph by PALMER, London, 1869. In a *Brief of March 27, 1674, Clement X. eulogized Norfolk's "heroica pietas" in the midst of persecution ; *Epist.*, IV.-V., Papal Sec. Arch. *Ibid.*, the *Brief of Howard's nomination, dated June 4, 1675, and another of July 30, to the Queen of England. Howard's letters, published by Bede Jarret, O.P., in *Publications of the Cath. Record Society*, XXV. (1925), 1-92.

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 608 seq.

letters of the new Cardinals ; on the other hand he did not refuse papal Briefs for, he affirmed, his opposition was not aimed at the Pope, but at Altieri.¹

(2.)

France, that permanent theatre of the sectarian intrigues of which she had become a second home, continued to be a source of fear and anxiety for the Holy See.

As soon as the conclusion of the so-called Clementine Peace² was assured, the general public seemed, for a time at least, to lose all interest in the Jansenists. The papal reply to the four Bishops, which was to set the seal upon the whole affair, was indeed anxiously awaited, but the very day before its arrival in Paris, February 1st, 1669, Bargellini wrote that a most extraordinary quiet prevailed with regard to the Jansenist question, as if Jansenius had never existed.³ Two years later the Venetian ambassador in Paris, Giovanni Morosini, was of opinion that the Jansenists were of no practical consequence.⁴ The fact was that the able pens which had drawn so much attention to the sect, were no longer allowed publicly to advocate its principles for Louis had forbidden all publications for or against it.⁵

But the apparent calm was deceptive. The very concessions made by Clement IX. helped to strengthen attachment to the sect ; even in Italy and in Rome itself, a doubt arose whether

¹ See P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, dated August 24, 1675, *loc. cit.*

² See above, p. 401 *seqq.*

³ " *Qui si desidera e si aspetta con passione particolare la risoluzione circa le materie janseniste, intorno alle quali si vive con tal quiete, che è cosa incredibile, a segno che pare non sia mai stato nel mondo Jansenio." To Rospigliosi, February 1, 1669, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 137, f. 491, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ " quasi che totale depressione de' Giansenisti e altri religionari in Francia " (BAROZZI-BERCHET, *Francia*, III., 218).

⁵ GÉRIN, II., 306.

Alexander VII. had not gone too far in condemning Jansenism.¹ Foscarini, who succeeded Morosini in 1678,² speaks of the "old cockle" to the uprooting of which Louis XIV. still had to apply himself in order to maintain the internal tranquillity of the realm. As a matter of fact the author of an account of the situation of the French Church at that time³ does not draw a brilliant picture of religious conditions. The King, so we read, is being told that not a day passes without the Pope making some attack on the royal authority; Jansenism has simply been a phantom of the Jesuit mind; even if it had been different at first, and if it were not wholly suppressed, it would die a natural death in time provided no one was allowed to talk about it. Now it was precisely this silence which enabled Jansenism to live and to wax stronger from day to day. The King was well disposed on the whole, but his ministers took care he did not see everything. According to this account the first of these ministers, Colbert, had at first not been altogether in sympathy with the innovations of the sect, but from the moment he took the General of the Oratorians (Sainte-Marthe) for his confessor and adviser in

¹ " *L'apparenza di queste ragioni haveva talmente operato nell'animo del popolo, che non solo in Francia e in Fiandra, ma in Italia et in Roma medesima pareva, che troppo si fusse avanzato Alessandro e troppo si pretendesse dal successore in volerlo sostenere." *Relatione del succeduto nella causa di Giansenio*, of March 1, 1693, probably by Bargellini, *Vat.* 7405, f. 16 s.

² BAROZZI-BERCHET, II., 388.

³ *Bibl. Casanatense, Rome, X., VI., 24, f. 179-189; drawn up during Pomponne's ministry, 1672-79. The conclusion states that the Monks of St. Germain-des-Prés (Maurists) had spent more than 10,000 scudi in the last six years on a new edition of St. Augustine. The publication was begun in 1669. "Non dubitamus," it says, "quod facient de operibus doctoris huius, quod alii de Novo Testamento falsificato pro sustinendis erroribus suis." On the story of the Maurist edition of St. Augustine, cf. KAKULA, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wienerakademie*, CXXI. s., CXXVII. s.; INGOLD, Paris, 1903, and *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, LXVIII., 320 seqq.

spiritual matters,¹ he favours them, for it is well known how much that Superior of the Oratorians is implicated in these errors and how ill disposed he is towards the Holy See. The minister has little love for the Jesuits and persecutes the Order in every way, as must be expected from a Jansenist. The second Minister (Le Tellier), for the sake of his sons, supports the sect as much as possible. The third (Louvois) is the son of the second. Everybody knows how he lives, but of his faith and religion nothing is known. His zeal, not in defending but in persecuting the Holy See, is sufficiently shown forth by the affair of the Knights of St. Lazarus, which he initiated, prosecuted, and concluded without leave from Rome, though there was question of Church property.² The last of the ministers (Pomponne) belongs to Arnauld's family. He has openly stated that the religious were the ruin of the State and the realm; accordingly many people suspect him of secretly favouring the new sect, but up to the present there are not many outward signs of this being so.³ The greater part of the nobility and the officials are for the Church; so are the princes of the royal house, though not the Duchess of Longueville.

Previous to Jansenius' condemnation, scarcely four, or perhaps half a dozen of the Bishops were in his favour, but that number has since risen because of their dislike of the Holy See. The keenest among them are the Bishops of Sens, Tournai, Beauvais, Auxerre, Châlons, Angers, Agen, Nevers, Alet, and Pamiers. All these display such zeal either in regard to the administration of the Sacraments or the privileges of the religious Orders that there is no end to the scandals in their dioceses.

Of the Orders, the Congregation of St. Geneviève, the Oratorians, and the Benedictines of St. Maurus are almost wholly caught in the meshes of these errors; the Cistercians

¹ Colbert was under his guidance for a time. BATTEREL, *Mém.*, IV., 19.

² GÉRIN, II., 490.

³ MOROSINI, in BAROZZI-BERCHET, III., 212.

only partly, and only a few among the Dominicans. The other Orders are not affected, in particular the Franciscans and the Carmelites, especially the discalced ones.

With the exception of Port-Royal, almost all the convents are sound in the faith. Some of them were indeed grievously affected at one time, but the nuns now realize that they had been misled, with the result that they have lost all confidence in the sect. But they had conceived such disregard for the Holy See that the Pope had become an object of terror for them. There are many Jansenists in the Sorbonne, but they constitute only a minority.

The common people are scarcely aware of the conflict, but they are not unaffected by the new teaching concerning the reception of the Sacraments, which has decreased at Sens especially.

The genuine Jansenists remain unchanged; of the Clementine Peace they say: "Without moving a finger, we went to bed last night as heretics, and as without the Church—this morning we rose as Catholics." The Peace provides them with an occasion for scoffing at the Pope. Though the papal Brief is favourable to them, it was not made public as a result of their pressure on the nuncio; for they feared lest it should seem that they had altered their opinions.

In a list of the Doctors of the Sorbonne, created between 1650 and 1673,¹ 356 are described as Catholics, 193 as Jansenists, 36 are said to be fervent Catholics, and 60 keen Jansenists. The list also gives some information on the results of the Clementine Peace. Among the Jansenists, some are described as "supporters of the Jansenist Peace"; these are the men who, previous to the peace, opposed Jansenist opinions, but who subsequently, either from fear or from motives of prudence and personal advantage, had adopted, wholly or partially, a different line of conduct in the last Assemblies.² In like manner, after 1650, twenty-eight of the

¹ *Bibl. Casanat.*, X., VI., 24, f. 200-218.

² " *Qui quidem a die dictæ pacis ab ipsa veritate, quam antea contra Iansenistas defenderant, vel si opus fuisset etiam strenue

Catholic Doctors are described as "political and accommodating Catholics"; they are the men who, since the Clementine Peace and the beginning of the rule of the new Archbishop of Paris [Harlay de Champvallon since 1671] adopt many Jansenist views for political considerations, or try to strike a middle course, or demand silence when judgment must be given on some Jansenist publication. In many ways, these do more harm than the Jansenists themselves.¹

The Jansenists themselves, on their part, had renounced neither the pen nor the printing press, their chief weapons up till then. After "peace" had become the watchword in the religious sphere they could no longer think of furthering their cause by means of writings in Arnauld's manner, but there remained other and wide fields of activity for their men

propugnassent, iam vel ex metu aut pusillanimitate seu nimia prudentia carnis, non spiritus, vel ex propriae utilitatis aut honoris commodo aliquatenus aut etiam in totum deflexerant in postremis comitiis."

¹ " *catholici politici et molliors, in ceteris omnibus bene sentientes, verum plus quam par sit, quandoque politici et molliores, quique a die praetensae pacis ecclesiae et Dni Arch. Parisiensis moderni ad sedem Paris. promotione ita politice se gesserunt et adhuc se gerunt ut vel Iansenistarum sententiam sequantur in pluribus, vel medias quasdam vias ineuntes, aut silentium postulantes, ubi occasio est vel necessitas statuendi aliquid contra iansenianas theses, libros, conciones, iam non modo inutiles religioni et sanae doctrinae contra iansenianum virus nondum emortuum facti sint in facultate, sed saepe fiant ipsis Iansenistis quodam modo nocentiores." The list describes as keen Jansenists the following Bishops : Le Tellier of Rheims, Choiseul of Tournai, Marmiesse of Conserans, Colbert of Auxerre, Le Sauvage of Lavaur, Tonnerre of Noyon, Hocquincourt of Verdun, Barillon of Luçon. The following are just Jansenists : De La Borde of St. Brieuc and Bértier of Montauban ; political Jansenists : Guron Rechigne of Comminges and Etienne Le Camus of Grenoble ; political Catholics : Bourbon of Soissons and Bossuet of Condom. Harlay of Paris is said to be a fosterer of Jansenism ; De la Motte Houdancourt of Auch and Loménie de Brienne of Coutances are described as excellent Catholics.

of letters. They had begun early to advocate their views by means of publications of a seemingly purely devotional character. Previous to the "Clementine Peace", Le Maître de Sacy had published some of his Jansenistically coloured translations of the Bible.¹ The work advanced gradually ; when completed it became, for the French Jansenists, something like Luther's Bible for the German Lutherans. There followed French translations of the liturgical books, the Missal and the Breviary, or at least parts of them.² All these books were condemned by the French Bishops and even by the Pope himself. These liturgical adaptations were followed by a number of ascetical and devotional works, all of which advocated, in an underhand way, the Jansenist view on grace. Nicole's work of moral theology in particular, obtained a wide circle of readers ; begun in 1671, it eventually grew into thirteen volumes.³ The prolific Maurist writer, Gerberon, besides ascetical literature, devoted himself especially to the study of history ; his account of the Jansenist controversy and its development is wholly in keeping with the spirit of the party.⁴

The Government indulged in no delusions about the situation. The means by which the Jansenists had won the so-called peace were such that at the death of the Pope, there

¹ "Nouveau Testament de Mons."

² The Missal was translated by Voisin in 1660 ([PATOUILLET], III., 199), the Breviary by Le Tourneux in 1687 (*ibid.*, I., 199) ; *Heures de Port-Royal*, translated by Le Maître (*ibid.*, II., 177) ; *L'année chrétienne ou les messes des dimanches*, etc., by Le Tourneux (*ib.*, 1686), etc.

³ On their Jansenistic tone see [PATOUILLET], II., 68-91 ; on their influence up till the 19th century see SÉCHÉ, I., 235 *seq.*, 244, 251. Nicole published the writings of Hamon, the physician of Port Royal, *ob.*, 1687 ([PATOUILLET], IV., 157 *seq.*).

⁴ *Histoire générale du Jansénisme*, Amsterdam, 1700 ; *Histoire abrégée du Jansénisme*, Cologne, 1698 ; *Mémorial historique de ce qui s'est passé depuis l'année 1647 jusqu'à l'an 1653* (1676) ; *Traité historique sur la grâce et la prédestination par l'Abbé de St. Julien* (1699).

was every reason to fear for its continuance. Even during the conclave, the French Government instructed its ambassador in Rome to lose no time in strongly representing to the new Pope that he could not rely on its support were he to follow the advice of Albizzi or the Jesuits, by laying hands on his predecessor's work of peace; the ambassador, on the contrary, was to renew the efforts made with Clement IX. with a view to obtaining the elimination of Alexander's formula, so that subscription to it would be no longer required.¹ On March 7th, 1670, the King empowered his representative to demand a formal promise that no innovation would take place.² Accordingly the ambassador represented to the new Pope that though the formula had been a salutary remedy, now that the wound was healed, the plaster could only do harm. To this the Pope replied that he was not so sure that the wound was properly healed; the Secretary of State, Altieri, felt even less convinced than the Pope.³ However, during Clement X.'s reign no steps were taken against the French Jansenists.

If the religious situation in France was unsatisfactory, it was no better in the sect's birthplace. The Jansenist Ritual of Alet, though condemned by Rome, was in everybody's hands in Flanders; the Mons translation of the New Testament, though tainted with Jansenism, was openly sold. Jansenius' *Augustinus* was read without scruple, and a book against the honour paid to the Blessed Virgin, from the pen of an attorney of Cologne of the name of Widenfeldt, was obstinately defended. To this must be added other errors on the subject of the veneration of the Saints and their images, and the administration of the Sacrament of Penance. There were those who taught that Bishops received their powers immediately from Christ; hence they argued that the Pope could not curtail them. Dislike of the Mendicant Orders

¹ Louis XIV. and Lionne to Chaulnes on January 3 and 17, 1670, in GÉRIN, II., 411.

² *Ibid.*, 411 seq.

³ *Ibid.*, 412.

also grew because of the esteem in which these held both Scholasticism and the Pope's authority.¹

The Pope had likewise had to complain of the Governor of Flanders, owing to the attempt of the latter to interfere with the free communication of the Pontiff with his subjects, as happened, for instance, when Rome protested against the unbecoming inscription on the grave of Jansenius.²

(3.)

Thus the dangerous religious movements in Flanders and France were only seemingly dead. France in particular might at any moment become a danger to the peace of Europe in the sphere of religion ; in the political sphere, France's ruler was already such a danger, especially by reason of his attitude towards the Turkish wars. Whilst Rome was concerned with the defence of Christendom and its civilization against the peril of Islam, the King of France, exclusively intent on his private interests, dispatched an envoy to Constantinople at the beginning of 1670, in the person of the Marquis de Nointel, with mission to re-establish the good

¹ *Disordini ecclesiastici in Fiandra 1675*, in LÄMMER, *Melet.*, 397.

² " *A. V. S. incarica S. B. di rappresentare con fortezza di cuore e di lingua la non mai usata temerità del governatore di Fiandra, arrivato a pretendere che il Papa non possa scrivere a chi gli pare e intorno a materie, che sono intieramente del servizio di Dio e della religion cattolica, sicome succede nel fatto d'Ipri in ordine alla lapide, la quale è stata posta con iscrizione impropria sopra 'l sepolcro di Cornelio Jansenio ; e faccia Ella ben considerare a S. M. ed al Consiglio l'ingiustitia e 'l mancamento di rispetto che si prattica verso S. Stà, a cui si vuol torre quella libertà che nè pure a nemici è proibita ; e protesti che, ove non si dia proporzionato rimedio a si grandi disordini, sarà S. B. posta nella necessità di cambiare il tenore delle sue paterne inclinazioni e provvedere al decoro delle sue pontificie determinazioni etc." To the Spanish nuncio, September 19, 1672, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, f. 56, Papal Sec. Arch.

relations which had suffered from the participation of France in the defence of Crete. Nointel met with no small obstacles. When he laid stress on the power of his sovereign, the Grand Vizier told him that the French "emperor" was of course a mighty monarch, but his sword was still new. When Nointel spoke of an ancient and sincere friendship, the Grand Vizier observed that though "the French are indeed our friends, it is strange that we should always find them at the side of our enemies".¹ Louis XIV., so sensitive where his "honour" was concerned, especially in his dealings with the Popes, put up with these remarks and continued to negotiate with the infidels, a fact which caused anxiety in Rome.² He was making vast military preparations at this time. For a time no one knew against whom he was arming, but eventually it was seen that he was planning a crushing blow against the Dutch Republic, where the idea of a coalition in opposition to his preponderance had struck deep roots and yielded its first fruits in the Triple Alliance. At this time Leibnitz sought to direct the ambition of the King of France towards Egypt; by an attack on that country France would have averted the Turkish peril, and would have been rewarded with the supremacy in the Mediterranean and the East, which England obtained at a later date. However, Louis' minister, Pomponne, replied that since the days of Louis IX. crusades were no longer fashionable.³ Versailles' only anxiety was its nearest frontier.

¹ ZINKEISEN, V., 20. Cf. VANDAL, *L'odyssée d'un ambassadeur. Les voyages du Marquis de Nointel*, 2^e édit., Paris, 1900. In 1673 Nointel obtained the renewal of the capitulations which were of the utmost importance for French trade and a measure of recognition of France's protectorate of the Latin Christians in the East.

² GÉRIN, II., 521.

³ See the works of Leibniz, edit. by O. KLOPP, 1st series, II., Hanover, 1864, 3-159, 177-426; GUHRAUER, *Kurmainz in der Epoche von 1672*, I., Hamburg, 1839, 37, 213 *seqq.*, II., 351; PLATZHOFF, *Ludwig, XIV.*, 30; *Leibnitii de expeditione Aegyptiaca Ludovico Franciae regi proponenda scripta*, ed. O. KLOPP, Hanover, 1864.

Whilst Clement X. strove to stem the Turkish advance by means of an alliance between the Emperor and Poland,¹ Louis XIV. continued his preparations for his attack on Holland. He began by detaching England from the Triple Alliance by the treaty of Dover, and subsequently Sweden also ; he then won over to his side the Elector of Cologne and the Prince Bishop of Liège, Maximilian Henry, a Bavarian Prince, together with the warlike Prince-Bishop of Münster, Bernard von Galen, who had long been on bad terms with the Dutch. Thus little Holland could be attacked from every side with overwhelming forces. The military operations were so rapid and so brilliant that the last hour of the Dutch Republic seemed at hand. French cavalry was scouting within a few miles from Amsterdam.²

The rapid success of France called forth a general panic in Europe. In Rome opinion on the situation was divided. Clement X. had watched the outbreak of war with anxiety.³ His greatest fear was that the storm of war might also break over Catholic districts,⁴ with the consequence of a war between France and Spain.⁵ Many politicians, even in Rome, lamented the Dutch losses as if they were themselves hit by them⁶ ; but ecclesiastical circles felt differently. For more than a hundred years the Catholic subjects of the Dutch Republic had seen their most sacred rights curtailed ; they had suffered,

¹ Cf. above, p. 454 *seq.*

² BLOCK, V., 309 *seqq.*

³ See the *Briefs to the Archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Trèves, dated March 20, 1672, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ *Brief to Galen, Prince-Bishop of Münster, April 30, 1672, *ibid.*

⁵ *Brief to the Queen-Regent of Spain, April 18, 1672, and to Louis XIV., May 13, 1672, *ibid.* Cf. Buonvisi's letter and the Brief to Cologne in BROM, *Archivalia*, III., 553 *seq.*

⁶ " *Utcunque fiet, Gallis ægerrimum est videre etiam Romae Italos quam plurimos Batavis saltem animis aspirantes et illorum ruinas quasi suas existimantes." The Cardinal of Hesse to Leopold I., dated Rome, July 16, 1672, State Archives, Vienna.

and were still undergoing, every kind of oppression.¹ Again and again the Hague Cabinet had made common cause with the Church's bitterest enemies, and every anti-papal scribe was sure of an asylum in the Low Countries. Accordingly they could but rejoice if the Most Christian King was about to overthrow this bulwark of Calvinism and, according to his loud and solemn assurances, to exploit his victory for the good of the Catholic religion.² This optimistic feeling was strengthened in Rome when it was learnt that in all the towns taken by the French the principal churches were being handed over to the Catholics by order of Louis XIV. ; that the Bishops of Münster and Cologne had restored to its original purpose the property of the Church of which it had been robbed by the Dutch ; that the altars had been set up again in the magnificent cathedral of Utrecht, and that solemn Catholic services were once more being held.³ This explains how it came about that a number of preachers in Rome extolled France's victories in Holland as the work of God. Even the aged Clement X. seriously believed for a time that the aggression against Holland had for its object the furtherance of the Catholic religion. Hence he rejoiced sincerely in every fresh victory of Louis XIV.⁴ An envoy of Louis went so far as to request the Pope to order processions of intercession for the triumph of the French arms and to warn the Catholic Princes not to disturb, by envy or jealousy, an undertaking of such importance for the Church.⁵ The Paris nuncio suggested that

¹ Cf. our data, Vol. XXV., 120 seq., XXIX., 268 seq.

² WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi I.*, Vol. I., 377 ; KLOPP, Stuart, I., 306.

³ *Cifre del Nunzio di Parigi, June 21 and August 12, 1672, *Nunziat. di Francia*, 148, Papal Sec. Arch., and the reports in BROM, in *Archief voor de geschiedenis van het aartsbisdom Utrecht*, XX., 393 seqq.

⁴ *Letter of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., Rome, July 16, 1672, *loc. cit.* RANKE (*Französ. Gesch.*, III. [1855], 371), is quite wrong when he asserts that the Pope, who took up government in 1670 "undoubtedly" sided with the anti-French party in Europe.

⁵ WAGNER, *loc. cit.*, 277.

the Pope should thank the King of France.¹ Consequently, laudatory Briefs were addressed not only to the Prince-Bishop of Münster, but to the French General Marquis d'Estrées, also, urging them at the same time to persevere in an undertaking so favourable to the Catholic cause.²

How strong the Curia's confidence in France was at the beginning of August, 1672, appears from certain instructions of the Secretariate of State to the Spanish nuncio. If the Most Christian King, the nuncio was told on August 13th, overthrows the Dutch heretics, His Holiness can only give thanks to God ; just as, on the other hand, he can but lament the fact that the Dutchmen's ally, the Governor of the Flemish Netherlands, Count Monterey, should crush the convents of the poor Mendicants by heavy taxation. It would assuredly be far better if the Christian Princes were to unite in a joint attack on the Turks ; but experience had shown how difficult it was to form a coalition. Hence they could only pray that God would bless Louis XIV.'s efforts for the liberation of the Dutch Catholics, and to confine the conflagration of war within the territory of the heretics.³

When in September the imperial troops, reinforced by 14,000 Brandenburgers, marched from Bohemia to the Rhine, Rome was not a little displeased. Leopold I.'s abandonment of neutrality was ascribed to Spanish influence, and regret was expressed that the Emperor's troops were not used for the protection of Poland, which would also make for the safety of Hungary. Spain was warned to see to the protection of its valuable Italian possessions against Turkish attack ; the nuncio was told to emphasize that this would be impossible if

¹ *Cifra of June 21, 1672 (*decif.*, July 14), Papal Sec. Arch.

² *To Louis XIV., on May 3 and July 12, 1672, April 26, July 26, and August 22, 1673, *Brevia*, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., Rome, August 24, 1672, State Archives, Vienna. On September 7, 1672, the same *reports that he had failed to obtain a similar Brief for Leopold's efforts for catholicizing Hungary ; *ibid.*

³ *Cifra of August 13, 1672.

they helped the Dutch.¹ The Pope's displeasure grew still further as a result of the grievous encroachments by Spain in the ecclesiastical sphere, both in the Netherlands and at Naples and Milan.² The Paris Cabinet was much shrewder than that of Madrid, for during the first year of the war, the former avoided every ecclesiastical conflict with the Pope.³ The important thing was to disguise the true aims of the Dutch adventure and to deceive the Pope on the subject. When it appeared that this aim had been sufficiently realized, there was no longer any need to consider the Pontiff. At the end of 1672, Louis XIV., without previous understanding with the Holy See, published an edict by which he assumed the government of the Order of St. Lazarus and of that of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, whilst he also suppressed a number of other ecclesiastical Institutions with a view to using their revenues to defray the enormous cost of the war. A beginning had been made with the execution of the measures before news of it reached the public; as for the Pope, he was requested simply to sanction them.⁴ Nor were these the only trespasses on the Church's sphere. In 1673 Louis XIV. began to extend the right to seize the revenues of bishoprics during vacancy, and to appoint to vacant benefices (the so-called *régale*), to those ecclesiastical provinces where it had not hitherto obtained.⁵ Extraordinary resentment was caused in

¹ *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, November 19, 1672, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, p. 54 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.

² *Ibid.* A *warning Brief to Monterey, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, dated July 16, 1672, in *Epist.*, II.-III., *loc. cit.* *Ibid.*, *a similar Brief to "Marchese de Astorga, Prorex Neapol", of November 1, 1673, *Epist.*, IV.-V., *loc. cit.* A fresh attempt against the rights of the Church at Naples compelled Clement X. to raise his voice in protest in *Briefs to the Queen-Regent of Spain, to Astorga, and to the nuncio at Naples, September 10, 1673, *ibid.*

³ GÉRIN, II., 479.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 490 *seq.*

⁵ For the dispute over the *régale*, see the next Vol., Innocent XI.

Rome¹ by an edict published in March 1673, at the instigation of Colbert, which in the harmless guise of a fiscal measure, namely the surveillance of money sent to Rome, gravely interfered with the liberty of the Church. The Pope insisted on the withdrawal, or at least the suspension of this decree together with that dealing with the above mentioned Orders. On April 22nd, 1673, he complained to the King himself, but previously to this the Paris nuncio, Nerli, had been informed in the most emphatic terms that the Government had no intention to withdraw the ordinances.² It was whilst these incidents were in progress that the Cabinet of Madrid accused Clement X. of pursuing a Francophile policy! Rome was amply justified in replying that the Holy See took no sides in the warlike complications; that its attitude was prompted exclusively by the interests of religion, and that in the widest sense.³ For this reason Clement X.'s first care at this time was the defence of Poland, that ancient outpost of the Church in the east of Europe. "If Poland succumbs," the Secretary of State wrote on March 11th, 1673, Hungary and Germany are likewise lost, and Italy herself is threatened with enslavement.⁴ The Curia accordingly disapproved of the Emperor's and Spain's intention to lend armed assistance to Holland, as this would have made it impossible for them to go to the help of Poland.⁵

¹ Cf. P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, April 24, 1673, *Barb.* 6449, Vat. Lib.

² GÉRIN, II., 494 *seqq.* Cf. App. 13. Altieri's *letter to Nerli, July 11, 1673. Nerli's successor, F. Spada, was directed by his *Instruction, dated January 2, 1674, to protest energetically against the edict (*Nunziat. di Francia*, 432, p. 164 *seqq.*, Papal Sec. Arch.). F. Spada, who reached Paris on February 15, 1674, at once brought up the subject at his audience with Louis XIV.; "fu risposto che è un affare meramente politico" (*ibid.*, *Giornale di Msgr. F. Spada).

³ *Cifre al Nuntio di Spagna, January 28 and February 25, 1673, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ *Cifra of March 11, 1673, *ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*; LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 627 *seq.*

Clement X. was unwilling to fall out with Louis XIV., because of the latter's ecclesiastical encroachments, for the King had promised that in the peace negotiations with Holland he would insist on the Dutch Catholics being granted the free exercise of their religion. In this way Rome hoped to secure some compensation for the Church's losses in England.¹ Accordingly the Pope's Brief to Louis XIV., dated April 26th, 1673, besides renewed protests against the March edict also contained warm praise for the repression, by the King's efforts, of the Huguenots and the Jansenists, and his defence of the oppressed Catholics of Holland.² As a matter of fact, the King of France did his best in the sequel to confirm the Curia in its belief that his attack on Holland was made chiefly for the advantage of the Catholic religion. From Brussels the nuncio reported that Louis XIV. had condemned seven Englishmen to be burnt at the stake and three other men to be shot because of sacrileges committed by them in some churches. It was further announced that by order of the King Cardinal Bouillon had reconsecrated several churches which had been profaned by the Calvinists, and that money had been set apart for the celebration of religious services.³

¹ *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, Rome, April 29, 1673, Vat. Lib.

² "Strenue orthodoxae religionis tuendae et propagandae zelo succensus tuo non tantum in regno eiusdem in incrementum totus incubuisti, compressis scilicet eis qui a via veritatis aberrabant et ad debitam Constitutionibus Apostolicis obedientiam auctoritate tua reductis, sed fines quoque ditionum tuarum egressus extulisti fidei vexillum, quo gementes sub potestate iniquae dominationis Christi-fideles in pristinam divini cultus exercendi libertatem vindicares." Brief of April 26, 1673, *Epist.*, II.-III., Papal Sec. Arch.

³ " *Per avvisi di Bruxelles come era qui male inteso il poco rispetto portato alle chiese dall'esercito Francese nel passare per li Stati catholici della Fiandra, così ha molto edificato la pietà dello stesso Re dimostrata nel condannare al fuoco sette Inglesi et altri tre alle moschettate in pena dell'indegnità e sacrilegi commessi in alcune chiese nello Stato del Re catholico in Fiandra,

A deep impression was likewise created in Rome by the news that the Vicar Apostolic, John Neerkassel, had been able to appear openly as a Catholic Bishop, and to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi with great pomp as in Catholic times, and that on that occasion four French officers had carried the canopy over the Blessed Sacrament. At the same time it was learnt that the Jesuits had opened a school at Zwolle and that they were about to do the same in some of the other conquered towns.¹ When news came of the fall of Maastricht the French in Rome had endless stories to tell of the piety of their King, who, they said, had at once given orders for the restoration to the Catholics of all their churches and of their property.² Clement seized the opportunity, on July 26th, 1673, to congratulate the King on this success, and to thank him in the warmest terms for all he had done for the Catholics.³

However, notwithstanding Rome's great joy at this favourable turn of events, the war was deplored, especially in view of the Turkish peril, and in July, 1673, the nuncios were instructed to work for the conclusion of peace.⁴ Similar instructions were also issued to them in August, and the hope was expressed that the peace about to be concluded would procure for the Dutch Catholics lasting religious freedom.⁵

per la rebenedizione delle quali ha mandato il s. card. di Buglione con ornamenti e con buona somma di contante da lasciarsi per il buon culto e per la commodità di quei luoghi sacri non senza merito della religiosità dell'animo della M. sua." Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, July 1, 1673, *loc. cit.*

¹ BROM, *Archivalia*, III., 387 *seqq.*, 408 *seqq.*

² *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, July 22, 1673, *loc. cit.* D'Estrées promptly informed the Pope of the taking of Maastricht. " *In questa occasione hanno procurato i Francesi far spiccare la pietà della M. S. publicando il beneficio che ha fatto alla religione col levare tutti i tempj agl'eretici e coll'obbligarli a la restituzione dei beni che erano anticamente della Chiesa."

³ Appendix 14, *Brief of July 26, 1673, Papal Sec. Arch. Renewed thanks in *Brief of August 22, 1673, *ibid.*

⁴ *P. Mocenigo's letter to A. Contarini, July 29, 1673, *loc. cit.*

⁵ *The same to the same, August 12, 1673, *ibid.*

After Rome's fears of the outbreak of war between France and Spain had been realized,¹ Clement X. promptly agreed to the Emperor's suggestion that he should act as a mediator for peace.² His nuncios in Paris, Madrid, and Vienna, worked indefatigably in this sense, but met with the greatest difficulties. Because the Holy See stood above both parties it did too little for the one and too much for the other! The Elector of Cologne, who sided with Louis XIV., described nuncio Buonvisi as a supporter of Austria, because the latter spoke very frankly; Vienna, on the other hand, accused nuncio Mario Alberizzi of partiality towards France, and the nuncio in Madrid was the object of similar reproaches.³ The publication of Alberizzi's reports during his nunciature has shown the untenability of these accusations. The only object of the Vienna nuncio's efforts to prevent a rupture between Leopold I. and France was to make sure that the Emperor's troops would be available for the defence of Poland against the Turks. Both he and the Pope could only watch the march of events with sorrow, for whilst Poland, and consequently Hungary too, was threatened by the hereditary enemy of Christendom, the danger of the three Christian rulers of Austria, France, and Spain tearing each other was steadily drawing nearer, and this with the assistance of Protestant States, and even in their defence. Consequently all the Holy See's efforts were for peace⁴; however, though a peace congress promoted by Sweden was held at Cologne, no result was arrived at. On August 28th, 1673, the Emperor and Spain concluded a treaty with the object of forcing France back into her frontiers of 1660, and on August 30th Holland also became a partner to this pact. The effects of this new anti-French coalition, which soon received further reinforcements, were promptly felt in the field also. The Dutch were able to breathe again, more

¹ *Id.*, *ibid.*

² *P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, November 18, 1673, *ibid.*; LEVINSON, II., 157, 159.

³ These instances are given in the *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna of March 11, 1673, *loc. cit.*

⁴ LEVINSON, II., 18 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 30 *seq.*, 37 *seq.*, 46 *seq.*

especially as the Anglo-French alliance came to an end in 1674.¹

In January, 1674, the Cologne nuncio had reported that Holland declined a papal peace mediation²; however, undeterred by this disappointment, the papal diplomatists continued their task. By April all the Catholic Powers had accepted the Pope's mediation in principle,³ but the conflict spread further when the German Empire declared war against France on May 24th, 1674, and the Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg, on July 1st, entered once more into an offensive league with the Emperor, Spain, and Holland against France.

The Catholic districts did not remain untouched by the vicissitudes of the war. This happened already at the end of 1673, when the Dutch and their allies invaded the territories of the Archbishop of Cologne and the Prince-Bishop of Münster, and the former was forced to flee.⁴ In the following year the Governor of the Low Countries, Monterey, garrisoned

¹ IMMICH, *Staatensystem*, 78 seq.

² Letter of O. Pallavicino of January 14, 1674, in BROM, *Archivalia*, I., 796. In his utterances Pallavicino had endeavoured to avoid "di far apparire che la guerra di Olanda non è di religione"; he said that the Pope's Briefs gave no ground for such a view! (see his letter of July 31, 1673, in BLOCK, *Verslag van onderzoekingen naar Archivalia in Italie belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland*, La Haye, 1901, 41). In the spring of 1676 Pallavicino made a trip to Holland, of which he left a description (ed. by BROM, in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Hist. Genootschap van Utrecht*, XXXII., 64 seqq.). Of the religious conditions, little is said here, seeing that these were the business of the nunciature of Brussels. On the whole peace reigned, Pallavicino wrote, but he feared that the Catholic religion would always remain "serva, e la differenza sarà solo nell'esser trattata più o meno duramente".

³ *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, May 19, 1674, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, *loc. cit.* Cf. LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 167 seq.

⁴ Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, November 18, 1673, *loc. cit.*

Catholic towns with Dutch troops, when the Protestant soldiery committed such sacrileges that the Pope saw himself compelled to make representations in Madrid and Vienna.¹ Clement X. was greatly hurt by a report from Brussels to the effect that the French commander in the conquered territories had forbidden all relations with the internuncio in Brussels.² To this was added information that Condé's troops behaved no better in the Catholic churches of Flanders than the Protestant Dutch.³ These reports, which subsequently became even worse,⁴ gradually caused the Pope to realize that he had been deceived when he had been assured that the only motive of the French aggression against Holland was the welfare of the Catholic religion. Clement X. no longer hesitated to condemn the undertaking,⁵ all the more so as Louis XIV.'s attitude betrayed an intention to reject the Pope's peace mediation. To this end advantage was to be taken of a dispute which broke out in Rome in the autumn of 1674, between the French ambassador, D'Estrées, and Cardinal Altieri.

The extra-territoriality enjoyed by ambassadors in Rome had led to grave abuses, not only in consequence of the right of asylum, but that also of exemption from customs' duties on imported goods allowed to representatives of foreign States. The French envoy, D'Estrées, who was for ever in financial difficulties, took advantage of his privileges in truly cynical fashion, to the loss of the Apostolic Camera.⁶ In order to stop this abuse Cardinal Altieri issued a stringent edict on

¹ *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, May 26, 1674, *ibid.*

² " *Dice [the nuncio of Brussels] che da' capi Francesi in Tornay, convocatosi un consiglio, si hanno concluso di prohibire ai sudditi delle nuove conquiste il riconoscere l'autorità dell'Internuntio." P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, March 2, 1674, *loc. cit.*

³ P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, June 9, 1674, *ibid.*

⁴ *Letter of P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, *ibid.*

⁵ WAGNER, *Hist. Leopoldi I.*, Vol. I., 277.

⁶ GÉRIN, II., 539 *seqq.*

September 11th, 1674, imposing a duty of 3 per cent on all incoming goods.¹ D'Estrées protested that this was an infringement of his "rights". It was an easy task for him to win over to his view the representative of the Emperor, the Cardinal of Hesse, who had already occasioned a number of disagreeable situations for the Pope and his Government,² and not long after he also persuaded the Spanish Cardinal Nidhard and the Venetian envoy Mocenigo to side with him.³ The four diplomatists resolved to present their grievances to the Pope in a collective audience. When Cardinal Altieri refused to grant their request, as something unusual and unprecedented, they determined to make a joint remonstrance at least with the Cardinal, but the latter informed them that he too could only receive them one at a time. Though the envoys tried to create an impression that they would compel the nephew to receive them collectively, they were refused an audience; Cardinal Altieri even went so far as to put the Quirinal in a state of defence, as if he feared a formal

¹ For what follows, *cf.* the *documents in *Barb.* 5306 and 5640, pp. 309-444 (Vat. Lib.). This last collection is the work of Card. Carlo Barberini. Mocenigo's account in *BERCHET*, II., 399 *seqq.*, is tinged with one-sided Venetian partiality as are the envoy's *letters in *Barb.* 6449. GÉRIN'S account (II., 539 *seqq.*, 568 *seqq.*, 613) is based on French reports. Wholly hostile to Altieri is the " *Narrazione de' disturbi accaduti 1674 fra i quattro ambasciatori di Francia, Spagna, Venezia e dell'Impero con il cardinale Paluzzi-Altieri ", which is often found in MS. (ex. gr. *Urb.*, 1693, p. 36 *seqq.*; *Cod. Bologneth*, 57 and 76). See also LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 174 *seqq.* The quarrel of the ambassadors plays a great rôle in the **Cifre scritte dall' em. Altieri ai Nunzii di Vienna, Madrid, etc.*, 1674-75 (*Cod.* 26, E. 3 of the Altieri Archives, Rome).

² *Cf.* LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 92, 108 *seq.*, 112, 130.

³ This was all the more remarkable as, according to a report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I. (November 11, 1673, State Archives, Vienna), Hesse and Nidhard had decided, in view of the war between Spain and France, to confine their relations with the French ambassador, within the strictest limits of bare courtesy.

assault. Thereupon, public opinion, which resented the abuse of the exemption from customs dues and had until then supported Altieri, turned against the Cardinal. Almost every day saw the publication of some fresh criticism of his government.¹ All knowledge of the incident had at first been kept from the Pope; it was bound to be particularly painful to him as he was just preparing to offer his mediation for peace.² But though they continued to press for a collective audience, the envoys were only received singly. When they declared that they could no longer treat with the Cardinal nephew until he should have given them satisfaction, Clement X. told them that he was prepared to hear them at any hour of the day or night.³ D'Estrées began to hope that he would succeed in overthrowing Altieri and replacing him by Rospigliosi. The nuncio in Vienna, Alberizzi, fearing lest the Pope should yield unreservedly, urged him to offer a firm resistance to the envoy.⁴ The Cardinal of Hesse, in his own impetuous way defended the envoys' rights with even greater vehemence than D'Estrées himself, so much so that even gentle Clement X. found his conduct unbearable, and suggested that he should leave Rome.⁵ The four envoys insisted with the utmost obstinacy that they must be given satisfaction. Discussions went on in this sense and in that, until a solution was found at last. The stringent edict of September 11th, 1674, was revoked,

¹ Thus *P. Mocenigo to A. Contarini, on December 29, 1674 (*loc. cit.*). These writings include those discussed by RANKE (App. 145), though he does not state where they are to be found, and the following *satires: (1) *La repubblica christiana* (Cod. 33, A. 14, of Bibl. Corsini); (2) *Discorso satirico sopra le simonie della Dataria* (Cod. B., IV., 19, p. 79 *seqq.*, of Bibl. Queriniana, Brescia).

² Cf. the *Briefs to the Emperor and the Queen-Regent of Spain, December 8, 1674, and to Louis XIV., January 5, 1675, *Epist.*, IV.-VII., Papal Sec. Arch.

³ GÉRIN, II., 550.

⁴ See the characteristic letter of November 21, 1674, in LEVINSON, II., 173 *seq.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

on condition that a milder one of June 28th of that year should remain in force ; moreover, Cardinal Altieri was made to call on Nidhard and the Cardinal of Hesse to make his excuses.¹ As the Venetian envoy contented himself with this retreat,² D'Estrées' plan for the overthrow of the nephew was thwarted ; however, he and the Cardinal of Hesse had succeeded in humbling Altieri and in creating many fresh enemies for him.³ Altieri had also fallen out with Queen Christine. Already at the opening of the Holy Door at Christmas 1674, and again at the blessing of the *Agnus Dei*, Christine had taken offence because she thought she had been slighted. An open quarrel broke out at Easter 1675, when the Queen desired to offer her good wishes to the Pope and Altieri rejected her demand for an audience.⁴ Deeply hurt in her royal dignity, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus was loud in her complaints, and even went so far as to utter threats. Cardinal Azzolini, and finally Clement X. himself, endeavoured to calm her, and promised to obtain a written apology. When the Queen insisted on a personal visit of Altieri, the Cardinal made his excuses in so low a tone that Christine's suite could scarcely hear a word. The Queen answered in a very loud voice and an insulting tone that she would forget the offence and inform the Pope on the following day of all that had happened. This she did in fact. Hesse, who was for ever plotting against Altieri, reported with

¹ *Agreement of July 11, 1675, *Barb.* 5307, p. 7 *seqq.*, Vat. Lib. Cf. GÉRIN, II., 569 *seqq.* It is generally said that Card. Colonna had brought about the agreement, but in his *letter of July 20, 1675 (*loc. cit.*), P. Mocenigo states that it was done "per opera del P. Generale de' Min. osserv. di S. Francesco".

² See *Mocenigo's letter of July 27, 1675, *loc. cit.*

³ Altieri made many enemies for himself from the first, as soon as his influence with the Pope became apparent ; see the report of the Card. of Hesse of May 10, 1670. State Archives, Vienna. On May 30, 1671, the latter *reports a dispute between Altieri and the Spanish ambassador (*ibid.*).

⁴ For what follows, cf. the *report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., dated May 11, 1675, *loc. cit.*

great satisfaction to the Emperor on the courage of the woman and the humiliation of the Cardinal nephew.¹

Clement X. did not allow the persistent conflict between Cardinal Altieri and the French to interfere with his work for peace,² on the contrary, he continued it with undiminished ardour though all he earned was sneers from Cardinal D'Estrées and annoyance from Louis XIV. The King suggested as the place of the congress first Breda and then Nymeguen, both of them towns with a predominantly Calvinist population, in which a representative of the Pope could only appear with difficulty.³ This insistence was very properly interpreted as a proof that France did not want the impartial mediation of the Pope.⁴ As Clement X. continued to hope for a change for the better, he put off the nomination of a papal representative to the peace congress; in April, 1675, the nuncios of Vienna,

¹ " *Obstupuit Roma tantum videns in femina animum et tantam in cardinali abiectioem," says the Card. of Hesse in his above-mentioned report. After that it is not surprising that Christine's attempts to get Cardinal Azzolini into the Secretariate of State failed in consequence of Altieri's opposition (*Letter of Mocenigo of July 20, 1675, *loc. cit.*).

² " *Dissidium quoque inter regem Gallum et cardinalem de Alteriis perennat." In spite of various, most favourable offers to the French, which were put before the King through Cardinal Bonsy " tamen ad omnia respondisse dicitur nullam cardinali de Alteriis redeundi in gratiam fore viam, nisi sequestri et mediatore suo in urbe legato regionum consiliorum maxime conscio ". Those in the know think " regem nempe hoc toto pontificatu iram demonstraturum, ut Alterianas quas appellant creaturas, ad summum gradum aspirantes metu offendendi regis ab earum promotore alienas reddat." For all that Card. Altieri seeks by every means to recover the favour of the French King " nec tamen proficit hactenus ". Report of the Card. of Hesse to Leopold I., September 7, 1675, State Archives, Vienna. The same report says: An old man of Padua, aged 104, was presented to the Pope yesterday " ubi de vita et vivendi ratione ultro citroque dictis, tandem senex donatus a sene dimissus est ".

³ GÉRIN, II., 637 *seqq.*

⁴ LEVINSON, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 181.

Paris, and Madrid were instructed to urge the choice of another seat for the congress.¹ By way of a solution of the problem the Spanish ambassador suggested that the papal plenipotentiary should betake himself to some Catholic locality in the neighbourhood of Nymeguen.²

The Pope busied himself day and night with his mediation for a peace from which he hoped to derive some advantages for the Catholic religion. At the beginning of October 1675, he resolved to dispatch special nuncios for this purpose to Paris, Vienna, and Madrid. Pompeo Varese, Archbishop of Adrianople, was to be accredited to Louis XIV.; Luigi Bevilacqua, Patriarch of Alexandria, to Vienna, and Peter, Archbishop of Nicomedia, to Madrid.³ In view of the circumstance that the Spanish nuncio, Fabrizio Spada, had been raised to the cardinalate, Varese was to take his place as ordinary nuncio on completion of his peace mission. However, Louis XIV. demanded that further candidates for the nunciature should be submitted. The Pope refused to comply with this demand, whereupon Louis declared that he would only discuss the question with Varese. As a matter of fact, he did so when Varese arrived in Paris in the spring of 1676.⁴

Though the seat of the peace congress was not yet fixed, the

¹ *Cifra al Nuntio di Spagna, April 20, 1675, *Nunziat. di Spagna*, 139, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf., *ibid.*, the *Cifra of June 15, 1675; also the *Brief to Louis XIV., June 27, 1675, *Epist.*, IV.-VII., f. 269, Papal Sec. Arch.

² Cf. P. Mocenigo's *letter to A. Contarini, May 18, 1675, *loc. cit.*

³ *Briefs to Louis XIV., the Emperor and the Queen-Regent of Spain, October 5, 1675, *Epist.*, IV.-VII., *loc. cit.* The " *Instructione per li Nuntii straordinarii spediti alle corti per procurar la pace ", Cod. 381 of the Library of S. Croce, in Gerusalemme, Rome. Some passages are given by LÄMMER, *Zur Kirchengesch.*, 30.

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 640 *seqq.* Varese's Instruction (cf. LÄMMER, *loc. cit.*, 32) refutes Morosini's assertion, adopted by RANKE (III., 111), of a " naturale partialità del cardinale Altieri per la corona cattolica ".

Pope, on October 5th, 1675, named his plenipotentiary in the person of Fabio Guinigi, Archbishop of Ravenna.¹ When his Instruction was drawn up, it became necessary to decide to what extent the Pope's representative at the congress might enter into relations with those who had fallen away from the Church. At the congress of Münster, Cardinal Chigi, the future Alexander XII., had strictly adhered on this point to the ancient discipline of the Church,² with the consequence that his influence on its deliberations had been inadequate. At the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, under Clement IX., the Cologne nuncio, Franciotti, was allowed to depart somewhat from the rigid attitude of Chigi. Franciotti's successor, Buonvisi, received instructions from Clement X. in October 1671, to the effect that he should establish humane relations with non-Catholics and not refuse on principle to have speech, in private, with Protestant envoys. Courtesy, the hall-mark of a cultivated man, was not incompatible with the character of a papal envoy who could display it with excellent results, especially in dealing with such persons as respond more readily to gentle treatment than to the strong impulses of conscience and reason.³ To Guinigi a middle course was recommended. He was instructed to make a difference in his relations between Catholics and heretics for it would be unreasonable to treat the sworn enemies of the Church as brethren. On the other hand, he must avoid all pettiness by which he would offend the Protestants, irritate the Catholics, and hinder the real purpose of the congress. In particular cases prudence must regulate his zeal; for the sake of the peace of Europe one could make concessions which, without so powerful a motive,

¹ Brief of October 5, 1675, to Louis XIV., *loc. cit.*, f. 335.

² Cf. Vol. XXX., p. 97 *seq.*

³ TRENTA, I., 294. Here also Buonvisi's account of the invitation to a banquet given by him, with Altieri's leave, to the envoys of Denmark and the Rhine Palatinate, a step that made a great impression and even induced the Elector of Brandenburg to drink the Pope's health at a banquet given by the town.

might give scandal.¹ On February 15th, 1676, Clement X. assured the Emperor that day and night his thoughts were occupied with the peace negotiations.² On June 19th, he adjured the Emperor,³ and on the following day the King of France,⁴ to consent to an armistice as a preliminary of peace. On July 15th, he recommended his plenipotentiary for the peace congress, Fabrizio Guinigi, to the German princes.⁵ By the time these various letters were dispatched, death had laid its hand on the eighty-six-year-old Pontiff.

With truly amazing energy, Clement X. had stuck to his task all this time and endeavoured to fulfil the duties of his office to the best of his ability. Though from the very beginning of his pontificate he suffered much from gout, and the state of his health was subject to frequent changes, his condition gave no real cause for anxiety.⁶ In the jubilee year of 1675, his activity, in view of his age, was still amazing.⁷ His entourage only became anxious in 1676, when symptoms of dropsy showed themselves.⁸ The Pope, nevertheless, continued to give audiences up till mid-July⁹; but then he was seized with a malignant fever, which the physicians failed to diagnose: this precipitated the end. On July 22nd the Cardinals were

¹ HILTEBRANDT, in *Quellen u. Forsch.*, XV., 366 seq., who overlooked the fact that LÄMMER (*Zur Kirchengesch.*, 31 seq.) had already printed a passage of the Instructions and analysed the whole document.

² “*Imperator,” on February 15, 1676.

³ **Epist.*, IV.-V., Papal Sec. Arch.

⁴ GÉRIN, II., 641.

⁵ **Epist.*, IV.-V., *loc. cit.*

⁶ Cf. the *reports of the Card. of Hesse, especially those of September 20, 1670, and May 20, 1673, State Archives, Vienna, and the very accurate *reports of P. Moenigo to A. Contarini, August 24, 1675, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Cf. above, p. 471; also GÉRIN, II., 595, and P. Mocenigo's *report of August 24, 1675, *loc. cit.*

⁸ GÉRIN, II., 643.

⁹ As late as Wednesday, says the **Avviso* of July 17, 1676, Papal Sec. Arch.

summoned to his death-bed ; Queen Christine was also present. Clement X. received the consolations of religion with great devotion and died in the afternoon of the same day.¹

¹ See the *report of Card. Carlo Pio to Leopold I., dated Rome, July 22, 1676, State Archives, Vienna, and **Avviso* of July 25, 1676, Papal Sec. Arch. Cf. also the **Avviso* of August 7, 1676, on the burial " vicino la cappella del SS. Sacramento ". Contari (**Memorie, loc. cit.*) accurately designates the " deposito sopra la porta nel pilastro che è di rimpetto al nobile sepolcro della contessa Matilde ".

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